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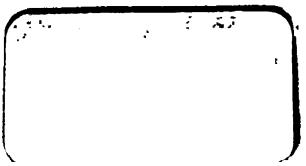

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OF

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For the Year 1799.

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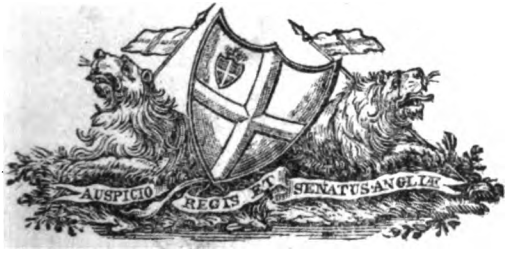

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY DUNDAS,

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE,

AND

PRESIDENT OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA;

AND TO

THE HONOURABLE

THE COURT OF DIRECTORS

OF THE

UNITED EAST INDIA COMPANY,

THIS WORK

IS,

BY THEIR PERMISSION,

MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

THEIR MUCH OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL SERVANTS,

THE PROPRIETORS.

LONDON, *8th March*, 1800.

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PREFACE.

THE nature and plan of the Work which we now lay before the Public, have been already unfolded and explained in our general Prospectus; and our idea of its utility has been amply justified, not only by the liberal and almost universal patronage we have met with, but by the approbation of men whose opinions, as they add authority to truth, so they have given confidence to our hopes, as well as energy to our exertions. It would, therefore, be superfluous, if not improper, to detain the reader with any observations on the merits of our undertaking, or to solicit attention by a declamatory discourse on its importance: but

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tory of British India; and without an adequate notion of them, no reader, who is not conversant in Asiatic politics, could possibly understand it. The view which we have taken, will, we trust, render the characters, political sentiments and civil histories of the Hindûs and Indian Mussulmans, familiar to every reader; and thereby enable him to form a correct judgment of the conduct of the English in their wars and negociations with the Princes of India, which it has been but too much the fashion to decry.

It was our intention to have brought down our History, in this volume, to the year 1708, when the Incorporated Union of the *Old* and *New East India Companies* was confirmed by Parliament; but the various and important political occurrences of the present year, together with the voluminous State Papers relative to them, have increased our volume to so great a size, that we thought it requisite to set aside

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aside that portion of the early History of the Company, and their first establishments in India, in order to make way for matter, not only more curious in itself, but more immediately interesting to the feelings of the Public.

In the *Chronicle*, it will be found we have registered every public event in Asia during the period of time which we have embraced, and have given particular details of the political and commercial affairs of the British Empire, as well as of the other Nations in India. But, after much mature consideration, we have deemed it adviseable to postpone our *General View of Asiatic Politics*,—as well from the recent events in India being far too momentous to be treated in a cursory manner, as from our own inability to view them with that calmness and impartiality essential to the nature of our Work. We should, indeed, have but little to boast of as Englishmen, if, amidst the first bursts

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of joy which the magnanimous actions of our Councils, and the glorious achievements of our Arms, have diffused around us, we could abstract our minds from those generous emotions which they naturally excite in every patriotic bosom, and which, therefore, it is the duty of the politician to encourage rather than restrain.

In the other parts of the Chronicle, our original promise has, in every particular, been strictly fulfilled; though we are perfectly aware, that, in our arrangement of the materials, there is yet much to improve. To the Chronicle we have added a *Supplement*, containing many curious papers respecting Tippoo Sultaun, together with several articles of intelligence received by the last dispatches from India.

With a view to preserve due order and perspicuity, we have formed a distinct department of *State Papers*, of the *Proceedings in Parliament* relative to the Affairs of

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of India, and of the regular series of the *Debates at the India-House*; to which we have subjoined a copious *Supplement*, containing the whole of the official documents relative to the conquest of Mysore, and the subsequent partition of that kingdom.

Respecting our *Biographical Accounts*, we shall not offer any remarks, as they require no elucidation, nor, we trust, any apology. We have sedulously endeavoured to render them as entertaining as possible; and we have some reason to hope that our endeavours shall not have been exerted in vain.

Under the head of *Miscellaneous Tracts*, we have found it more commodious to place *Narratives of Voyages and Travels*, than in a separate department: and we have selected, for this part of our Work, a great variety of articles, no less new than instructive to the generality of our Readers in this country, and amusing to Orientalists,

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ists, from their being brought forward in an agreeable, at least, if not in an elegant attire.

Our *Account of Books* has not been executed on so extensive a scale as we intended, owing to the pressure of so much important matter in some of the other departments of our Work; but we have endeavoured to do justice to the various merits of the different Authors, and to collect into one point of view much of the instructive entertainment which their writings contain.

Such is the manner in which we have executed our Work; and it is our good fortune to introduce it to the Public at a new epoch in the History of British India. The brilliant prospect which that invaluable country now presents, under the wise and auspicious administration of the NOBLE MARQUIS who presides over it, while it excites the admiration and envy of surrounding

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rounding nations, cannot but afford the most solid satisfaction to every British heart. We there behold, under the mild and just government of Britain, an ancient and highly cultivated people restored to the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights, after having endured, for seven centuries, the most inexorable tyranny recorded in the annals of mankind: we behold the useful industry of that people exerted, not less for their own benefit, than for that of their rulers; and, instead of being wasted in the support of unprincipled and destructive wars, is nourished in the bosom of commerce, to secure the peace and happiness of nations: and, above all, we behold the immeasurable resources of the most fertile region in the world at the command of the British Legislature, and employed, by the consummate wisdom and enlightened policy of the Great Statesman who administers the affairs of India, at once to increase the wealth and maintain the freedom of Britain.

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To make our countrymen familiarly acquainted with those important affairs, is our peculiar province; and if we shall be found to merit a continuance of that patronage which we have already received, neither Time, Diligence, nor Expence, shall be spared, to render our labours satisfactory and beneficial to the Public.

LONDON, *March* 8, 1800.

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TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

We now present this Volume to the Public a second time, rendered, by a careful revision, still more worthy of the Patronage with which it has been honoured. Accuracy and Diligence are the principal merits to which we aspire; and, we trust, this Edition will shew, that to these merits we have strengthened our claim. In revising our *Historical Chapter*, we not only re-examined and collated, with scrupulous attention, all the Authorities whom we originally consulted, but submitted our opinions to the criticisms of some Gentlemen of considerable talents and extensive learning,

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ing, who have been long employed in investigating the genuine sources of Indian History and Literature. We have not, however, discovered in our narrative any material mistake or omission; but we have been enabled to satisfy ourselves respecting a few points which we had considered as doubtful, and have consequently supplied some deficiencies, and more fully illustrated our statements.

The *Chronicle* has been corrected and methodized according to the plan on which that Department is arranged in the Second Volume of our REGISTER. The other Departments have also been attentively revised: and the whole has been freed from several blemishes, which, in the hurry of the first publication, had passed unobserved.

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ERRATA.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

In Page 127, Line 25, for 146, read 129.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE EAST-INDIA HOUSE.

In Page 190, Line 14, for *condemnation*, read *consideration*.

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THE

ASIATIC

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the Year 1799.

THE

HISTORY OF INDIA.

CHAP. I.

A View of the History *of* India, *from the earliest Ages, to the Year* 1603 *of the Christian Æra.*

BEFORE we proceed, in conformity with our original plan, to give an historical account of the British possessions in India, it is necessary to look back to the ancient state of that country, to observe the unchangeable character of its inhabitants, to shew the nature and spirit of its religion, laws, and civil government, and to trace the rise of the commercial intercourse which subsisted between it and the nations of Europe. It is also requisite to separate truth from fable; and to combine and illustrate a few leading facts in the history of India, which lie scattered over the mystic volumes of Sanscrit literature, or the doubtful narratives of Mahommedan historians; and which will convey to the most uninformed reader a correct notion of the condition of that extensive and renowned empire, in all ages of the world.

The ancient empire of India comprehended all those countries in which the primitive religion and laws of Brahmà prevailed. It extended from the Tibetian and Tartarian mountains on the north, to the island of Ceylon on the south; and from the river Ganges on the east, to that of the Indus or Attock on the west. This vast region contains as great a number of square miles as one half of the continent of Europe; and the number of its inhabitants may be estimated at nearly seventy millions. It was called *Bharat-varsa*, by its ancient inhabitants; to which name they sometimes prefixed the epithets of *Medhyama*, or central, and *Punyabhumi*, or the land of virtues. The word *Hindu-stan*, by which that part of the empire is denominated which lies between the latitudes of 30 and 21 north, signifies *the country of black people*; an ety-

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mology which we hold to be one of the moſt convincing and obvious with which we are acquainted. *Deccan*, which is applied generally to the whole of the great Indian peninſula, is a Sanſcrit word, ſignifying *South*. The word *India*, which the Greeks derived from *Hinduſtan*, was uſed by them as a general name for that immenſe tract of country that lies between Perſia and China, the mountains of Tartary, and the ſouthern ocean:* And in modern Europe, India has been underſtood to compriſe all the different countries which theſe extenſive limits ſurround, beſides Ceylon, and the iſlands of the eaſtern Archipelago. We ſhall, therefore, uſe the term INDIA on the ſame enlarged ſcale, in order to be the more conciſe; although, in ſtrict accuracy, it can only be applied to the ancient empire, the boundaries of which we have deſcribed, and which we ſhall uniformly diſtinguiſh by the name of HINDUSTAN.

Whether the primeval inhabitants of this country migrated from Perſia†, or were natives of the ſoil, is a queſtion which has given riſe to much learned and ingenious diſcuſſion. But the various arguments which have been employed upon it, ſerve rather to amuſe the fancy than to ſatisfy the underſtanding. Inquiries into the origin of nations of remote antiquity, though they may furniſh curioſity with entertainment, are in effect detrimental to the growth of rational knowledge, by deluding with ſpecious theories the common ſenſe of mankind. On this ſubject, when facts cannot poſſibly be obtained, it is more in the ſpirit of true philoſophy, as well as more conſonant to the ſober dignity of hiſtory, to adopt the current opinion of ages, if it be ſupported by probable circumſtances, than to uphold by elaborate reaſoning the moſt plauſible conjecture, in which there is, at leaſt, an equal chance of being wrong, without any well-founded hope of ever arriving at the truth. We therefore concur in the received opinion, that the Hindû race were the aboriginal inhabitants of Hinduſtan; becauſe, to uſe the language of an accurate hiſtorian‡, "they have no reſemblance either in their figures or manners with any of the nations which are contiguous to them;" and becauſe they have poſſeſſed this diſtinct character from the earlieſt periods of authentic hiſtory.

The deſcription given of the Hindûs by Megaſthenes§, two thouſand years ago, correſponds, in every material part, with all the accurate accounts which have been written of them, from that memorable epoch in their hiſtory until the preſent time. That delicacy of corporal frame and urbanity of manners, that intelligence of countenance and ſubtlety of underſtanding

* *Vide* Strabo, Ptolemy, Arrian, and Diod. Sic.

† The late Sir WILLIAM JONES, whoſe name can never be mentioned but with the moſt profound veneration, but with whom, on this ſubject, we preſume to differ, was decidedly of opinion that Hinduſtan was peopled from *Irân* or *Perſia*: And in his ingenious diſcourſe *On the Origin of Families and Nations*, he indulges in the hypotheſis, that Perſia was the fruitful mother of all the nations of the earth!—See *Aſiatic Reſearches*, Vol. III.

‡ Mr. ORME.

§ Megaſthenes was the Grecian ambaſſador ſent by Seleucus to Sandracottos, king of *Prâchi*, the ancient name given to that part of Hinduſtan which compriſes the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and part of Oude. He reſided a conſiderable time at Pâliputra, the metropolis of that kingdom; and the journal of his embaſſy fell into the hands of Arrian, who has preſerved the ſubſtance of it in his Hiſtory of India.

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ſtanding, and that reverence for their cuſtoms, religion and laws, which have been remarked by the Grecian hiſtorians, ſtill diſtinguiſh this extraordinary people. Interdicted by the rigid ordinances of their faith, under pain of entailing perpetual infamy on themſelves and their families, from intermarrying with foreign nations, they have preſerved inviolate the purity of their origin. Mahommedan fanaticiſm ſpent its rage on their inflexible firmneſs. Their conquerors enſlaved their perſons, but could not wholly ſubdue their minds: neither the hope of reward, nor the dread of puniſhment, could induce them to abandon the immemorial uſages of their anceſtors, which the great author of their religion had ſanctified, and enjoined them to obſerve. The example of a voluptuous people did not debauch their principles;—the oppreſſion of an unrelenting tyranny did not bend their reſolution: And the Hindû race, after having withſtood many hard ſeaſons of perſecution, now enjoy, under the protection of Britain, the ſame mixed ſyſtem of theology and juriſprudence which had rendered them a highly civilized people long before the nations of Europe had emerged from the groſſeſt barbariſm.

At what period in the hiſtory of the world this ſyſtem was promulgated among them, it is extremely difficult to determine. Their own accounts of its antiquity are ſo enveloped in allegorical myſteries, that they cannot ſafely be truſted. But, from a particular inveſtigation* of this curious ſubject, it appears highly probable that the INSTITUTES OF MENU, which are a compendium of the religious and civil duties of the Hindûs, were written about 900 years before the Chriſtian æra; that the Vèdas, which are the Hindû ſcriptures, were compoſed 300 years before theſe Inſtitutes; and that the ancient ſages of Hinduſtan had preached the doctrines of the Vèdas for ſome centuries antecedent to their being committed to writing. It is indeed perfectly evident, that a moral ſyſtem of ſuch wonderful complexity, and holding ſuch an abſolute ſway over the minds of its votaries, could alone have been reared by the accumulated wiſdom of ages. Its religious principles might originally have been introduced into India, by ſome great legiſlators, in the early dawn of knowledge and arts; but the civil inſtitutions which have been engrafted on thoſe principles by the ingenuity of human invention, muſt have grown according to circumſtances, and flouriſhed through the influence of time.

The genuine principles of the Hindû religion inculcate the moſt ſublime notions—though its rites are debaſed with idolatry and ſuperſtition. Theſe principles teach, that the univerſe is governed by one ſupreme and intelligent Ruler, whoſe divine eſſence pervades the whole circle of nature, gives motion to the luminaries of the ſky, and vivifies the animal creation; that the ſoul, after death, reaſcends to the immortal ſpirit of God, and that the body returns to duſt; that he who diſtinguiſhes himſelf in this world by pious and charitable actions, ſhall attain immortality; but that he who deſtroys the purity of his own ſoul, ſhall dwell, for a certain time, with evil ſpirits in the regions which utter darkneſs involves, and that, after he has received the puniſh-

* See Sir WILLIAM JONES's *Preface to the Inſtitutes of Menu.*

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ment due to his crimes, his ſpirit ſhall be ſent back to this world, to inhabit the bodies of beaſts.

This doctrine was rigidly adhered to by the philoſophers of ancient Hinduſtan, and it forms the creed of the learned Brahmans of the preſent day; but prieſtcraft and ignorance have introduced into the popular belief a multitude of abſurdities.

The Hindûs of every deſcription, however, implicitly believe that there is an inviſible Deity, who rules over all things; that the human ſpirit is immortal: and that there is a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, which conſiſts in the tranſmigration of the ſoul, after death, into different bodies, according to the guilt or innocence of thoſe whom they had previouſly animated. In the Vèdas, one God only is acknowledged, who is called BRAHMA, or the Great One. He is declared to be a being without ſhape, whoſe eſſence is incomprehenſible, and who muſt therefore be worſhipped through ſymbolical repreſentations of his divine attributes. The triple divinity of Viſhnû, Brahmà, and Shiva, which are expreſſed by the myſtical word OM, are ſaid to be emblems of the creative, preſervative and deſtructive powers of the Almighty; and it is ordained that adoration ſhall be offered up to him before images of theſe powers, as well as of all the other qualities of the divine nature. Hence aroſe that ſyſtem of polytheiſm, which an artful prieſthood, working upon the fears of a ſimple people, ſo permanently eſtabliſhed throughout the nations of India: and hence, too, in conjunction with the fancies of poetry, ſprung that brood of prepoſterous fables which ſo much learning and ability have been employed to explain.

The Hindû mythology, in many particulars, bears ſo ſtriking an affinity to thoſe extravagant but beautiful fictions which the genius of Greece and Rome bequeathed to the admiration of the world, that there is every probability of their having proceeded from the ſame ſource.* And thoſe very deities whom we read of with rapture in the divine pages of Homer, may perhaps be found among the idols of Indian ſuperſtition.

It is not within the province of an hiſtorical view, to give an account of that ſtupendous fabric of ſuperſtition, and of the various images with which it is adorned; but, under another head of this publication, in the progreſs of our annual labours, it may be amuſing to deſcribe them.

The Hindû people have been immemorially divided into four diſtinct claſſes, or orders, each of which poſſeſſes its peculiar immunities and laws; but, under certain reſtrictions, they are permitted to intermarry†. Theſe claſſes are denominated the *Brahmana*, the *Cſhatriya*, the *Vaiſya*, and the *Sùdra*.

The duty of the *Brahmana*, or the

* See Sir WILLIAM JONES's Diſcourſe on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India; *Aſiatic Reſearches*. Vol. I.

† 12 "For the firſt marriage of the twice-born claſſes, a woman of the ſame claſs is recommended, but for ſuch as are impelled by inclination to marry again, women in the direct order of the claſſes are to be preferred:

13. "A *Sùdra* woman only muſt be the wife of a *Sudra*; ſhe, and a *Vaiſya*, of a *Vaiſya*; they two, and a *Cſhatriya*, of a *Cſhatriya*; thoſe two, and a *Brahmana*, of a *Brahman*.

14. "A woman of the ſervile claſs is not mentioned, even in the recital of any ancient ſtory, as the wife of a *Brahman* or a *Cſhatriya*, though in the greateſt difficulty to find a ſuitable match."—*Inſtitutes of Menu, on Marriage.*

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the ſacerdotal claſs, and the higheſt in rank, is to aſſiſt at the performance of divine worſhip, to teach the Vèda, and to expound the laws. The province of the *Cſhatriya*, is the government of all ſtate affairs, both civil and military, and the adminiſtration of juſtice: to this claſs, therefore, kings, princes and ſoldiers belong. Agriculture and commerce form the occupations of the *Vaiſya*: And on the *Sùdra* devolve the menial attendance on the higher claſſes, and all the other lower offices of life. Beſides theſe four primitive claſſes, there are upwards of an hundred others, called mixed claſſes, which have ſprung from the intermarriages of the four firſt, but which are all included under the general name of *Sùdra*. To each of the mixed claſſes there is aſſigned a particular trade: but they have the privilege of following that profeſſion from which they derive their origin on the mother's ſide; and they are likewiſe permitted to gain a ſubſiſtance by agriculture, by commerce, by handicrafts, or by menial ſervice. The loweſt of the ſubordinate claſſes is the *Chandala*, whoſe buſineſs conſiſts ſolely in executing the moſt abject duties for the public ſervice.

It is declared in the Vèdas, that this diviſion of ſociety was ordained by God at the creation of the world, and that any violation of its radical principles would be attended with the greateſt miſery in this life, and with the moſt terrible puniſhment hereafter. This ordinance the Brahmans are inſtructed to engrave on the hearts of the people, and to call forth their reverence for it, by every means that can either engage their intereſts, or awaken their fears. So perfect a conviction of its truth and juſtice has, therefore, been eſtabliſhed throughout Hinduſtan, that even among the modern Hindûs, who have in ſome degree degenerated from the rigid virtue of their anceſtors, there are very few inſtances of any material deviation from the ſanctity of their caſts.*

* It has been erroneouſly imagined by ſome writers, that the preſent race of Hindûs have totally departed from the ſtrict rules by which the different caſts were originally enjoined to abide; becauſe, even Brahmans are now found in military and commercial capacities. But the truth is, that the Hindû law has providently provided againſt the evils, to which the poſitive neceſſity of following the occupations that have been allotted for each particular tribe might, in times of difficulty, give riſe. And it is therefore ordained, that a Brahmana unable to ſubſiſt by his duties, may live by the duties of a ſoldier: if he cannot get a ſubſiſtence by either of thoſe employments, he may apply to tillage and attendance on cattle, or gain a competence by traffic, avoiding certain commodities. A *Cſhatriya*, in diſtreſs, may ſubſiſt by all theſe means; but he muſt not have recourſe to the higheſt functions. In ſeaſons of diſtreſs, a further latitude is given: the practice of medicine and other learned profeſſions, painting and other arts, work for wages, menial ſervice, alms and uſury, are among the modes of ſubſiſtence allowed both to the *Brahmana* and *Cſhatriya*. A *Vaiſya*, unable to ſubſiſt by his own duties, may deſcend to the ſervile acts of a *Sùdra*: And a *Sùdra*, not finding employment by waiting on men of the higher claſſes, may ſubſiſt by handicrafts; principally following theſe mechanical occupations, as joinery and maſonry; and practical arts, as painting and writing; by following which, he may ſerve men of ſuperior claſſes: and although a man of a lower claſs is in general reſtricted from the acts of a higher claſs, the *Sùdra* is expreſsly permitted to become a trader or a huſbandman.

Hence it appears, that almoſt every other occupation, though regularly it be the profeſſion of a particular claſs is open to moſt other claſſes; and that the limitations, far from being rigorous, do in fact reſerve only one peculiar profeſſion—that of the Brahmana, which conſiſts in teaching the Vèda, and officiating

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The elevation of the prieſthood above all other orders of men, has greatly contributed to the ſtrength, durability and ſplendour of the Hindû ſyſtem, as it enabled them to keep alive the prejudices, without inflaming the paſſions, of the people. Religion has naturally a powerful influence over the human mind; and the ancient lawgivers of Hinduſtân ſucceſsfully employed that influence, at once to fortify and embelliſh their doctrines. With this view, theology was not only interwoven with the whole code of civil and criminal law, but was alſo mingled with the very habits, and made to ſanction the minuteſt actions of life: And in order to preſerve and perpetuate the paramount aſcendency of religion, its ordinances were written in a language which the lower orders of the people, under the ſevereſt penalties, were expreſsly prohibited from learning; its miniſters were endowed with more than mortal privileges, and the prieſtly office was rendered hereditary. Yet this extraordinary pre-eminence and extenſive ſway has not infuſed into the Brahmanical hierarchy any thing of that preſumptuous pedantry and intolerant pride which religious denomination has too frequently engendered. The Brahmans merit diſtinction, as much for their modeſty and mildneſs in the maintenance of their own theological opinions, and their liberality in the toleration of thoſe of others, as for the unexampled firmneſs and conſtancy with which they have adhered to their faith.

They are expreſsly forbidden, in the ſacred writings, to admit converts to their religion; and are at the ſame time exhorted, in a ſtrain of the moſt ſublime eloquence, to be hoſpitable and benevolent to ſtrangers as well as to friends, and to look up with reverence to all the various forms of worſhip which the Almighty, for various but inſcrutable purpoſes, hath allotted to the different races of man*. This exalted exhortation, which is ſo eminently calculated to call up, in the human heart, all thoſe ſentiments that mould and ſoften the paſſions, has not, however, availed to produce, throughout the great body of the Hindû people, ſuch benignant and wholeſome effects: For, though their general character partake of the mild ſpirit and philanthropic maxims of their religious ſyſtem, and though their manners be juſtly diſtinguiſhed for ſuavity and politeneſs, it muſt not be forgotten, that, at one period of their hiſtory, their altars were ſtained with human ſacrifices†, and that, in the preſent day, there are ſome practices too prevalent among them, which manifeſt the utmoſt violence of temper, and even betray ſtrong ſymptoms of a vindictive and ſanguinary diſpoſition ‡.

The

at religious ceremonies —*See Mr.* COLEBROOKE'S *Paper on the Enumeration of the Indian Claſſes; Aſiatic Reſearches*, Vol. V.—On this ſubject the reader may likewiſe conſult *The Inſtitutes of Menu, and the Account of the Creation, prefixed to Mr.* HALHED'S *Tranſlation of the Hindu Code.*

* In the ancient empire of Hinduſtan, all religions were tolerated; and the modern Hindûs act upon the ſame liberal principles. In Poonah, the metropolis of the Mahratta ſtates, and at preſent under the government of Brahmans, there are ſeveral Mahommedan moſques, and one Chriſtian church.

† See Sir WILLIAM JONES's Diſcourſe on the Gods of Greece, Italy and India: *Aſiatic Reſearches*, Vol. I.;— and the *Heeto-pades* of Mr. WILKINS.

‡ See a very curious and intereſting paper on this ſubject by Lord TEIGNMOUTH, *Aſiatic Reſearches*, Vol. IV.; in which ſome extraordinary inſtances are adduced, wherein Brahmans themſelves, ſtimulated by avarice, have committed acts of the moſt atrocious cruelty, and aggravated their guilt by endeavouring to cover it

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The laws of the Hindûs are intimately blended with their religion. They believe them to have been promulgated by Menu, the ſon of Brahma, and to have received the ſanction of God. The ſtrict obſervance of them is therefore enjoined as a religious duty, and the ſmalleſt breach of them is deemed a glaring impiety. No human power is authoriſed to alter, much leſs to annul them: and if, in the opinion of the moſt learned of the Brahmans, any additional regulations ſhould appear eſſentially requiſite, they are required to prepare them with the moſt ſcrupulous caution, and and after the fulleſt and moſt mature conſideration.

Though theſe laws be not founded on the broad principles of general equity, they are, upon the whole, admirably adapted to the peculiar genius of the people for whom they were deſigned, which is in truth the perfection of all laws. In order to ſupport their artificial diviſion of ſociety, it was indiſpenſable in the legiſlators of Hinduſtan to give to each claſs its appropriate privileges; and conſequently to introduce into their penal code a variety of different puniſhments for the ſame offence, which were to be awarded according to the rank and condition of the criminal: So that a crime, for which a Sùdra muſt forfeit his life, is, in a Brahman, only puniſhed with a ſlight pecuniary amercement. Yet at this inequality in the laws the people do not repine; though a ſuffering Sùdra may occaſionally expreſs a wiſh that he had been born in a more elevated order.

The inſtitutions of property and marriage, which are the bonds of ſocial union, and the foundation of civil ſociety, are, by the Hindû law, ſtrongly fortified and vigilantly guarded. Perſonal rights are defined with the utmoſt clearneſs and preciſion, and the general ſafety is ſecured by wiſe and ample proviſions. Marriage is declared to be the indiſpenſable duty of all men; parents are therefore enjoined to enforce that duty on their children, by contracting them in marriage before the age of puberty. Polygamy is allowed; but in this particular the manners correct the law, and advantage is very rarely taken of that indulgence. The indubitable virginity of the bride is an indiſpenſable preliminary to the matrimonial union;—and conjugal infidelity on the part of the wife, is, in ſome caſts, puniſhed with death; in others, with the moſt rigorous penalties. Conſtancy in the huſband is ſtrongly recommended; but for his violation of the marriage bed there is no puniſhment preſcribed, unleſs the adultery be committed with a woman of a ſupérior caſt, in which caſe he is put to death. Men are, however, bound by a very forcible tie to preſerve the purity of the nuptial engagement: the offspring of adulterers are branded from their birth, with the indelible ſtigma of public diſgrace *.

it with the ſacred ſanction of religion and law. It has alſo been fully ſubſtantiated, that a race of Hindûs, called Rajikoomars, who inhabit the frontiers of Juanpore, not far diſtant from Benares, the hallowed ſeat of their religion and learning, practice the dreadful cuſtom of ſtarving their female children, in order to ſave the expence that would neceſſarily attend their marriages when grown up. Practices ſo repugnant to humanity ſeem, at firſt ſight, difficult to reconcile with the idea of a civilized people; but a cloſer examination of the ſubject will ſhew, that theſe ſhocking barbarities are the natural offspring of polytheiſm, and are nouriſhed in the boſom of ſuperſtition. Even in the poliſhed nations of ancient Europe, the moſt enormous outrages were committed on the feelings of humanity.

* See *the Inſtitutes of Menu*, by Sir WILLIAM JONES.

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In all these particulars, the sentiments of the people correspond with the laws: And the rigid notions of female chastity which have thereby been acquired, gave rise to the extraordinary and dreadful custom of women burning themselves with their deceased husbands, which has naturally excited so much astonishment and horror in the minds of all Europeans who have seen the awful ceremony. The law recommends, but does not enforce the practice: Yet the observance of it is considered a religious duty, as well as an infallible proof of the most exalted virtue: it has therefore prevailed, in a greater or less degree, among the higher orders, in all ages; and notwithstanding the marked discouragement it has received from the British government, we know, from positive evidence, that it still exists in many parts of Hindustan.

The Hindû laws regulate and secure all property by the rights of inheritance; and these are laid down with the greatest exactness, and established with the most binding force. No man can alienate his estate, whatever may be the particular species of property in which it is vested, or even make any partial distribution of it in behalf of a favourite child. He must divide it among his children; and, failing of them, among his relations in the next degree of affinity, according to the allotment prescribed by law; except such effects as he may have obtained by his good fortune in war, by his industry in the arts of peace, or by the bequests of his parents or friends who shall have acquired property in any of these ways: all such effects are indivisible, and may be disposed of as the will of the possessor shall direct. Sons can demand their portion of the patrimonial estate during their father's life-time; and parents cannot, under any circumstances, except loss of cast and deprivation of honour, refuse to grant it. The property of women is defined and regulated by distinct and appropriate laws, but upon the same general principles: whatever money or jewels a woman may receive from her parents or husband, shall, at her death, belong, by right of inheritance, to her unmarried daughters; and, failing of them, to her sons, whether *they* be married or not.

All land in ancient Hindustan was the *absolute property* of the sovereign. It was portioned out in small allotments to the ryots, or husbandmen, who held their farms directly from the prince, by perpetual hereditary tenures. The value of one-sixth part of the produce of the soil was paid by the husbandmen to the sovereign, as rent. This rent constituted the revenues of the state; it was collected by particular officers called *choudries*, and by them it was paid to government *.—These choudries belonged to the class of husbandmen; they were appointed by the sovereign, and received from him a regular salary; besides which, they were entitled to fees of office and other perquisites from the ryots on the payment of their rent. Thus it appears, that in the ancient kingdoms of Hindustan, the whole of the landed property belonged to the sovereign; and that though the husbandmen, by immemorial usage, held their farms in perpetuity, yet the sovereign was by law authorised to dispossess any farmer who failed in the regular payment of his rent, and to let his farm to another. Whether the husbandman received

* On this subject, consult Mr. JAMES GRANT's Treatise on *Zemindary Tenures*; and a late publication by Mr. ROBERT PATON, on the *Principles of the Asiatic Monarchies*.

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received written leaſes of the land he poſſeſſed from the ſovereign, we have not hitherto been able to diſcover; but it would ſeem they did not, as in the modern Hindû ſtates, in which ſimilar cuſtoms prevail, the ryots hold their lands by preſcription only. With regard to abſolute grants of land, the only documents which have yet been found, are two grants (written in the Sanſcrit language) of the *abſolute proprietary right* of certain portions of land which were beſtowed by the ſovereign on two learned Brahmans, for religious and literary purpoſes*.

To give efficacy to theſe rules and ordinances, courts of law were eſtabliſhed throughout the empire, in which all judicial proceedings were conducted with the moſt perfect order and regularity. The ſtricteſt attention was paid to the examination of evidence: both the plaintiff and defendant were allowed to employ counſel; and the judges never paſſed ſentence without previouſly conſulting a learned Brahman, who, for that purpoſe, was directed to attend all civil as well as criminal trials.

The civil governments of the ancient ſtates of Hinduſtan, although abſolute monarchies, were yet confined in the exerciſe of their functions to the juſt limits of thoſe laws which, from an implicit belief in their divine origin, it was accounted ſacrilege to tranſgreſs. The Hindu princes were, by their religion, equally bound to obey the laws themſelves, to cauſe them to be duly adminiſtered, and to enforce a ſtrict obedience to them among their ſubjects. Under the immediate control of a religion, whoſe miniſters were not only born in a higher order of the community, but were inveſted with greater immunities than themſelves, theſe princes were reſtrained in their ambition, and temperance and moderation formed the diſtinctive features of their character. There are undoubtedly particular exceptions, in ancient as well as modern hiſtory, to this general deſcription of the Hindû governments: but, to uſe the language of an illuſtrious writer, "the princes of Hinduſtan never had, nor *pretended* to have, an *unlimited* legiſlative authority, but were always under the control of laws believed to be divine, with which they never claimed any power of diſpenſing†." Yet the Hindûs had not the moſt remote idea of political liberty; for thoſe proud feelings and generous ſentiments, out of which it grows, never warmed or agitated their cold and tranquil boſoms. The influence of the climate, conjoined with the deſpotiſm of prieſtcraft and ſuperſtition, unfitted their minds for the reception of thoſe maſculine virtues which dignify our nature, while they cheriſhed the mean vices of avarice and ſlavery. Their knowledge of the arts of civil life, and their acquirements in literature and ſcience, though they rendered them an ingenious, intelligent, poliſhed and induſtrious people, yet did not infuſe into their diſpoſition that ſpirit of independence, without which commerce never fails to raiſe the ſelfiſh paſſions in proportion as it accumulates wealth, and even learning itſelf fruſtrates thoſe beneficent purpoſes which it is deſigned to promote. Thus the advancement of trade among the Hindûs foſtered that knavery and cunning which they practiſe in all their mercantile tranſactions; and the literature of the Brahmans, while it enriched their country with many noble productions in effect contributed to rivet the

* See the *Aſiatic Reſearches*, Vol. II.

† Sir WILLIAM JONES's *Preface* to the *Al Sirajiyyah*.

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the chains of superstition, which were originally forged to fasten the people in a total ignorance of those principles and opinions that teach mankind to prize the blessings of freedom.

Nevertheless, this peaceful race seem to have enjoyed, under their ancient governments, no small degree of contentment and happiness. Of this the progress which they had made in the abstract sciences, as well as in many of the useful and elegant arts, is a sufficient proof. It is only in that state of prosperity and ease which results from the mutual confidence of a people and their rulers, that so much knowledge and refinement can be acquired.

But neither their religion nor their philosophy had taught them to question the justice of making a traffic of their own species, and of subjecting several millions of their fellow-countrymen to the most degrading bondage. Slavery was authorised by law; and the purchase, sale and enfranchisement of slaves, were regulated by particular modes and ordinances. This miserable body of men did not form a separate order in the community; they were taken without distinction from all the classes but the Brahmans, and were considered as a necessary part of the domestic establishment of every man who could afford to procure and retain them; and in the household of princes and nobles, the captives taken in honourable war were doomed to ignominious servitude.

As the greatest evils may, under peculiar circumstances, be converted into benefits, so the Hindû slaves were rendered serviceable in time of war, by expeditiously recruiting the ranks of the army on any critical emergency, or after an unexpected loss: For the military establishment of the empire was not, like the institutions of its civil polity, reduced to a systematic arrangement. The Hindûs are indeed deservedly renowned in Asiatic story, for courage and perseverance; but they have always been more of a pacific than a warlike people. The art of war was among the few arts which they neglected to cultivate; and their victories which are recorded in history, were obtained by their valour rather than their skill.

Their ingenuity, however, furnished them with some destructive weapons, which appears to have disconcerted the intrepid warriors of Greece. They had known the use of gunpowder and fire-arms many centuries before the invasion of Alexander, and they successfully employed them as instruments of vengeance against that formidable conqueror. Their walled towns were defended both with wooden and iron cannon, though of a very rude and mishapen kind; and the rockets, which are thrown with so much dexterity and effect in the present day, are those very engines of war that shook the firmness of the Macedonian phalanx, on the banks of the Hyphasis, and that Philostratus calls the thunder and lightning of the gods. Bĕĕshŏŏkermā, a celebrated artist, is supposed to have been the inventor of fire-arms.

But ancient Hindustan more particularly claims attention, as the tranquil seat of literature and commerce, whence Europe was destined to receive much of her knowledge, and many of her refinements. The wisdom of the east is celebrated in sacred history;* and its wealth seems in all ages to have excited the envy, and inflamed the

* Kings—Ezekiel.

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the cupidity of the weſtern world. Its coſtly commodities were ſought after with the utmoſt eagerneſs at the annual fairs of Babylon and of Tyre. Among the voluptuous throng which flocked to thoſe renowned marts, the various productions of the ingenious workmanſhip of the Hindûs, but eſpecially the delicate and beautiful manufactures of their looms, found an ample and a rapid ſale. By the aid of the camel, whom the Arabs emphatically call the ſhip of the deſert, the Perſians were enabled to carry on, with the northern provinces of Hinduſtan, a regular intercourſe and an extenſive trade; and the ſpirit of enterpriſe which invigorated the induſtry of the Phenicians, firſt opened the navigation between the Red Sea and the ſhores of Guzerat and Malabar. Through theſe channels the opulence of the eaſt flowed in upon Egypt and Greece, from the ſame exhauſtleſs fountains that now ſupply the vaſt ſtream of commerce which ſpreads riches and luxury over modern Europe.

Thus a knowledge of all the elaborate and curious arts in which the Hindûs excel, was communicated to the Egyptian and Grecian people: and, without attempting to decide the queſtion, whether Egypt or Hinduſtan had made the firſt advances in civilization? it may be affirmed, as an undoubted truth, that they derived reciprocal benefit and aſſiſtance in their progreſs, from the commercial intercourſe which immemorially ſubſiſted between them. This truth, the legendary poems that are preſerved in the Sanſcrit language, together with the ſimilitude between many of the Hindû and Egyptian cuſtoms, not to mention the general affinity of their mythological ſyſtems, very ſatisfactorily atteſt.*

What advantage the literary genius of Athens may, through this means, have obtained from the learning of the Brahmans, it is difficult to determine: but there is no doubt that the principles of the Pythagorean philoſophy, as well as thoſe of the ethics of Ariſtotle, were inculcated with pious ardour on the banks of the Ganges, when the claſſic ground of Attica was yet inhabited by the Palaſgic hordes. At that period, the Brahmans had obtained conſiderable proficiency in aſtronomical ſcience, and their favourite ſtudies, of metaphyſics and logic, were publicly taught in the philoſophical ſchools of Hinduſtan. In the ſimplicity and perfection of their arithmetical operations, they ſurpaſſed all the world; and the common numerals now univerſally uſed in Europe, were invented by them.† Nor were they leſs ſkilful in geometry, though they did not apply its principles to the purpoſes of life, as their ignorance of mechanics too clearly teſtifies. With phyſiology, and all its ſubordinate ſciences, they had a very ſlight acquaintance; and conſequently their knowledge of phyſic was extremely limited and imperfect. In the cure of diſeaſes, like the Hindû empirics of the preſent day, their ſole guide was experience; and in complaints that required ſurgical aſſiſtance, they truſted to time and nature. Notwithſtanding their knowledge of the heavenly bodies, and the abilities

* On this curious ſubject, ſee Mr WILFORD's moſt learned and ingenious Diſſertation on Egypt and the Nile, from the ancient books of the Hindûs—*Aſiatic Reſearches*, Vol. III.; in which the profundity of his knowledge is no leſs conſpicuous, than that modeſty which diſtinguiſhes his character.

† The Arabs received this method of notation from the Hindûs, which the Saracens introduced into Europe after their conqueſt of Spain.

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ties they displayed in calculating eclipses, their notions of geography were altogether confused and absurd; and of navigation, as well as of the arts that are connected with it, they were no less ignorant.

Yet, if the attainments of the Hindûs in the severer sciences were imperfect and confined, their numerous productions in those arts which solace and embellish life, shew the splendour, if not the elegance, of literary talents. The scope and opulence of their imaginations enabled them to clothe their sentiments by turns, in the rich attire of poetry, or in the measured diction of eloquence: and though their poetical compositions be greatly deficient in that simple but beautiful imagery which both illustrates and adorns, and which forms the distinguishing feature of true poetry, they must nevertheless be allowed to possess a considerable portion both of fancy and fire. That vein of enthusiastic piety which runs through the whole of the Hindû literature, and which, too frequently, leads the best writers into a strain of the wildest imagery, tended much to enfeeble their judgment, and to render them unsusceptible of all critical taste; for, in the most highly finished Sanscrit works which have yet been brought to light, there is nothing of that chaste and harmonious order which results from the cultivation of philology and criticism, and which the general taste of polished nations has considered as essential to the spirit and beauty of all literary compositions. The Brahmans, however, did not neglect the grammatical structure of their copious and energetic language, the several idioms of which they have adjusted and refined by a full and perspicuous syntax, and by a prosody that comprises "almost all the measures of the Greeks."* Such is the nature of the Sanscrit language, from which all the various dialects of India were originally derived, which is now spoken only by a few learned Pândits †, but in which all the science and learning of the Brahmans exist. The vigour and melody of this language have enabled the Hindû poets, both to soar in epic, and to warble in lyric numbers; both to kindle the mind with the ardour of heroism, and to melt it with the tenderness of love. Hence their dramatic poetry is full of the most animated and pathetic touches, although these be sometimes encumbered with ornaments, and generally surrounded with a multitude of deformities: but those performances are not to be measured by any standard of dramatic excellence with which we are acquainted; they can only be considered by us as tedious dialogues, occasionally sparkling with genius, but for the most part tame and verbose, for they are altogether destitute of the unities of action and time. The drama of Sacontala, which has been translated into English, certainly contains many scenes that shew a simplicity and refinement rarely met with in the productions of Asiatic writers: and the whole performance exhibits the most faithful picture which has yet been presented to the public, of the sentiments, the manners, the habits and the polite amusements of the ancient Hindûs. This play was written by Calidas, the most celebrated of the Hindû dramatists, and is esteemed one of the best of his numerous compositions.

Theatrical representations were always among the favourite entertainments

* See Sir William Jones, on Hindû Literature; *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I.
† Doctors of Science and Expounders of the Law.

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tainments of the Hindûs. They were supported by the bounty of the foreign, and encouraged by the applause of the people; and if the actors attained not much excellence in the histrionic art, it is to be attributed to a deficiency in taste, rather than in talents. They were not unaided by the congenial arts of painting and music; for the theatres were decorated with splended scenery, and enlivened with musical airs.

Painting, indeed, had never reached any degree of perfection in Hindustan. The artists had no idea of perspective, and knew not how to animate the canvas with the delightful illusion of light and shade.

In music, the Hindûs had made greater advances. They seem to have cultivated that divine art with a zeal correspondent to the feelings it inspires: many of their most celebrated authors have written ingenious treatises on the theory of harmonical sounds; and though their knowledge of the elementary principles of music be extremely imperfect, yet the fervour with which they express themselves on the subject evinces, that if they wanted the philosophy to illustrate, they at least possessed the sensibility to feel, the charms of harmony. But in the practice of music, if we are to judge from the compositions which are extant, and which, the Pandits inform us, are the productions of their most distinguished musicians, we must entertain a very mean opinion both of their taste and skill in harmonic tones. And as to the modern Hindûs, though they be susceptible, in common with all mankind, of that succession of agreeable sounds which is called melody, and though their songs and glees be grateful to themselves, yet are they in reality so discordant, and, to the ears of an European, so harsh, that they produce, in his mind, the most painful and disgusting sensations.

Architecture and Sculpture from their being rendered subservient to the purposes of religion, naturally rose to a higher degree of excellence in Hindustan, than any of the other polite arts. The whole empire was every-where adorned with magnificent pagodas, or temples, erected to the honour of Brahma and dedicated to public worship; and, in order to command the reverence and to warm the piety of the people, the walls of these hallowed edifices were decorated with various images of the gods, hieroglyphic emblems of sacred things, and sculptured representations of events in history. Many of these, together with other public buildings, are still standing; and, in point of style, we trace in all of them a most exact resemblance both of the Saxon and Gothic architecture of our ancient churches in England *.

The most considerable of the Hindû temples is the pagoda of JAGERNAUT, situated on the coast of Orissa, about one hundred miles to the northward of the British settlement of Ganjam. To this renowned sanctuary, Hindûs of all casts, and from all parts of the country, perform annual pilgrimages; and within its sacred precincts, the most perfect equality is observed: there, all the various sects of the Brahmanical religion, laying aside their distinctions, eat and drink promiscuously together, and offer up their prayers and thanksgivings to the only true God.

But this pagoda is not so much distinguished for its architecture, as many others of less note, which sometimes gratify the taste with a boldness of design, but too often disgust

* An examination of Mr. Daniel's incomparable Views of several Hindû Buildings, will afford complete satisfaction on this point.--See DANIEL's *Views in Hindostan*.

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diſguſt it with a profuſion of ornaments. The inſcriptions on the walls of ſome of theſe ancient fabrics, are unintelligible to the preſent race of Brahmans; and few of them have yet been ſatisfactorily deciphered. They are, however, ſuppoſed to allude to ſome ſignal occurrences in civil hiſtory; and, on that account excite an intereſt to which they would otherwiſe have little claim. For hiſtory is a branch of literature which the Hindûs have altogether neglected: we have no certain knowledge that they ever poſſeſſed any regular narration of the events, much leſs any well-atteſted annals of their country *; and it is therefore in their heroic poems and moral legends that we muſt look for hiſtorical records, and in their myſtic aſtronomy for chronological facts.

In the Puranas †, we find an account of the *Creation* and the *Flood*, which, when ſeparated from the ridiculous fables that are interwoven with it, is, in ſubſtance, nearly conformable to the tenor of the firſt book of Moſes ‡. The Hindû account ſuppoſes that the *firſt Menu* was the great progenitor of the human race; that the earth was peopled with his deſcendants, who, after a long period of time, became ſo corrupt, that God, offended at their enormous wickedneſs, cauſed all creatures to be deſtroyed by an univerſal deluge, ſave only the *ſeventh Menu*, who, together with ſeveral wiſe men and their wives, and pairs of all animals, were preſerved in a miraculous *ark*. According to the deductions which we have made from the calculations of Maya and Paraſara, the two moſt celebrated of the Indian aſtronomers, this event took place about the year of the world 1803, which, by the Newtonian chronology, is 147 years ſubſequent to the diluvian æra. The Hindûs divide their chronological hiſtory of the world into four ages, the laſt of which appears to us to have commenced at the general deluge §. During theſe four ages, it is ſuppoſed that the Deity deſcended nine times in different forms, in order to fortify the virtues and puniſh the vices of man; and he is yet expected to deſcend a tenth time ‖, when the errors of our frail mortality ſhall again render his preſence neceſſary.

But theſe fictions would little deſerve our notice, did they not throw ſome faint light on the dark ages of Indian hiſtory, from being intimately blended with many of thoſe writings that contain the greateſt part of the information we poſſeſs, reſpecting the different kingdoms of which the ancient empire was compoſed.

Previous to the æra of Alexander's invaſion, the empire of Hinduſtan,

* The ancient Caſhmirians are *ſaid* to have written *regular hiſtories* of their own nation, in the Sanſcrit language; but we ſtrongly ſuſpect that theſe productions are nothing more than poetical narrations of ſome ſplended incidents in the lives of particular heroes, or kings.

† The Puranas are the ancient books of the Hindûs, which treat of the creation, and of the genealogy of their gods and heroes.

‡ We ſtate this curious fact with a confidence that reſults from the fulleſt inveſtigation of the ſubject

§ Upon this ſubject there will always be a variety of opinions, as there is no hope of the truth ever being clearly aſcertained. But we agree with the ingenious Mr Bentley, that the *Cali-yug*, or the preſent age, is the true aſtronomical æra of the Hindûs. See Mr. Bentley's Remarks on the principle æras of the Ancient Hindus; *Aſiatic Reſearches*, Vol. V

‖ With reſpect to *Calci*, or the *Tenth Avatar*, very warm controverſies have ariſen among the Brahmans themſelves. The moſt learned aſtronomers are of opinion, that he made his deſcent in the third age; while, on the other hand, the moſt devout prieſts maintain that he has not yet appeared.

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duſtan is ſaid to have compriſed four rich and powerful kingdoms, together with many ſubordinate principalities. We are told in the Puranas, that the different ſovereignties of Hinduſtan, though virtually independent of each other, yet for ſeveral centuries acknowledged one ſupreme head in the ſovereign of the moſt potent of them, with whom they all confederated for their mutual defence againſt foreign aggreſſion, and under whoſe authority, in time of war, they conſented to act. It appears that *Pràchi**, or the Eaſt, which name was given (as we have already mentioned) to the modern provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and part of Oude, was at one period, the moſt diſtinguiſhed nation of Hinduſtan; but whether its king was conſidered as the ſupreme power in the empire, we have no ſatisfactory evidence to determine. *Bàliputra*, which is renowned in Grecian ſtory, was the metropolis of this kingdom. Various opinions have been given, and much diſcuſſion has in conſequence taken place, with reſpect to the actual ſite of this famous city. But we think Mr. WILFORD's elucidation of the matter deciſive on the queſtion. He informs us, that Bàliputra, which the Greeks called Palibothra, was ſituated in the vicinity of the modern town of Rajemhal; and that the whole confuſion regarding this city has ariſen from the ſimilarity of ſound between the names of the two diſtinct places, Bàliputra and Patàliputra. The laſt-mentioned place, which is the modern Patna, was the capital of ancient Magadha, or South Bahar; whereas Bàliputra was the ſeat of government in the great kingdom of Pràchi, and the ſame magnificent city which is deſcribed by Quintus Curtius and Arrian †.

The next kingdom to Pràchi, in point of opulence and ſtrength, was that which comprehended the whole of the great peninſula, from the river Kiſtnah, in the latitude of 16 degrees north, to Cape Comorin, and which, in ſubſequent ages was better known from the ſplendour and celebrity of its capital the city of Bijanagur ‡.

The third moſt conſiderable ſtate extended from the Gulph of Cambay to the mouths of the Ganges, and from the latitude of 22 to 17 north, including the provinces of Guzerat, Malwa, Candeeſh, Berar, and Dowlatabad, as they are laid down in Major Rennell's map: And the provinces of Lahore, Moultan, Delhi, and Ajimeer, formed the laſt, though not the leaſt powerful, of the ancient nations of Hinduſtàn. The different provinces of which each of theſe

* From Pràchi the Greeks corrupted it to Praſii, as they alſo did Gangara-deſa, the ancient name of Bengal, to Gangaridai.—*See Mr.* WILFORD's *Treatiſe on the Chronology of the Hindûs; Aſiatic Reſearches*, Vol. V.

† We have endeavoured to tranſfuſe into our context the ſpirit of Mr. Wilford's obſervations on this ſubject: but he mentions one material circumſtance more, which, notwithſtanding our narrow limits, we ſhall ſtate in his own words. "While the ſovereignty," ſays he, "of the kings of Magadha was exerciſed within the limits of their hereditary dominions, the ſeat of their government was Patàliputra, or Patna, but Garaſanda, one of the anceſtors of Chandra-gupta, having ſubdued the whole of Pràchi, as we read in the Puranas, fixed his reſidence at Bàliputra, and there he ſuffered a moſt cruel death from Kriſhna and Bala-Rama. Bala reſtored the ſon Sahadéva, to his hereditary dominions: and from that time the kings of Magadha, for twenty-four generations, reigned peaceably at Patna, until Nanda aſcended the throne who proving an active and interpriſing prince, ſubdued the whole of Pràchi, and having thus recovered the conqueſts that had been wreſted from his anceſtor, probably re-eſtabliſhed the ſeat of empire at Bàliputra: the hiſtorians of Alexander poſitively affirm that he did." *See Mr.* WILFORD's *Treatiſe on the Chronology of the Hindûs; Aſiatic Reſearches*, Vol. V.

‡ Bijanagur was ſituated on the river Tumbhudra, and Khondemir relates, that it was founded in the third century of the Hejirah.

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these kingdoms was composed, were governed by rajahs, or petty princes who had the sole management of their internal politics, but who were nevertheless tributary to their respective sovereigns, as well as responsible to them for all their public acts.

The northern states of Hindustan formed a confederacy; differing much in language and manners, but all influenced more or less by the same religion, laws and superstitious observances. This confederacy, however, was of short duration. The union of so many opposite interests, so widely diffused over a vast and fruitful region, contained in its own bosom a perpetual source of jealousy and discord. Hence dissentions arose among the different states, which, together with the wealth of the people, no less than their unwarlike character, invited the inroads of the Persians, and exposed them to the destructive eruptions of the fierce barbarians of Tibet.

Yet this connexion seems to have enabled the princes of the west to present an imposing front to the victorious arms of Alexander, and at once to excite his astonishment and admiration.* But their patriotic resistance, unaided by skill and discipline, was borne down by the martial ardour of the Greeks. All the eloquence of the Brahmans†, which, on this occasion, was nobly exerted to rouse the spirit of the people, and which called upon them with pious enthusiasm to rally round the standard of their religion, did not however avail to secure their independence. Alexander, after having subdued several small states on the banks of the Indus, passed the different rivers of the Panjab‡, attacked Porus, a powerful and valiant prince, who had collected a numerous army to oppose his march, obtained a decisive victory in spite of the gallant defence which was made, and crowned his success by the capture of that prince, together with some of his most distinguished generals§. But the mutiny which soon after broke out in the Macedonian camp, put a period to the brilliant career of Alexander, and compelled him to retire from Hindustan, leaving only some of his most experienced officers, with a small portion of his army, to keep possession of the conquered territory on the banks of the Indus. These officers, loaded with wealth and honours, soon lost that vigour by which they had acquired and could alone support them; and, forgetful of the glories they had won, as well as of those sentiments which feed and sustain the generous pride of the soldier, they gave way to every corruption and debauchery to which vice can stimulate the passions of men. Mutual animosities and intestine broils were the inevitable consequences of this shameless depravity: And the temperate and sagacious Hindûs, looking on with a mixture of surprise and satisfaction, neglected not to minister to the passions of their degenerate conquerors, as the

* *Vide* Arrian, Diod. Sic. Plutarch in Alexandro.

† In this particular the Hindû accounts corroborate the testimony of the Grecian writers.

‡ The Panjab, through which the celebrated rivers Hyd spes and Hyphases take their course, was the country of Porus, and the scene of Alexander's exploits in Hindustan. It is now inhabited by the Seiks, a sect of Hindûs, who have renounced the doctrines of the Vêdas, who live under the government of numerous chieftains, and who are alike distinguished for their rapacity and courage.

§ The generous clemency of Alexander, who subdued nations by his humanity, as much as by his valour, too, restored the royal captive to his liberty.

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the ſureſt, if not the ſpeedieſt means of effecting their deſtruction. The death of Alexander, which happened about this time*, together with the ſubſequent diviſion of his empire, greatly facilitated their views, and haſtened the downfal of the Grecian power in Hinduſtan: but its feeble remnants were finally reduced by the zeal and abilities of Chandra-gupta‡, king of Pràchi. This powerful prince, who was equally celebrated for his bravery and wiſdom, was the ſon of Nanda, king of Pràchi, of whom the Hindûs relate ſo many wonderful ſtories. Chandra-gupta aſcended the throne under the moſt inauſpicious and afflicting circumſtances. His father had been privately murdered in his old age by a faithleſs courier, who was urged, by ſome fancied injury, to the perpetration of the crime; and having left ſeveral ſons, the ſucceſſion to the kingdom was diſputed with that violence and rancour which are inſeparable from ſuch iniquitous contentions. At length a great majority of the nobles declared in favour of Chandra-gupta; and after a ſucceſsful though bloody conflict, in which many of his brothers fell a ſacrifice to their ambition, he took poſſeſſion of the throne.

The claim of Chandra-gupta was ſupported by ſome of the weſtern princes, who afforded him powerful ſuccours, both of their own troops, and of Greek ſoldiers whom they had bribed into their ſervice. Nor was he ungrateful for their aſſiſtance. He marched a formidable army to the banks of the Indus, in order to expel the Greeks from Hinduſtan, and to meet Seleucus, the Grecian prince, who, it was underſtood, was coming in great force to recover the valuable poſſeſſions he had loſt by the fraud and folly of his officers. The king of Pràchi, actuated by the nobleſt motives, puſhed forward with an energy worthy of his cauſe; and having reſtored the conquered provinces to their rightful maſters, offered battle to Seleucus, which that prince, though flushed with recent victories, thought it prudent to decline. And Chandra-gupta, whoſe moderation kept pace with his ſucceſs, reſted ſatisfied with the attainment of his original object, or at leaſt preferred an honourable peace to the doubtful iſſue of a combat, in which he had little to gain but perſonal renown, and every thing to loſe that was valuable to his country. Seleucus, on the other hand, ſeeing no proſpect of accompliſhing his purpoſe, deſiſted from the hopeleſs attempt, and made propoſals of peace, alike favourable to his adverſary, and creditable to himſelf. A treaty was therefore ſpeedily concluded between them: the Greek renounced all right to the conqueſts of Alexander on the eaſt bank of the Indus; and the Indian, who contended for nothing more, returned to his capital amidſt the applauſe and gratitude of his ſubjects.

Though Seleucus was thus conſtrained to relinquiſh his favourite project of re-eſtabliſhing the Grecian colonies in Hinduſtân, his politic conduct and addreſs enabled him in effect to ſecure all the commercial advantages which he could have derived from the full complement of his wiſhes. For the ſpecious candour he diſplayed in the negotiation of peace, impreſſed Chandra-gupta with the moſt favourable opinion of the Greek character, and induced them to enter readily into any ſcheme calculated to promote a friendly intercourſe between the two nations. With a view to the accompliſhment of this deſirable end, the Grecian prince deputed the celebrated Megaſthenes to the court of Bàliputra, who reſided ſeveral

* This extraordinary man died at Babylon about 330 years before the birth of Chriſt.

† The ſame monarch whom the Grecian writers call *Sandrocottus*.

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years in that metropolis, and who by his extenſive knowledge and good ſenſe, reſtored the trade between Perſia and India, which the Macedonian conqueſt had interrupted and almoſt deſtroyed.

This trade was thenceforward purſued with increaſing ſpirit; and at the cloſe of Chandra-gupta's proſperous reign, the empire of Hinduſtan flouriſhed in peace, in wealth and in glory.

From contemplating a period ſo brilliant in the hiſtory of a people eminent for talent and acquirements, and who lived under a government diſtinguiſhed for its juſtice and lenity, the mind turns with indignant ſorrow to obſerve the ſubverſion of that government, the inexorable cruelties of its uſurpers, and the multiplied ſufferings of innocence and virtue.

The ſucceſſors of Chandra-gupta on the throne of Prâchi, are ſaid to have ruled with the ſame mild ſway, which was exerciſed by that illuſtrious prince. But from the extinction of his family *, until the invaſion of the Mahommedan princes of Ghizni, the Hiſtory of Hinduſtan is obſcured in a cloud of fables, which the rays of modern genius have not yet been able to diſpel. During that long and gloomy period, it would, however appear from the current tales of the Hindû poets, ſome of which, it may be ſuppoſed, had their original in real events, that the empire was continually diſtracted with civil wars. Yet we know, from the teſtimony of ſome Egyptian merchants †, as well as from the extenſive commerce which actually ſubſiſted between weſtern India and the imperial cities of Palmyra and Alexandria, that the cultivation of the uſeful arts, was no way affected by thoſe commotions. The diſſentions among the different princes were merely perſonal; ariſing from their avarice or ambition, and never interfering with the cuſtoms, the laws, and religion of their country, which they were all equally bound to maintain. Hence we find thoſe ſmall ſtates which had been ſubjugated by Alexander, again uniting to repel the predatory inroads of the Bactrians, after that people had revolted from the Seleucidæ ‡, in the declenſion of the Aſſyrian power. And their ſpirited ſtruggle with thoſe martial and hardy hordes, rendered them worthy of a far different fate than that to which they were doomed.

The Hindûs had hitherto known foreign nations through the peaceful medium of commerce, or the hoſtile intercourſe of honourable war; but they were now to behold, in the boſom of their country, a race of men who deſigned never to quit it, who robbed them of the inheritance of their fathers, and profanely inſulted the religion of their God. In the ſeventh century of the Chriſtian æra, the religious enthuſiaſm of the Arabs, received a new direction, and acquired a more impetuous ardour, for their converſion to the doctrines of Mahommed. Their predilection for merchandize had already induced them to participate largely in the Indian trade. Their ſkill in navigation, which at this period, had made no inconſiderable progreſs, enabled them the more effectually to carry on this valuable branch of commerce. And their zeal for the propagation of their new religion, whetted by their avarice, prompted them to the boldeſt enterprizes. While they penetrated into Perſia by different routes, they ſent trading veſſels acroſs the Indian ocean to Guzerat, Malabar, and Ceylon; and

* About 300 years before the birth of Chriſt.

† *Vide* Athenæus - Hiſtoire de Commerce des Anciens - Baptiſto Ramuſio Viaggi, de Iambulus. ‡ The deſcendants of Seleucus.

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and while they were diſſeminating the principles of the Koran, in the ſouthern parts of Hinduſtan, under the maſk of friendſhip, they were ſpreading them in the northern provinces of the empire by the unceaſing ravages of the ſword. Before the cloſe of the fourth century of the Hejirah*, they had eſtabliſhed the kingdom of Ghizni in the provinces of Koraſan and Cabul; and had completely ſucceeded in converting the inhabitants of theſe countries to the Mahommedan faith. They had alſo croſſed the Indus under the command of Sebuctaji, and having over-run the greateſt part of Lahore, they returned to Ghizni, laden with the ſpoils of ſeveral Hindû temples, which they had pillaged. But more dreadful calamities awaited the devoted nations of Hinduſtân. Upon the acceſſion of Mammood the Firſt, to the throne of Ghizni, he made a ſolemn vow to ſubjugate the Hindûs, and to convert them, by force of arms, to the religion of Mahommed. This impious vow, alike abhorrent to humanity and reaſon, he ſealed with the blood of his unoffending fellow-creatures In the courſe of twenty years he invaded Hinduſtan twelve times, and finally reduced under his yoke the whole of the weſtern provinces, from Guzerat to Delhi; and he marked his conqueſt throughout, not only with the devaſtation of cities, the plunder of palaces, and the deſtruction of temples, but alſo with the depreſſion of induſtry, the ruin of agriculture, and the wide-ſpreading miſeries of famine. After he had ſacked the city and pillaged the pagoda of Somnat†, he became enraged at the obſtinate adherence of the Hindûs to their ancient religion, and giving full reins to his ſanguinary temper, maſſacred, in cold blood, an helpleſs peaſantry, already half famiſhed with hunger, ſparing neither the ſanctity of age, nor the ſacredneſs of affliction. The brave reſiſtance which he met with from the princes of Guzerat, who had confederated to maintain their independence, awaked no pity, no commiſeration, no compunction, in his obdurate and remorſeleſs heart; it ſerved only to ſharpen his rapacity with reſentment, and to arm his zeal with fury. The ſufferings of kings dragged from their thrones, the wailings of women torn from their huſbands and children, and the groans of a whole people expiring under the weight of their injuries, or the ſwords of their oppreſſors, pierced not the breaſt of this profligate tyrant, who purſued with ſavage triumph, his guilty career, and with unheard-of blaſphemy, called upon offended Heaven to reward his exertions in the cauſe he had eſpouſed.

Mammood, having at length ſatiated his avarice, if not his cruelty, and having appointed governors to the different provinces he had conquered, for the laſt time bade adieu to Hinduſtan, and returned to his native country‡, the moſt wealthy monarch of his race. But his reſtleſs and adventurous ambition, unenfeebled by age or luxury, diſdained the quiet enjoyment of his riches, and prompted him to turn his victorious arms againſt the northern provinces of Perſia, which had hitherto withſtood the progreſs of Mahommedaniſm. In leſs than ten years he extended his conqueſts, together with his religion, over the greateſt part of Perſia and Georgia:—and thence returning

* Or the tenth century of the Chriſtian æra.

† This famous pagoda was ſituated contiguous to the harbour of Diu, in the province of Guzerat. ‡ Anno Domini 1020.

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by the Caſpian Sea, through the province of Hyrcania, he croſſed the Oxus, and proceeded to Bokara, a ſmall ſtate which he had conquered in the early part of his reign. But not yet ſatisfied with the vaſt acquiſitions he had made to the Ghiznian empire, he ſubdued the fierce inhabitants of Bucharia *, from Samarcand to the Jeſpera mountains; and after having rendered himſelf the moſt powerful warrior of his time, he died, at an advanced age, in his palace at Ghizni, in the year 1030 of the Chriſtian æra. †.

The immediate ſucceſſors of Mammood, poſſeſſing all his religious fanaticiſm, without a ſingle ſpark of his fire, or any portion of his talents, inceſſantly provoked foreign wars, which they had neither the judgment nor ſpirit to conduct. The princes of weſtern Hinduſtan, ſtill ſmarting with their wounds, and eager to avenge their wrongs, as well as to recover their kingdoms, loſt no time of ſeizing an opportunity ſo favourable for the attainment of their deſires. And the animoſity that prevailed among the governors, whom Mammood had appointed to his Indian provinces, no leſs than their diſſolute manners and wanton cruelty, at once encouraged the hopes and exaſperated the feelings of the Hindûs, who reſolved, by one manly effort, to cruſh the puny deſpotiſm by which they were oppreſſed. Accordingly the prince of Delhi, who appears to have been a man of great courage and ſome abilities, formed a confederacy of all the ſtates that had felt the ſhock of the Mahommedan conqueſt; and having raiſed a powerful army, marched againſt the Muſſelmans, and completely defeated them in ſeveral bloody engagements. But the tide of victory did not run long in his favour. Being elated with his firſt ſucceſs, he imprudently puſhed forward with too much celerity; and by driving his enemies to the confines of their own country, he enabled them to receive conſiderable reinforcements of freſh troops, animated with religious zeal, and enured to military duty. The prince of Delhi, however, was not to be intimidated by their formidable aſpect. He attacked them with his uſual impetuoſity; and after a dreadful conflict, in which much obſtinate valour was diſplayed on both ſides, the frantic fury of the Muſſelmans overcame his utmoſt exertions; his army was entirely diſcomfitted; and he narrowly eſcaped himſelf, with a few followers, to bear the melancholy tidings to his native country ‡.

After this event, nothing worthy of our notice preſents itſelf in the hiſtory of Hinduſtan, until the conqueſt of Ghizni, by Mahommed Ghori, the Afghân prince §. During the long interval between the defeat of the prince of Delhi, and the elevation of Ghori to the Ghiznian throne, the whole of the weſtern provinces remained in the poſſeſſion of the Muſſelmans, who had now began to colonize in the country, and who had greatly increaſed their numbers by the proſelytes they had made from the outcaſt Hindûs. Yet the rancorous antipathy that ſubſiſted between them and the bulk of the Hindû people precluded the poſſibility of an amicable ſettlement; and mutual diſcontent gave birth to a number of petty wars, remarkable only for the obſtinacy with which they were maintained, and for the cruelties

* The Uſbeck Tartars.

† We have been particular in deſcribing the conqueſts of Mammood, in order to give the reader an adequate idea of the progreſs which the Mahommedan religion had made in Aſia at the time of his death.

‡ A. D. 1046. § A. D 1191.

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cruelties of which they were productive. The Muſſelmans however, gained little by this barbarous warfare, which waſted their ſtrength without extending their dominion. And it was reſerved for the intrepidity of Ghori to penetrate into the eaſtern provinces.

This furious, but ſkilful leader, though repulſed with great loſs, at the commencement of his operations in Hinduſtan, ſtill purſued his purpoſe with undiminiſhed ardour; and in the courſe of two years, he repaired his misfortunes, routed the allied army of the Hindû potentates on the plains of Delhi, ravaged the provinces of Oude and Allahabad, and finally ſtormed the ancient city of Benares, giving up to the unbridled rage and foul atrocities of a licentious and brutal ſoldiery, that choſen ſeat of literature and ſcience, the fair abode of art and elegance, and the hallowed ſanctuary of a virtuous and venerable prieſthood. When he had ſtripped the ſacred edifices of every thing that was valuable, and broke down and deſtroyed above one thouſand idols*, he cloſed this ſcene of rapine and carnage, by conſecrating the temples of Brahmà to the prophet of Mecca, whoſe ſpirit he invoked to ſanction his criminal ambition. But an inſurrection having at this time broke out in the northern part of Koraſan, Mahommed was compelled to relinquiſh his conqueſt, and to contend for the wealth he had acquired, with enemies of a more determined character. Undejected, however, at this event, and confident in his ſtrength, he withdrew his army from Benares, appointed Cuttubeddin, a favorite general, viceroy of the Indian provinces, and proceeded, by forced marches, to Ghizni. His preſence in that capital, with ſo numerous an army, ſoon reached the knowledge of the inſurgents, who were both aſtoniſhed and alarmed at his unexpected arrival. Apprized of their conſternation, he loſt not a moment in attacking them: and his promptitude would have been crowned with ſucceſs, if the prince of Samarcand had not arrived with a powerful reinforcement to the relief of the Koraſanians, which changed the fortune of the day, and involved Mahommed in difficulties, from which it ſeemed hardly poſſible to eſcape. Still his active ſpirit was not to be diſmayed; he fought with the moſt deſperate fury; and, at laſt breaking the ranks of the enemy, by a dexterous movement, threw himſelf, with the ſhattered remains of his army, into a ſmall fort adjoining the ſcene of action. The prince of Samarcand immediately inveſted the place; and Mahommed ſeeing little chance of making a ſucceſsful defence, offered him a large ſum of money, on his being permitted to return, unmoleſted, to his own dominions. To this propoſal, the needy Tartar gladly agreed, and Mahommed proceeded to Ghizni; but he did not long ſurvive this diſaſter. As the misfortunes of a man, eminent for bravery and talents, awake the compaſſion of generoſity and virtue, and in their eyes even throw a veil over his crimes, ſo they invariably incite the enmity of cowardice and vice; and the unſucceſsful tyrant never ſits ſecure on his throne. Thus the calamities which befel this renowned prince, emboldened the revenge of ſome ſecret enemies, who had not the courage to aſſail him in his proſperity, and he was foully aſſaſſinated, after having reigned for thirty-two years over the moſt potent empire of the eaſt †.

The death of Mahommed was the ſignal for rebellion to raiſe its ſtandard; and the preſumptive heirs to the vacant throne, wallow-

* See Ferishta. † A. D. 1205.

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ing in luxury, and wanting the ſpirit to aſſert their rights, the Ghiznian empire was uſurped and divided by Eldoze and Cuttubeddin; the former took poſſeſſion of Turkeſtan and Perſia; and the latter, who had already been elevated to the goverment of the Indian provinces, declared himſelf king of Hinduſtan.

Cuttubeddin Ibec was the founder of the Patan or Afghan dynaſty. He was a native of Afghaniſtan, or the country of the Afghans, and originally a ſlave. He was purchaſed by the late emperor, whoſe notice he ſoon attracted by his brilliant talents, and whoſe favour he gained by his ingenious diſpoſition, and firm fidelity. The ſkill and valour he diſplayed at the taking of Benares, induced Mahommed to enfranchiſe him, and ſhortly after to adopt him as his ſon.

On the death of the emperor, Cuttubeddin changed his ſeat of government from Lahore to Delhi, that he might be the more approximate to the provinces of Bahar and Bengal, and therefore, with greater facility, carry into execution his favourite project of reducing the whole of them under his ſubjection. But his premature death for a while averted their deſtiny. Though his general, Bukhtyar Khelji, conquered the greateſt part of Bengal, the entire reduction of that province was reſerved for Altemeſh *, who aſcended the throne of Delhi, A. D. 1210, and who was cotemporary with the celebrated conqueror Zengis Khan. In A. D. 1235, Altemeſh had nearly ſubdued all the kingdoms and principalities in northern Hinduſtan; and his empire extended from the mountains of Tibet to that part of the Deccan which lies in the latitude of 20° north, and from the Ganges to the Indus. He appears to have been a ſpirited and judicious prince who had the diſcernment to diſcover as well as the reſolution to reſtrain the folly of inordinate ambition, and who was lenient from policy, if not from principle. Tolerant in his religious notions, his zeal yielded to his prudence, and his victories over the Hindûs were not tarniſhed by any acts of cruelty, nor was his reign diſgraced by that ſyſtematic perſecution of the Brahmanical religion, which had hitherto ſtained the Mahommedan name. He appointed governors to the different provinces of his dominions, and eſtabliſhed ſtrict and wholeſome regulations for the guidance of their conduct; though their avarice often prompted, and their power enabled them to violate theſe laws. The Hindûs, therefore, inſtead of deriving benefit from the remedial edicts of the emperor, were only treated by their inhuman maſters with the harſher rigour, in order the more effectually to ſtifle their complaints. The mild and effeminate natives of Bengal ſubmitted in ſilent ſorrow to the yoke of their oppreſſors, and while they were unmoleſted in the exerciſe of their religious rites, and permitted to attend to the cultivation of their lands and the purſuit of their ingenious labours, they endeavoured not to regain their independence. But the robuſt mountaineers of Agimere and Malwa, as well as intrepid peaſantry of Guzerat, ſtill continued to oppoſe the authority of the Muſſelmans, and to ſeek, with reſtleſs anxiety, for opportunities to aſſert their freedom. Hence theſe provinces were conſtantly agitated with fierce wars, which the whole force of the ſupreme government of Delhi was often employed to ſuppreſs. And during the reign of Altemeſh, the inſurrections

* See Ferishta's History of the Kings of Bengal, a very valuable historical document, which has not yet been translated into our language.

insurrections in the western parts of the empire were frequent and destructive.

At this period *, Zengis Khan had over-run all Asia to the northward of the latitude of 30°, from the eastern extremities of China, to the Arabian deserts; but the difficulties he experienced in repressing the turbulent spirit of his Tartar subjects, very probably deterred him from attempting the conquest of Hindustan, which his heroic genius had doubtless contemplated in his vast scheme of universal dominion. He, however, subdued all the countries on the west bank of the Indus, and proportioned them out to his Mogul generals, as a reward for the eminent services they had rendered him in the progress of his victorious career †.

In the short and feeble reigns between the death of Altemesh and the elevation of the emperor Balin, the Mogul chieftains made several predatory incursions into the Panjab; and led on by the ferocious Turmeshirin Khan, they even penetrated to the confines of Delhi, tracking their march with blood, and plundering the industrious peasantry of the fruits of their labour: but the warlike and patriotic Balin repelled their inroads and chastised their aggressions. Amidst the uniform prospect of wars, massacres, and devastations, which the history of the Mahommedan princes of Hindustan (excepting that of Altemesh) exhibits to the view of indignant humanity, the reign of Balin presents a scene on which the moral eye may with complacence dwell. Nursed in adversity, and educated in the school of military discipline this generous prince knew how to feel and to avenge the wrongs of his subjects. Just, moderate, and magnanimous, he exercised the powers without incurring the guilt of a despotic monarch, and maintained the splendour and luxury of Asiatic courts, without yielding to their corruptions. It was his highest gratification to make his palace an hospitable asylum for oppressed or indigent virtue, as well as a splendid retreat for men of learning and genius. Instead of squandering his treasures in ambitious wars, or voluptuous enjoyments, he employed them in encouraging trade and manufactures, and in patronizing the fine arts. He invited men of talents from the most distant parts of Asia, to reside at his court, in order that he might profit by their knowledge and advice. Although zealous for the propagation of the Mahommedan faith, he wished to gain mankind to his doctrine by argument rather than by arms. Upon the whole Balin, seems to have been endowed with many shining and estimable qualities; and his greatest fault was one, to which his doubtful title to the throne, and the consequent insurrections against his government, very naturally gave rise. He punished the authors of these disturbances in the most rigorous and cruel manner, equally unbefitting his love of justice and the dignity of his station; and it has been remarked, that he never pardoned a traitor ‡. Yet was he respected, even by his enemies, and he died universally regretted §.

In the succeeding reigns of Kei-Kobad, and Feroze the Second, little change took place in the political aspect of Hindustan; but under the usurper Alla, who ascended the

* A. D. 1231. † Petit de la Croix Histoire de Genghizcan; et Histoire de toute la Dinastie des Mongous ses successeurs conquerans, de la Chine, par le R. P. Gaubil, de la Societe de Jesus Missionaire à Peking; — *See* also the Travels of the friar William Rubruquis, preserved in the first volume of Hackluyt and Harris.

‡ *See* Ferishta § A. D. 1286.

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the throne in A. D. 1306 the imperial power of the Muſſulmans was extended over the northern provinces of the Deccan.

Alla was a man of great abilities, but of dreadful wickedneſs. He was nephew to Feroſe the Second, and had raiſed himſelf to the throne by the murder of his uncle. This parricide was attended with circumſtances of peculiar atrocity; and the horror which it excited even in the minds of his profligate courtiers, was neither to be concealed by their own diſſimulation, nor ſuppreſſed by the terror of his implacable reſentment. He was, therefore, obliged to watch the conduct of his nobles with the moſt unremiting vigilance; and, in order to guard againſt conſpiracies and rebellion the more effectually, he levied an immenſe army, whoſe attachment he ſecured by gratuitous advances of pay; he confiſcated the property of every man of rank or wealth throughout the empire; he publiſhed an edict forbidding all private meetings among the grandees, and prohibiting the uſe of wine and all intoxicating liquors on pain of death *; he ſtrictly forbade the nobles to marry without ſpecial licence from him; he diſmiſſed men of rank and talents from all public offices, and filled them with ſycophants who bowed implicit obedience to his will; he exacted from his Muſſulman, as well as Hindû ſubjects, half the yearly produce of their lands; and, finally, he ſet aſide every part of the Mahommedan law that did not exactly tally with his own ſcheme of government: and he uſed to declare, "that religion had no connexion with civil government, but was only the buſineſs, or rather the amuſement, of private life; and that the will of a wiſe prince was better than the variable opinions of bodies of men. †" Theſe regulations, though framed from motives of mere perſonal aggrandizement; and though many of them contained much intrinſic iniquity, were, nevertheleſs, beneficial in their operation to the bulk of the people. The Hindûs who had been uniformly plundered and oppreſſed, by the governors of the provinces, and their ſubordinate officers, were now not only allowed, but encouraged to purſue their occupations; and were, moreover, ſecured in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of whatever property the Emperor permitted them to retain. Inſtead of being inceſſantly harraſſed by the flagitious exactions and cruelties of ſeveral petty tyrants, they had now only one maſter, who ſeldom deviated from the rules which he originally preſcribed for the adminiſtration of his government, and who never interfered with their religion, unleſs it ſtood in the way of his own ambitious projects. In thoſe provinces that had long been under the Muſſulman authority, and that had already been drained of their treaſure, the native inhabitants experienced very little moleſtation, while they regularly paid the taxes he impoſed: but in ſome parts of the Deccan which he had himſelf ſubdued, he pillaged with a rude rapacity, every temple that came within his reach, and gratified his avarice with that wealth which a pious people had depoſited within thoſe ſacred edifices to propitiate the favour of heaven.

While Alla was puſhing his conqueſts into the Deccan, he was ſuddenly called upon to defend his own capital, againſt the Moguls, who had laid ſiege to it with a powerful army. He arrived at Delhi juſt in time to ſave it from deſtruction: and after one of the moſt terrible and obſtinate battles, that is recorded in Indian hiſtory, the

* *See* Feriſhta. † *See* Feriſhta.

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the Moguls were entirely discomfitted, and with great difficulty effected their escape across the Indus.

The pride and spirit of Alla were raised to the highest pitch, by this signal and decisive victory; and as is usual with men whom the intoxication attendant on extraordinary success, has carried beyond the sphere of their talents, he began to form schemes of the most boundless and excentric ambition. He wished at once to be a prophet and a hero; to lay the foundation of a new religion, and to attain the conquest of the world; to unite in his own person the characters of Mahommed and of Alexander; and to surpass them both in power and in fame. But Alla possessed not the intrepidity and address of the Arab, nor the generous heroism, and gallant courtesy of the Greek. He was doubtless a man of a comprehensive mind and a bold spirit, but he appears to have been greatly deficient in those qualities which were essential to the execution of the plan he had conceived. The disaffection of his nobles, together with his inability to conciliate them, presented an insurmountable obstacle to any attempt at distant conquest; and the furious bigotry of his Mahommedan subjects, as well as the mild but invinsible firmness of the Hindûs in support of their own doctrines, rendered it both dangerous and useless to set up a new system of religion, or even to try any experiment in a matter so deeply interesting to the prejudices of the community. He, therefore, abandoned all his gigantic projects, and contented himself with the prospect of conquering the southern nations of Hindustan.

The continued irruptions of the Moguls, however, rendered his presence necessary in the northern provinces, and prevented him from leading his army in person to the conquest of the Deccan, the honour of which he assigned to Cafoor, an able and enterprizing general, who, in a few years, subdued all the kingdoms north of the river Kistnah, except some small states, which comprised the mountainous tracts of Orissa and Berar. Cafoor having dethroned the Hindû monarchs, and stripped them of their treasures, divided the conquered country into different districts, appointed distinguished nobles to the command of each, and returned to Delhi, to present to his master the spoils of the Deccan*.

During the remainder of Alla's reign, little of moment occurred, and he closed a prosperous, though tempestuous life, after having added to the Mussulman empire above one half of the great southern peninsula, and established throughout his vast dominions, a systematic order and regularity in the administration of public affairs, which had not been known in Hindustan since the subversion of the ancient governments.

This system of government, however, appears to have expired with its founder; and the imbecility and folly of the immediate successors of Alla, in a few years threw the empire into the utmost confusion. The Hindû princes, ever watchful for an opportunity to revolt from their imperious conquerors, took advantage of the dereliction of discipline and order that prevailed, and every where appeared in arms. In the Deccan, a powerful confederacy was formed under the direction of Balaldeo, king of the Carnatic, who marched against the Mussulmans in great force, and after an obstinate contest, wrested the whole of the peninsula

* The treasure taken upon this occasion is said to have amounted to one hundred millions sterling. † *See* Dow's Ferishta, vol. i. p. 307.

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inſula from them, excepting the fortreſs of Dowlatabad, and ſome part of the province of Candeiſh.

But it was not in the Hindûs alone whom the Muſſulmans, at this diſaterous period of their hiſtory, found cauſe to dread. They were aſſailed from the north by the Mogul princes, the deſcendants of Zengis Khan, who were every year becoming more formidable; and whoſe luſt of conqueſt was now tempted as much by the weakneſs, as by the wealth of their enemy. Towards the cloſe of the fourteenth century, they made frequent inroads into Hinduſtan, and reduced under their dominion, ſome part of the province of Lahore. The Muſſulman empire, thus attacked on the one ſide by the numerous armies of the Hindûs, and on the other by the furious bands of the Moguls, while a civil war raged in the interior, ſunk under the preſſure of its calamity, which the minority of the reigning Emperor Mahmood the Third, greatly contributed to augment. This young prince had the misfortune to aſcend the throne of his father Mahommed the Fourth, when it was ſurrounded with anarchy and treaſon. The nobles who were entruſted with the direction of public affairs, as deſtitute of wiſdom and vigour, as of all public ſpirit and integrity, ſeemed more deſirous to foment than to ſuppreſs the tumult that prevailed; and inſtead of making exertions to ſave, they ſecretly endeavoured to ruin their country. Another prince was ſhortly ſet up in oppoſition to Mahmood, and a ſcene of carnage enſued in the city of Delhi, which has no parallel in the annals of Aſia. For three whole years a deſperate conflict was maintained within the walls of that diſtracted capital, between the adherents of the rival princes: and the force of the contending parties being nearly equal, little advantage was obtained on either ſide. Every day was ſpent in furious battle: at night they retired to reſt, and in the morning returned to the charge. Thouſands daily fell; and both parties were recruited from the provinces: till at length exhauſted with this inceſſant warfare, a truce was mutually agreed upon, with a view to make an amicable adjuſtment of their differences, and to ſettle their reſpective claims.

During this ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, and before the wounds of either party were entirely healed, they were both attacked by the moſt formidable warrior that India had ever yet beheld.

In A. D. 1397, the famous conqueror TIMUR BEC, or TAMERLANE, the lineal deſcendant of Zengis Khan, the chief of the Moguls, and the king of Zagatai *, having over-run all the northern nations of Aſia, and even carried his invinſible arms into the eaſtern provinces of Ruſſia, propoſed to his emirs, or nobles, to invade Hinduſtân, where he hoped to reap a richer ſpoil than in the rugged plains of Muſcovy: and having received intelligence of the diſſentions at Delhi, his cupidity was raiſed to the higheſt pitch, and his ambition was ſtimulated with the proſpect of ſoon adding to his conqueſts the wealthieſt empire in the world. He accordingly marched from Samarcand with the flower of his army, and arrived at the Jallali, one of the moſt weſterly branches of the Indus, about the latter end of the year 1398. From thence he proceeded down the river to the confluence of the Jimboo and Chinab, where he formed a bridge of boats, and paſſed his army over in ſafety. He here met with ſome reſiſtance,

* *Zagatai* is now better known by the name of *Candahar*; it forms the greateſt part of the dominions of Zemaun Shah, and is ſituated between Perſia and Turkeſtan.

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reſiſtance, which, however, inſtead of checking his career, ſerved only to irritate his paſſions. Being in want of proviſions, he gave up the large and populous town of Tulnabini to the plunder of his ſoldiers; and what was yet more dreadful, when its wretched inhabitants murmured at being ſtripped of their property, he ordered them to be maſſacred, without feeling either ſhame or remoſe, at the nefarious proceeding.

But this ſcene was only a prelude to the calamitous drama which he was about to act. He thenceforward advanced through the province of Moultan, bearing down with an irreſiſtable impetuoſity, every barrier that oppoſed his progreſs, carrying havock and diſmay in his van, and leaving nothing behind him but deſolation and miſery.

In the mean while the contending factions at Delhi, had united for their mutual defence; but their feeble efforts were ill ſuited to repulſe the experienced valour of the Tartars. Yet Mahmood and his miniſter Eckbal, appear not to have been intimidated by the formidable aſpect of their enemy; for when Timur approached the city, they ſallied out and attacked him, and although they were driven back with conſiderable loſs, they ſuſtained the conteſt for many hours with much ſpirit and bravery.

During this affair, ſome priſoners in the Timur's camp, had naturally but indiſcreetly manifeſted great joy at the zeal and intrepidity diſplayed by their countrymen. This behaviour ſo greatly incenſed their barbarous and ſanguinary conqueror, that he inſtantly ordered the whole of the Indian priſoners in his poſſeſſion, to the number of ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND, to be put to death! and his order was executed with a promptitude and diſpatch unequalled in the records of cruelty. "As ſoon as this order was made public," ſays Sherifeddin, "they began to put it in execution; and *in leſs than an hour* were put to death a HUNDRED THOUSAND Indians, according to the ſmalleſt computation*."

The day following, while the ſwords of the Tartars were yet reeking with the blood of the miſerable victims of their ſavage ferocity, Timur prepared for a general aſſault, which being obſerved by the viligant Eckbal, he ſallied forth, with the beſt part of the army of Delhi, to give him battle. But the luxurious Delhians, though enured to civil broils, were little acquainted with the art of war, and therefore ill able to ſuſtain the well planned and furious attack of their enemy. Eckbal animated and encouraged his troops with a bravery that reflects honour on his memory; but the intrepid Tartars were not even to be checked; the Indians was routed on every ſide, and purſued with immenſe ſlaughter to the gates of their city: and Mahmood and Eckbal ſeeing no poſſibility of defending their capital, eſcaped under cover of the night, and flew to Guzerat, whither they were purſued by a ſtrong detachment, which Timur, who had gained intelligence of their flight, had ſent after them. This detachment came up with Mahmood; and after a ſhort

* This horrid account is fully confirmed by Ferifhta. Yet Sherifeddin, in his Preface, ſays of Timur, "that in all his enterprifes he had *no other end* than the glory of God, the increaſe of Religion, and the good of the People!!!" Perhaps this zealous Mahommedan thought that in promoting the cauſe of the *true religion*, every enormity was juſtifiable. But what ſhall we ſay to Mr. WHITE, the learned tranſlator of the *Inſtitutes*, who talks ſo pathetically in his Preface, of the "*amiable moderation* of Timur!!", Mr Row, in his tragedy of Tamerlane, does not ſay more in praiſe of his hero's *clemency*; and he too has gone much farther in this inſtance, than even poetical licence will admit.

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ſhort engagement, he effected his retreat, with the loſs of his two infant ſons, and a conſiderable number of his retinue.

Timur in the mean time had taken poſſeſſion of Delhi, and had received the ſubmiſſion of all the principal nobles of the city, who waited on him in his camp, and to whom he promiſed protection, on condition of their conſenting to pay ſuch contributions, as the right of conqueſt authorized him to exact, and as his army, therefore, expected. The nobles prudently acquieſced in a demand to which they foreſaw they would be ultimately compelled to ſubmit; and orders were accordingly given to the magiſtrates to levy the contribution, by a ſcale duly proportioned to the wealth and rank of the inhabitants *.

Whilſt the ranſom was collecting, Timur, as was his cuſtom, celebrated his victory by a magnificent feſtival, which, however, was to be polluted by the blood of the vanquiſhed, and by ſacrificing, at the altar of an inſatiable avarice, thouſands, not only of brave men who defended their families and property from brutal luſt, and indiſcriminate pillage, but of helpleſs women, whom the power of beauty did not avail to ſpare, and even of unoffending children, whom the ſacred ſhield of innocence could not protect.

The Tartar officers employed to receive the aſſeſſment from the magiſtrates, not ſatisfied with the regulated ſums, gave it out that ſome of the moſt wealthy of the inhabitants had concealed their property, and violently broke into their houſes. The enraged citizens in endeavouring to ſecure them, put ſeveral of the Moguls to death. A ſerious tumult conſequently aroſe, which ſoon reaching the ears of Timur, he gave orders for a general maſſacre; and this conqueror, who has been praiſed for his generoſity, beheld, with a rankerous pleaſure, the metropolis of a great empire ſacked and plundered, its palaces and temples levelled with the ground, and its ſtreets ſtreaming with the blood of its murdered inhabitants.

The vindictive fury of Timur, however, was not yet ſpent. The Muſſulmans of Delhi were forgiven; but his enmity towards the Hindûs, no ſubmiſſion could diſarm, and no atonement could appeaſe. Having heard of the famous cavern of *Coupele* †, and of the adoration paid to it by that pious race, he marched thither without delay; and filled the meaſure of his enormities in Hinduſtan, by putting to death ſeveral thouſand pilgrims, and by impurpling the hallowed ſtream of the Ganges, with the blood of its ſuperſtitious but peaceful votaries.

But the diſturbances in the north of Aſia, now called him from this ignoble warfare, to a conteſt more worthy of his genius. The ambitious

* See Ferishta.

† The rocks of Coupele, which are ſituated at the foot of Mount Kimmaleh, in weſtern Tibet, form a cavern worſhipped by the Hindûs, on account of the Ganges diſemboguing itſelf through it, and becauſe ſuperſtition has pictured it to their fancy in the ſhape of a Cow's mouth, which animal, the reader knows, is held ſacred by them.

The ſource of the Ganges is on the weſtern ſide of the Kentaiſſe mountains, in the latitude of 33° north. "Two ſtreams ſpring from the foot of Mount Kentaiſſe, and take their courſe weſtward, inclining conſiderably to the north, for above 300 miles, when meeting the ridge of Mount Kimmaleh, they turn to the ſouth, in which courſe the unite their waters, and form what is properly termed the Ganges. It then forces a paſſage through the ridge of Mount Kimmaleh, and ſapping its baſe ruſhes through the Cavern of Coupele; whence turning to the eaſtward, it runs through the rugged country of Serinagur, and opening a paſſage through Mount Sewalick, at Hurdwar, it diſcharges itſelf on the plains of Hinduſtân."—*See* RENNELL's *Memoirs of Hindoſtan*, p. 313.

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tious views of Sultaun BAJAZET, rendered his preſence neceſſary in Georgia and Anatolia; and to ſet boundaries to thoſe views, as well as to pull down the pride of the Ottoman, became the favourite objects of his future life. He haſtened, therefore, to Samarcand, where, having lodged the treaſures and trophies of his Indian conqueſt, he proceeded on his march againſt Bajazet.

Timur left no force in Hinduſtan to keep poſſeſſion of the provinces that had ſubmitted to his arms; for it was his ambition to ravage, rather than to ſubdue, a country. The people of Delhi, therefore, being freed from all authority, gave a looſe to every bad paſſion; and that devoted city, for upwards of two months, exhibited a conſtant ſcene of riot and depravity too hideous and loathſome to be deſcribed. In this ſtate it was ſeized upon by a petty uſurper, with a handful of troops; but he was ſoon driven from his throne by the reſtleſs Eckbal, who having collected a conſiderable army, reſtored the unfortunate Mahmood to his capital, though not to his dignities and power.

The civil diſſentions to which this event gave riſe, it were no way inſtructive to recount: for ſuch a narrative would be little leſs than a counterpart of thoſe crimes and atrocities at which the heart of the reader muſt already have ſo often recoiled. It is only neceſſary, therefore, to obſerve, that the ſubahdars of the provinces throughout the whole of the Muſſulman empire of Hinduſtan, had at this period revolted from the ſupreme government of Delhi, in conſequence of Timur's conqueſt, and of the diſaſters in which that occurrence, together with the incapacity of Mahmood, and the inſidious arts of Eckbal had involved the ſtate.

Though theſe circumſtances might have paved the way for the Hindû people to recover their independence, yet their ſpirit was now ſo much broken that they took little advantage of them; and the ſubahdars of the provinces, inſtead of rewarding their moderation, by meliorating their condition, oppreſſed their weakneſs by adding to their burthens, and wounded their feelings with every contumely that malice could ſuggeſt. Their invincible attachment to the inſtitutions of Brahma, ſubjected them to the rigours of a ſyſtematic cruelty, unequalled in the annals of the world; but it belongs to the retributive juſtice of hiſtory to extol their pious fortitude, and to brand the memory of their inexorable perſecutors with indelible infamy.

In A. D. 1413, the Emperor Mahmood died a natural death, and with him expired the Patan dynaſty, after having ruled over Hinduſtan for upwards of two centuries. The family that immediately ſucceeded to the throne of Delhi, ſtiled themſelves *Seids*, or deſcendants of the holy line of the Prophet Mahommed; and their founder Chizer, with a view to ſecure himſelf from the hoſtility of the Mogul princes, aſſumed not the imperial titles, but affected to hold his authority from Timur, in whoſe name he ordered the coin of the empire to be ſtruck. But an artifice ſo ſhallow, could not long deceive the watchful ſagacity of thoſe warriors, who ſoon recommenced their inroads into Hinduſtan, and who kept the weſtern provinces for nearly thirty years, in a ſtate of continual agitation.

The feeble and inauſpicious dyneſty of the Seids, terminated in A. D, 1450, by the abdication of Alla, the laſt of thoſe princes, and the ſubſequent elevation of Belloli, an Afghan of the tribe of Lodi *, a commercial people, who carried on the inland trade be-

* See Ferishta.

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tween Perſia and Hinduſtan. Belloli was a humane and generous prince; but being deſtitute of the talents and vigour requiſite for the management of public affairs in times of ſo much difficulty, he left the empire in the moſt diſtracted ſituation at the end of his long reign of thirty-eight years. In 1488, it was completely diſmembered. The authority of the Emperor did not extend beyond the province of Delhi, and the circumjacent diſtricts. The whole of Bengal and Bahar was under the dominion of a Muſſulman uſurper, who had taken the title of King; and the provinces of the Deccan, north of the river Kiſtnah, had long before thrown off their allegiance, and were now formed into five Muſſulman ſtates, equally independent of each other, and of the imperial government.

Yet, although the monarchs of Delhi had thus loſt their influence and power, their diadem was ſtill preſerved; and Secunder the ſon of Belloli, an enterprizing prince, regained ſome part of its dignity, and would probably have reſtored to it much of its former luſtre, had not a premature death put an end to his projects. He died at Agra, in 1509, to which city he had tranſferred the ſeat of government.

His ſon Ibrahim, who had ſucceeded to the throne, loſt all that he had gained: for having rendered himſelf no leſs ridiculous by his vanity, than deteſtable for his wickedneſs, his nobles became turbulent and factious; and their reſentment at laſt provoked by repeated cruelties, broke out into open rebellion, which, however, the tyrant would have muſtered ſtrength enough to quell, if they had not ſolicited the aid of Sultaun Baber, the Mogul prince whoſe territories were ſituated between Samarcand and the Indus, who marched againſt him with a ſmall but veteran army, and who totally routed him on the plain of Panniput, where he, in ſome degree, expiated by a brave reſiſtance and a glorious death, the errors, at leaſt, if not the vices of which he had been guilty.

Sultaun Baber, in conſequence of his victory, proceeded firſt to Delhi, and afterwards to Agra, took poſſeſſion of both theſe cities without much oppoſition, ordered himſelf to be proclaimed Emperor of Hinduſtan (A. D. 1525), and thus laid the foundation of the celebrated Mogul dynaſty, whoſe name has been ſo often employed in Europe to dignify and embelliſh a tale.

The Sultaun was lineally deſcended from the great Timur, and he therefore conceived, that he ſwayed the ſceptre of Hinduſtan, not more by the right of conqueſt than by that of inheritance. To mount the throne of Delhi had long been the firſt wiſh of his heart; and he had previouſly croſſed the Indus four times with the reſolution to accompliſh it; but was, on each occaſion, obliged to return, in order to protect his own country againſt the formidable irruptions of the Uſbecks.

This prince only lived five years to enjoy the fruits of his conqueſt; but during that ſhort period, he both reduced by his arms, and conciliated by his clemency, many of the refractory nobles; and reannexed to the imperial domain the provinces of Oude and Allahabad. He was alike diſtinguiſhed for his abilities and virtues, for his heroiſm and moderation, for his boundleſs generoſity, and his firm adherence to the principles of juſtice: his toleration in religion begat the love and the reverence of his Hindû ſubjects; and his liberal zeal for the encouragement of the arts and ſciences, together with his own acquirements in polite literature, obtained him the applauſe of all the poliſhed nations of Aſia. "He excelled," ſays Feriſhta, "in poetry and muſic: and he wrote his own commentaries in the Mogul language, with ſuch elegance and propriety, that they are univerſally admired."

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His eldeſt ſon Humaioon, who had been the companion of his victories, and the partaker of his fame, aſcended the throne in A. D. 1530: and poſſeſſing all the virtuous qualities, and much of the military talents of his father, it was his ambition to follow his illuſtrious example. But Humaioon, in the progreſs of his career, encountered greater adverſity, and ſuſtained ſeverer trials. After having ſubjugated the valuable provinces of Guzerat and Malwa on the weſt, and thoſe of Bengal and Bahar on the eaſt, the viceroys of which had been long independent of the ſupreme government, he was attacked by a ſpecies of treaſon which it belonged not to his generous nature to foreſee. His younger brothers, jealous of his power and emulous of his grandeur, formed a league againſt him, which he found he could neither diſſolve by kindneſs nor ſubdue by force. His generous offer to divide one half of the empire between them, did not ſatisfy their ambitious views; his moſt vigorous efforts to reduce them, proved ineffectual: and being deſerted at the ſame time by the beſt part of his army, he deemed it adviſeable to abandon Hinduſtan to its fate, and to ſecure his perſonal ſafety in a foreign land, until a more favourable juncture ſhould occur of re-eſtabliſhing his power. He therefore retired to Perſia with a few faithful generals, who ſtill followed his fortunes, where he was received with the utmoſt cordiality by Tamaſp Shah, then king of that country, and treated with all the dignity and reſpect due to his rank and eminent talents.

His brothers, however, did not long retain their unprincipled uſurpation. Quarrelling with each other, they expoſed themſelves to the hoſtility of Shere, an Afghan chief, who ſoon deprived them of all that their turpitude and perfidy had acquired, and who mounted the imperial throne in A. D. 1542.

Though this uſurper poſſeſſed a ſpirit of enterprize, guided by a conſiderable ſhare of judgment, yet his ſhort reign of three years did not allow him ſufficient time to conſolidate the acquiſition he had made: and the imbecility and ignorance of his ſon Selim, as well as of four other princes of his family, who ſucceeded him, opened the road for the return of Humaioon, whoſe patient and gallant ſpirit, nine years of exile had not broken. In 1554, he marched into Hinduſtan with a conſiderable army, which the friendſhip of the king of Perſia had enabled him to raiſe, and the ſame year regained his crown by a deciſive victory over the Afghans and Patans at Sirhind, where his ſon Akbar, who had not yet tatained his thirteenth year, diſplayed the dawn of that genius which, in its meridian was to diffuſe happineſs and glory throughout his vaſt empire.

The reign of Akbar is the moſt brilliant as well as the moſt proſperous in the hiſtory of the Muſſulman empire of India. That accompliſhed prince was elevated to the throne, upon the death of his father in A. D. 1556, when he was yet in his fourteenth year: and even at that early age, he comported himſelf with a prudence and dignity that has not often been equalled, under the circumſtances in which he was placed. He had been left by his father under the ſpecial guiance of Byram Khan, who was appointed miniſter during his minority, and who was a man of great abilities, but of a boundleſs ambition, and an imperious temper. Yet Akbar had the conſummate addreſs to render the miniſter's talents ſolely ſubſervient to the advantages of the ſtate, and at the ſame time, by aſſerting his own authority, reſtrained the paſſions of Byram, and put limits to his views. Nor was the liberal clemency of Akbar leſs conſpicuous than his ſpirit and ſagacity. When his haughty miniſter, impatient of control rebelled againſt

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againſt his government, he firſt ſubdued, and then pardoned him.

Inſpired with ſuch ſentiments, and gifted with ſuch parts, his whole life was a continued ſucceſſion of ſplended, wiſe, and noble actions. He completely reduced under the imperial ſtandard all the provinces of Hinduſtan from the Indus to the Ganges; and he penetrated into the Deccan as far as the Muſſulman kingdom of Ahmednagur, whoſe king was conſtrained to acknowledge his ſupremacy, and to pay him an annual tribute. But Akbar conquered as much for the benefit of the vanquiſhed, as for his own aggrandizement. In every province that he ſubjected to his power, he granted to the Hindûs an unlimited toleration in the exerciſe of their religious worſhip; and reſtrained the licentious ſpirit of the Mahommedens within the bounds of order, by the enactment of equal laws, and the eſtabliſhment of a ſtrict and vigorous police. By theſe means the moſt perfect ſubordination was maintained throughout his extenſive dominions; and his inſtitutes*, compiled by his learned ſecretary and hiſtorian Abul Fazel, evince the regularity, juſtice, and ability with which he adminiſtered both his civil and military affairs. Under his mild and equitable government, which laſted fifty years, agriculture flouriſhed, commerce revived, civil arts proſpered, literature advanced, and the people enjoyed that wealth, and thoſe comforts of which they had been ſo long deprived.

The death of Akbar, which happened in A. D. 1605, enabled the Muſſulman princes of the Deccan to purſue their conqueſts in the peninſula, and to endeavour to reduce a few remaining dependencies of the Hindû monarchy of Bejanagur. This ſtate, which compriſed the whole of the peninſula from the river Kiſtnah to Cape Comorin, had withſtood the combined attacks of its enemies until A. D. 1565, when it received its death blow from the Mahommedan arms at the battle of Tellecoſtah, in which Ram Rajee, the Hindû king, fell glorioufly in defence of his country. Yet though the kingdom of Bejanagur was thus diſſolved, its ſouthern provinces of Myſore, Bidenore, Ginjee, Tritchinopoly, Tanjore, and Madura, maintained their independence; and the naicks, or governors, of theſe provinces, aſſumed the titles and dignities of ſovereign princes. The Nair ſtates of Travancore, Cochin, Koork, and Calicut, on the coaſt of Malabar, which had been tributary to the king of Bejanagur, alſo became independent, in conſequence of this conqueſt.

The people of theſe ſtates, accuſtomed to the mild manners of the Mahommedan merchants of Arabia, who had ſettled among them in the tenth century of the Chriſtian æra, dreaded not the approximation of the Muſſulman princes of the Deccan, more eſpecially, as they at this time required the aid of vigorous allies to repel the encroachments of the Portugueze, who, under valiant leaders, inceſſantly waged war againſt them.

Such was the political ſtate of India, at the commencement of the ſeventeenth century, when the flag of England was firſt diſplayed on its coaſts. To give an account of its connexion with the nations of modern Europe; and to trace the riſe and progreſs of the Britiſh Empire in the eaſt, from its firſt rude eſtabliſhments, to the greatneſs and ſplendour at which it is arrived, ſhall be the more pleaſing buſineſs of our ſucceeding chapters.

* See the *Ayeen Akbery*, or *the Inſtitutes of the Emperor Akbar*, tranſlated by Mr. FRANCIS GLADWIN; to whoſe abilities, learning, and induſtry, every lover of eaſtern literature is ſo much indebted.

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CHRONICLE.

THIS Division of our Work contains the most remarkable occurences which have happened in Asia, and an authentic detail of the Civil and Military Affairs of British India, from the 1st of May 1798, to the date of the last dispatches from CALCUTTA; together with Monthly Lists of the Civil and Military Promotions; and an Annual List of the Births, Marriages and Deaths of the European inhabitants of India. As much conciseness and order have been observed, as the multiplicity of public events, and the diversity of the materials, would admit. We are nevertheless aware, that much of the intelligence, and many of the circumstances, here related, will, to the generality of our readers, be extremely dry; but they are too important to the interests of those who are any way connected with India, to be omitted in a publication which aims at being a Record of the political and commercial occurrences of that country. The accounts which we have given of the Meetings that were held in every part of the British Indian Empire, for the purpose of contributing pecuniary aid to the support of the present war in Europe, together with the different lists of the contributors, have swelled this head of our collection beyond the limits, within which it was our original intention to confine it: but we considered it no less beneficial to the great cause in which our country is engaged, than due to the proud feelings and the manly sentiments of our countrymen in that distant region, to hold up their prompt and generous patriotism to the admiration of Europe—and to register their names, that they may thereby obtain that praise from posterity, the hope of which, to such minds, must be the highest reward.

CHRONICLE FOR MAY 1798.

Loss of the PRINCESS AMELIA, *Indiaman.*

"*To* ROBERT RICHARDS, *Esq. Secretary to Government, Bombay.*

"SIR,

"WITH extreme sorrow I acquaint you, for the information of the Hon. Governor in Council, that the Hon. Company's ship the *Princess Amelia* caught fire on the 5th of April, at one o'clock in the morning, off Ennore, in the after-hold; and, notwithstanding every exertion, was entirely in flames, fore and aft, in a quarter of an hour, and every soul obliged to

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jump over-board. Nothing of any description was saved from the ship, except the people of whom I inclose you a list. I have not been able to trace any circumstance that might lead to the origin of this dreadful accident. I should have come back to Bombay myself, but am exceedingly ill; and if I did, I might not be in time to save the season to England, which I think I ought to reach with all possible expedition, to give the Hon. Court of Directors an account of this melancholy accident. Mr. Vautier, the purser, who arrives with this, and to endeavour to get copies of the owners' accounts, will use his utmost endeavours to join me again on the coast. "I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient Servant,

"JOHN RAMSDEN.

"Ship Woodcott, April 3, 1798."

List of the Crew saved from the Princess Amelia.

Mr. J. Ramsden, commander
Mr W. Fairley, chief officer
Mr. R. H. Brown, 2d do.
Mr. J. March, 3d do.
Mr J. Locke, 4th do.
Mr. J. J. Vautier, purser
Mr. C. Dakers, surgeon
Mr. W. Schoob, surgeon's-mate
Mr J. Farrington, boatswain
Mr. J. Braham, boatswain's-mate
Mr. T. Potter, do.
Mr. J. Petney, quarter-master
Mr. T. Hoskins, do.
Mr. J. M'Kinnon, do.
Mr. S. Sayer, carpenter
Mr. T. Howell, carpenter's-mate
Mr. J. Thompson, ship's-steward
Mr. M. Florence, sailmaker
Mr. T. Dunkin, gunner's-mate
Mr. N. Hughes, midshipman
Mr. G. Frith, do.
Mr. T. Dunkley, butcher
Mr. C. Messo, ship's-cook
Mr. W. Barneld, late surgeon's-mate
Mr. J. Mathews
J. Poole, J. Gabriel, A. Behrons, D. Zhan, F. Gunkell, W. Hornburg, C. Shaumburg, J. Krug, J. Burke, S. Shandley, N. Smith, J. Kelley, T. O'Harra, J. Nalemate, G. Regardo, J. Ember, A. Josea, J. Ferrara, A. de Cruz, J. Pedro, T. Gunn, P. Green, W. Fairbrother, G. Hughes, M. Dickinson, W. Brown, J. Ryan, H. Nail, J. Carrol, J. Harrison, H. Land, S. Hughes, T. Watson, J. Swift, R. Gatty, P. Obury, S. Sayer, E. Worsley, W. Colthurst, J. Campbell, and J. Myers, seamen.

Passengers saved.

Miss Dick, Major Conran. Captains Evans and Torrians. Lieutenants Savage, Burdett, Stanney, Gilbert, Moreland, Martin, Elphinstone, and Brown. Serjeants Hum, Mathews, Darby, Smith, Sloper, Moor, Kelley, Jefferys, Pool, Harding, Frazer, and Nevill. Corporals Garrel, Burns, Wild, Campbell, Wethers, Winwood, Henby, Colins, and Mackenzie. Privates, Fox, Simpson, Jones, Phillips, Hammond, Helegfelt, Rees, Rully, Moloney, Kelly, Wilks, Coburne, Whittane, Bhoomer, Cullen, and Grimming. Conductors, Hasty and Ryan, 2 followers, 2 women, 2 bullock-wallahs, 14 lascars belonging to the ship, and Miss Dick's female servant and a boy.

TOTAL NUMBER SAVED.

Ship's company	80
Passengers	59
	139

List of the Crew drowned.

Mr. Millet, 5th officer
J. Stamp, captain's steward
J. Barber, gunner
J. Nances, cooper
R. Davis, cooper's-mate
J. Cook, baker
F. Hall, captain's servant
T. Smith, surgeon's ditto
R. Fidgetts, carpenter's boy
B. Wood, gunner's ditto
J. May, C. Legnam, J. Bony, W. Sedgwick, J. Murphy, and A. Josea, seamen.

Passengers drowned.

Master Selby. Serjeants Cannick, Bodycoat, and Tedence. Corporals Nichols, Brett, Welwood, Ruson, Double, and Wiggins; 9 women, 1 follower, 1 Dutchman, 2 women, 1 child.

TOTAL NUMBER LOST.

Ship's company	16
Passengers	24
	40

(Signed) J. RAMSDEN.

Loss

Loſs of the Ship FAIRLIE.

A little after ten o'clock, P. M. on the 8th of April, a fire was diſcovered amongſt the craft in Madras Roads, which appeared and diſappeared by intervals, at one time ſo long, as to induce ſpectators to believe that the flames had been got under.

Shortly afterwards, every hope on that head vaniſhed, by an increaſed appearance of fire and ſmoke; and in leſs than half an hour, the whole of the ſhip, from head to ſtern, ſeemed to be one blaze. The cable was ſhortly burnt aſunder, when the ſhip caſt with her head towards the ſhore, and fortunately, with the timely aſſiſtance of the gentlemen at the head of the beach department, drifted clear of every other veſſel into the ſurf, where ſhe grounded about 26 minutes paſt eleven, nearly abreaſt of the Company's ſtore-houſes.

The veſſel, which proved to be the *Fairlie*, Captain Elliot, continued on fire until the evening of the 9th, when the flames were at length extinguiſhed by the ſurf breaking over her bows, and by the aſſiſtance of an engine which had played on the veſſel for ſome time previouſly; but not before ſhe had burnt to the water's edge, near her copper.

It is ſaid that the *Fairlie* had on board, at the time of the accident, tin and tutanague, valued at 4000 ſtar pagodas, and ſeveral other articles of conſiderable worth, ſome of which there are great hopes of ſaving, as the veſſel has not parted. About thirty large ſpars drifted from the ſhip, ſeveral of which were not the leaſt injured by the fire.—The fire was firſt perceived by the officer in command of the ſhip, between decks, where a large quantity of dammar and ſome ſpars had been ſtowed, before the fore-hatch-way; a part of the ſhip where no perſon, on the ſhip's duty, had been with a light for two days before—a circumſtance which occaſions a ſtrong ſuſpicion that the veſſel had been ſet fire to by ſome evil-diſpoſed perſon on board.—The *Fairlie*, it is added by way of caution, is the third ſhip that has appeared on fire on the next night after having ſhipped Laſcars at this port. The Ghaut Syrang, and ten of the crew, are under examination before the juſtices; the reſult of which, at this juncture, it would be improper to anticipate.

Capture of the WOODCOTE *and* RAYMOND *Indiamen.*

Accounts from the coaſt of Malabar, of the 21ſt April, mention, that on the afternoon of the preceding day, a French frigate had ſtood into Tellicherry Roads; and, after a ſhort action, captured the Hon. Company's ſhip *Woodcote*, then at anchor in the Roads. At the time of the capture, the Company's ſhip *Raymond* was ſtanding into Tellicherry Roads: ſhe was immediately attacked by the frigate, and, after a ſhort and ineffectual reſiſtance, was taken poſſeſſion of by the enemy. About ſix o'clock, the frigate, accompanied by her prizes, made ſail, and ſtood out to ſea, ſteering S. W. The *Raymond* had on board a cargo, which, with the ſhip, is valued at twelve lacks of rupees; ſhe had alſo a quantity of ſpecie on board, not included in the eſtimate. Admiral Rainier had ſailed from Tellicherry Roads on the 16th ult. The enemy had captured a ſhip belonging to the Queen of Cannanore, previous to falling in with the Indiamen; from which ſhip they received the information of their being in the Roads of Tellicherry.

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Arrival *of the* Governor General.

On Thurſday noon the 17th inſtant, the arrival, at Kedgeree, of the Right Hon. the Earl of Mornington, in the frigate *Virginie*, was announced in Calcutta. In the afternoon, about three o'clock, his Lordſhip arrived off the Chaundpaul Ghaut, in the Hon. Company's yacht: he landed at five, and was received at the Ghaut by the principal gentlemen of the ſettlement, civil and military, under the honours due to his rank. The next morning, at eleven o'clock, his Lordſhip took the oaths and his ſeat as Governor General in Council, when the following Minutes of Council, and Proclamation, together with his Lordſhip's Commiſſion, were read at the head of the troops in garriſon. The arrival and appointment of his Lordſhip were alſo proclaimed by the Sheriff of Calcutta, with the uſual formalities.

Minutes of Council in the Military Department, of the 18th of May, 1798.

The Right Honourable Richard, Earl of Mornington, Knight, Companion of the Illuſtrious Order of St. Patrick, &c. &c. appointed Governor General by the Hon. Court of Directors, being arrived, his Commiſſions, bearing date the 6th of October, 1797, are read:—The uſual oaths having been adminiſtered to the Earl of Mornington, he now takes his ſeat as Governor General.

Ordered, That the arrival of the Right Hon. Richard, Earl of Mornington, in Bengal, and of his having taken his ſeat as Governor General, be formally announced in garriſon, where the troops are to be aſſembled, and his Commiſſions read, under a ſalute of 19 guns, and three vollies of ſmall arms.

Reſolved, That copies of the Commiſſions appointing the Right Hon. Richard, Earl of Mornington, Governor General of Bengal, and Governor and Commander in Chief of the fort and garriſon of Fort William, and of the town of Calcutta, and of all the forces within the ſaid fort, garriſon, and town, be read at the head of the troops in the different garriſons, and at the military ſtations under the preſidency.

Reſolved, That the following proclamation be read, with the uſual ceremonies, to the troops in the garriſon of Fort William, and at the different ſtations of the army:—

PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the Right Honourable Richard, Earl of Mornington, Viſcount Welleſley, of Dengan Caſtle, and Baron Mornington of Mornington, in the kingdom of Ireland, Baron Welleſley of Welleſley, in the county of Somerſet, in the kingdom of Great Britain, one of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council in the kingdoms of Great Britain and of Ireland, Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county of Meath, and Knight Companion of the Illuſtrious Order of St. Patrick, hath been appointed, by the Hon. Court of Directors, to the office of Governor General of the Preſidency of Fort William in Bengal; it is therefore hereby proclaimed, that the aforeſaid Richard, Earl of Mornington, did, on the day of the date hereof, receive charge of the ſaid office of Governor General, and take the uſual oaths, and his ſeat, accordingly.

By order of the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council,

G. H. Barlow, *Sec. to Gov.*

Fort William, May 18, 1798.

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The following letters, giving an accurate account of the conduct of Scindeah, the celebrated Mahratta Chief, and General Perron, a French officer in his service, respecting the imprisonment of Balajee Pundit (otherwise Nana Furnaivese), are extracted from the eleventh number of the *Indian Telegraph*, and will be found highly interesting.

To the EDITOR *of* THE TELEGRAPH.

"Calcutta, Saturday, May 5, 1798.

"SIR,

"I understand from a friend, that a paragraph appeared in your paper of January last, intimating as an article of Mahratta intelligence, that Scindeah had received a sum of money from Balajee Pundit (otherwise Nana Furnaivese) for his intended journey to Hindustan; that he had persuaded Nana to visit him; and that, on the arrival of Nana, Mr. Perron, with two battalions, seized the Nana, according to a pre-concerted plan between Scindeah and Mr. Perron. It is immaterial to transcribe particulars—the above leading points must sufficiently mark the paragraph to which my friend alludes.

"As I am well acquainted with the principal facts which attended the seizure of Nana, permit me to assert, that the above paragraph is shamefully false with respect to Mr. or General Perron—and that you have been grossly imposed upon by some interested person, who, perhaps from private motives of malevolence, wished to make your paper a medium to traduce General Perron; for the person who sent you the above news, could not be so uninformed as not to know that General Perron, at the time the Nana was seized, was at Coel, and that he is still there. After stating this fact, I am confident you have too much regard for your character as an editor, not to contradict, in a public manner, a false article of intelligence, which implies that a respectable character was necessary to the treacherous seizure of a politically important personage; and I assure you, Sir, General Perron has too much principle and pride to have facilitated or assisted such a treacherous act of violence. The channel from which I have derived my information is undoubted, and is such as few of your correspondents have access to; and as most of the accounts of the seizure of Nana are incorrect, I beg to offer you a more perfect sketch.

"After solemn asseverations, and the ratification of a treaty of peace and amity between Scindeah and Nana, in which a Major Filoze (who commands four battalions, composing Scindeah's body-guard) was not only personally concerned, but of which Major Filoze guaranteed the validity, Nana agreed to visit his most inveterate private and political enemy;—not that he confided in the solemn assertions or oaths of Scindeah; but the sacred and solemn pledge of the Major's honour, and his oath that he should meet neither treachery nor injury, removed the doubts of the subtle politician. To the honour of Europeans it may be said, and grateful it must be to their pride, that one of the most cunning and diffident ministers which India ever produced, relied so much on the faith of an European's pledged honour, that he trusted his riches, his power, and his life, into the hands of his most inveterate enemy. After exulting thus on our national character, what must be the aggravated and painful recoil to our feelings to learn, that *this* confidence was misplaced!—Nana visited Scindeah on

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the 20th of Rajub without fear or anxiety, and was treacherouſly ſeized by two battalions of Major Filoze, and impriſoned. Whether the Major was himſelf betrayed, or whether he had brought the political pliability of the Italian ſchool with him to India, I leave the public to determine:—for the ſake of human nature, I do not wiſh to deliver my opinion.

"To enrich the intelligence I now offer through the medium of your Telegraph, I beg to lay before the public the *authentic* copy of an *intercepted* letter of General Raymond, who commands the Nizam's army, to Major Filoze.

"The letter never reached him, as it was intercepted and preſented to Scindeah. The intrigues it unfolds, the valuable political intelligence it contains, and the *politically* important perſon it is written by, will help to develope ſome of the black clouds which ſeem at preſent to impend over the Mahratta empire, and threaten to burſt on the head of Scindeah:—how far he will be able to contend againſt the ſtorm, a few months will decide."

Copy of a letter from General Raymond to Major Filoze, dated Jan. 13, 1798.

"SIR,

"It is a long time ſince circumſtances have permitted me to recall myſelf to your remembrance:—what I have juſt learnt of the ſeizure of Balagee Pundit, offers reflections which induce me to write to you, to give ſome certain detail of the affair.—Your reputation is too well fixed, to imagine that you have been perſonally concerned in the violation of a treaty which you ſhould forward and ſee executed: nevertheleſs, the report which prevails at preſent is, that this unfortunate perſon has been arreſted, contrary to the rights of men, and to the clauſes of a treaty, of which you were the ſecurity.

"I have no other intereſt in ſpeaking of this, but that which I take for every European, whoſe reputation is dear to me—for we have not yet had an example of European officers having falſified their oaths. I perceive a conſiderable ſtorm, which is forming, and which undoubtedly will burſt, to the diſadvantage of Dowlut Row Scindeah.—The Nabob (Nizam Ally), the Engliſh, Ragogee Boſla, and even Tippoo Sultaun, will be fully ſufficient to give liberty to Balagee Pundit. So, if your credit, or your rights (ſince you are the guarantee of the treaty), can contribute towards it——if you are able to effect this liberty of which I ſpeak, I am not able to calculate the honour that this proceeding will do to you on one ſide, and the great advantages you will derive from it on the other. If you can enter into my views, I will be able to grant you one-fourth more than all you have with Scindeah, and a jaghire of one lack of rupees a year; and I will be ſhortly on the frontiers, when we ſhall be able to keep up a correſpondence.

"I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) "RAYMOND."

"*P. S.* Burn my letter, if it ſhould not ſuit you—but write to me."

Nana Furnaveſe, whoſe brilliant political career we have lately ſeen cloſed by an unmanly ſtratagem, and who has, ever ſince the firſt of the year, been a priſoner in Scindeah's camp, was ſent off, on the 9th inſtant, under a ſtrong guard, to the fort of Amednagur; ſince which, Scindeah has detached a body of his troops againſt Lowghur,

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ghur, a ſtrong hill for about thirty miles on this ſide Poonah, and commonly ſuppoſed to be the grand depoſit of the old miniſter's treaſures.

DEATH *of Monſ.* RAYMOND.

By the laſt accounts from Hyderabad, we are informed of the death of Monſ. Raymond, on the 25th of March laſt; an officer, who, by his talents and enterprize, had elevated himſelf to a rank and fortune ſuperior, we believe, to what any European had ever before attained in the ſame walk of his profeſſion. He is ſaid to be a Frenchman by birth, and to have ſerved in early life under Lally, in the Myſore. About nine years ago, he entered the ſervice of Nizam Ally Khan, by whom he was engaged to raiſe a corps of 500 men; his firſt eſtabliſhment was 300, and the arms of theſe he hired from a merchant of his own nation, at the rate of eight annas (or 1s. 3d.) a month:—this handful of men was increaſed to about 700, when the confederate war took place againſt Tippoo, which he ſhared in the troops of the Nizam, and upon ſeveral occaſions diſtinguiſhed himſelf.

Monſ. Raymond, now becoming every day a greater favourite with the Nizam, increaſed his corps to 5000 men, which, at that juncture, it is ſaid, he was enabled to ſupply with arms by the ſale of military ſtores from Pondicherry; and in this ſituation he was, when the Nizam's ſon, Ally Jah, appeared in rebellion againſt his father. It is well known, that to Monſ. Raymond was confided the duty of reducing the prince; and the prompt as well as effectual manner with which he performed this ſervice, may be ſaid to have raiſed him to the eminence he latterly attained.

He now increaſed his army to 15,000 men, including a complete train of field artillery, poſſeſſing in his own right all the guns and military equipage belonging to it, of every denomination, with 600 horſes, 6000 bullocks, beſides elephants and camels. To pay this army, the Nizam had aſſigned him a jaghire to the extent of 52 lacks a year, which he collected and controled by revenue officers of his own nomination, rendering the overplus into the treaſury of the ſircar. Of his annual net pay, it would be difficult to form any eſtimate; yet, upon this head, it will not be unworthy of notice, that he held one jaghire of about 50,000 rupees per ann. ſeparate from his military ſervice, conferred upon him by the Nizam as a *paba ſoopary* grant to provide him with beetle-nut. It ſhould not be forgotten, that among other tokens of the Nizam's favour and confidence, which he acquired by his ſervice againſt Ally Jah, the whole of the Nizam's ordnance department, was committed to his charge.

Monſ. Raymond, as an officer, is ſaid to have poſſeſſed a very ſuperior degree of merit; and thoſe who have ſeen his troops, generally confeſs that they diſplayed a high ſtate of diſcipline and military character. In the ſtyle of his domeſtic life, he collected around him every luxury and elegance within the reach of an European in the heart of India, and affected, particularly in military parade, the magnificence of a prince. He has been ſucceeded by Monſ. Perron.

Loſs of the Ship BOMBAY.

On Wedneſday, April 17th, the ſhip *Bombay*, Capt. Robertſon, was diſcovered to be on fire in the harbour of Bombay. She was expected to have ſailed the next day

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for Bengal. She burned with great fury; but it fortunately being the firſt of the flood-tide, ſhe drifted clear to the northward of the ſhipping. Notwithſtanding every exertion to ſave the ſhip, ſhe was totally loſt. Whether any lives were loſt, or how the accident happened, we have not yet been able to learn.

Extract of a Letter from Trincomalée, May 3.

The non-commiſſioned officers and privates of the firſt battalion of Coaſt artillery, who have long been and are now ſtationed at the iſland of Ceylon, have voluntarily joined in a requeſt to their commanding officer, Capt. Hayes, to be permitted to ſubſcribe one rupee each, towards the relief of the widows and orphans of the gallant ſeamen and ſoldiers on board Admiral Lord Duncan's fleet, who ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the late glorious action in the north ſeas; and have alſo requeſted it to be remitted to England by the firſt opportunity.

Extract of a Letter, dated Cavalry Lines, Cawnpore, the 7th of May, 1798.

"This morning Joſeph Gardiner, private in the 1ſt regiment of European infantry, was executed, in virtue of the ſentence of a general court martial (aſſembled by order of Major General Sir James Craig, K. B.) for the murder of a Banyan in the bazar of the Futty Ghur diviſion, on the night of the 3d of Jan. laſt.

"Richard Summonds, a private alſo in the ſame regiment, was ſhot, by virtue of a ſentence of the ſame court martial, for deſertion."

Loſs of the Ship HORNBY.

On the 10th of May, between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, the ſhip *Hornby*, Capt. Mackenzie, in the harbour of Bombay, was diſcovered to be on fire; the ſecond officer was awoke by an unuſual heat, and his cabin almoſt filled with ſmoke; he immediately ran upon deck, where he obſerved ſeveral of the people buſied in moving about, but not giving to the officers any alarm of fire. He ordered the hatches to be unlaid immediately, when the ſhip was diſcovered to be on fire on the ſtarboard ſide of the main-hold, and which had already made too much progreſs to be ſuppreſſed by any means then at hand; her cables therefore were ordered to be cut, and ſhe was fortunately towed to the northward, clear of the ſhipping, and grounded near the fiſhing ſtakes. One man was unfortunately killed by the falling of the main-maſt. It is eſtimated that the loſs on this occaſion, in ſhip and cargo, cannot amount to leſs than three lacks of rupees.

Fire on Board the Ship St. CECELIA.

On the 13th May, between eleven and twelve o'clock, ſymptoms of fire were diſcovered on board the ſhip *St. Cecelia*, Capt. Sheen, alſo in the Bombay harbour. On opening the fore-hatches, a ſudden column of fire and ſmoke, iſſuing from the hold, ſo alarmed the people, that they let the hatch fall into the hold, and were then obliged to cover the hatchway with tarpaulins, &c. The fore top-ſail fortunately being bent, the cables were directed to be cut, and the ſail ſet, which was with ſome difficulty effected, moſt of the laſcars having deſerted the ſhip: the maſter-attendant, with praiſe-worthy exertion, was the firſt on board to their aſſiſtance; and getting the ſail properly ſet, ſtood over to the iſland

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iſland of Caranjah, where the ſhip is now on ſhore.—We do not underſtand any lives were loſt on the occaſion. The *St. Cecelia* is ſaid to have had about 1000 bales of cotton on board.

A reward of 10,000 rupees has been advertiſed at Bombay, to be paid to ſuch perſon or perſons as can give information againſt any perſon, ſo as to bring them to juſtice, as may have been acceſſaries in the late fires.

A meeting of the principal merchants and ſhip-owners at Bombay, was held on Sunday the 13th ult. to take into conſideration, the beſt means of preventing theſe dreadful conflagrations in future. Amongſt other ſalutary regulations, all the crews of ſuch veſſels as may hereafter be burnt in Bombay harbour, ſhall be obliged to work out their time due to the ſhip, in the docks; unleſs the captain or officers of the ſhip ſhall publicly declare, that he or they did their utmoſt in ſuppreſſing the fire, and did not precipitately and unwarrantably quit the ſhip in diſtreſs. We doubt not but this regulation will be attended with beneficial effects.

Advices from Poonah notice, that Col. Palmer had received the viſit of the Peſhwa, attended by his brother Chimnajee Appa, and the leading characters of his Durbar, on the 21ſt inſt. when the Colonel took occaſion to preſent the Peſhwa with the jewels, on behalf of the Company, that had belonged to his father Ragonath Row.

The news of Poonah is principally confined to the meaſures of ſeverity that Scindeah has lately adopted towards ſome Brahmans attached to the intereſts of Nana, in order to extort their treaſures:—ſome are ſaid to have died in conſequence of the diſcipline to which they have been expoſed; and Appa Bulwant Row, a Brahman, among the firſt in conſideration in the empire, threatened with perſonal ſeverity, has removed himſelf from perſecution by poiſon.

NAUTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

About a mile and a half W. from the rocky projecting point of Columbo, lies a rock (not laid down in the maps) in 10 fathoms water:—it is covered by about four or five feet of water, and breaks ſometimes with a ſwell, though not generally. A ſhip, ſuppoſed to be the *Alfred* Indiaman, ſtood in, tacked, and ſtood off again, between it and the point, without knowing it was there, and fortunately without touching. It is called the *Drunken Sailor*.

The ſhip *Bergen*, on her paſſage along the coaſt, fell in with a large ſhoal which has been thrown up by the laſt great earthquake that run through the north-weſt coaſt of Sumatra: the bearings of the ſhoal, or rock, are as follows:—North latitude 2° 47′; longitude 96° 35′ eaſt of London; diſtance off ſhore three or four leagues; extremities of land, N. E. by N. to N. W. by N. A remarkable clump, or hillock, appearing on the land, with a circular projecting top to it.

JUNE.

ADDRESS.

To the Right Hon. Lord HOBART, *&c. &c. &c.*

"MY LORD,

"We the underſigned Officers of the Coaſt Army, deeply ſenſible of the national advantages which attended your Lordſhip's public exertions

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exertions in this country, lament that your ſudden and unexpected departure deprived us of the opportunity of expreſſing, jointly with our brethern at the Preſidency, our eſteem and reſpect for your perſon and character, and our ſincere regret at your retiring from power in India.

"Owing to the wiſdom and ability of your Lordſhip's plans, and the confidence repoſed in them by all ranks, thoſe conqueſts were achieved, which have proved no leſs beneficial to the general intereſts of the Britiſh empire, than reflective of new luſtre on the reputation of this army: while the native troops, firmly relying on your good faith and uniform attentions, have embarked for foreign ſervice with a zeal and alacrity which has no example.

"To theſe ſentiments which grow out of the feelings of gratitude and juſtice, we are induced to add an earneſt and anxious hope, that in critical times like theſe, your country may avail herſelf of that integrity and thoſe talents which ſo admirably qualify your Lordſhip for the moſt arduous public truſts.

"We have the honour to be,
"My Lord,
"Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient
"humble Servants."

Signed by 524 Officers of his Majeſty's Army.

At Poonah all buſineſs of late has been at a ſtand, in conſequence of an impoſt of an arbitrary kind on houſes and merchants of all deſcriptions. This meaſure was, during the adminiſtration of Nana, ſeveral times reſorted to, and never without giving great diſguſt, which was evinced by the ſhutting of ſhops, &c. during the collection of the aſſeſſment. The attempt now, or lately, carrying into execution, is of a kind more extenſive than any former example; it included every mercantile inhabitant of the city without exemption.

Extract of a Letter from Madras, dated June 12, 1798.

"I little thought the ſubject of any of the letters I intended myſelf the pleaſure of writing you from time to time, would ever contain the melancholy information I now communicate to you:—My friend, Dr. Bernard M'Mahon (who was ſurgeon of the firſt regiment of European infantry, ſtationed at Ceylon), had unfortunately taken his paſſage for this place, in the *Crocodile*, which touched at, and ſailed from, Trincomallée, on the 29th ult.—but on the firſt inſtant, encountering a ſevere gale in the mouth of the gulph of Manar, foundered with ſix or eight people, juſt at the moment he had got into the long-boat, with the Captain and thirty-four of the ſhip's crew and paſſengers, in all thirty-ſix. For a few days, my ill-fated friend, and his companions in miſery, were expoſed to all the horrors of want, without a drop of water, or nouriſhment of any kind, when they gained the land to the northward, on the evening of the 4th of June, at a place called Mutapilley: my unfortunate friend ſhortly after getting on ſhore, expired in a manner too diſtreſſing to deſcribe."

By the Madras Courier of the 13th inſt. we learn that the paſſengers ſaved were, Mr. Pedding, and two Dutch officers on leave to Madras; thoſe drowned were, Mr. Couts and four children, from Cochin; Mrs. Walters and two children, from Point de Galle; three native women and a child, from Cochin. The moſt humane attention was paid to Capt. Dallas, and thoſe

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those who fortunately reached the shore with him, particularly by the Hon. Mr. Murray, and Capt. Sheppard.

Extract of a letter from Patna dated June 15, 1798.

"At half past four in the afternoon, a large flight of locusts was seen to pass this place; they seemed to have come from the north-west, crossed the Ganges, continued their course in the tract of the river, and went through the air with great velocity, keeping in a south-east direction down the river. At a quarter before five they were very numerous and thick; and were about half an hour in passing. At five they were gone, but were seen like clouds till they had got below Patna. The natives seemed alarmed at seeing them, in their flight through the air, go so quick and regular in a body."

A naval court martial was assembled at Trincomallée, on the 18th ult. for the trial of Capt. W. R. Broughton, the officers and crew of his Majesty's sloop of war the *Providence*, for the loss of that vessel, whilst on a voyage of discovery. The proceedings were finally closed on Tuesday the 21st, when Captain Broughton was honourably acquitted.

PATRIOTIC CONTRIBUTIONS *of His Majesty's 75th Regiment.*

To Lieut. ALEX. M'CALL, *Adjutant 75th regt. at Bombay.*

"SIR,

"We the Non-commissioned Officers and Privates of the 75th regt. (with deference to your opinion as to the propriety of it) request the favour of your presenting the inclosed to Col. Hart.

"We beg leave to be, Sir, with Respect, your obedient humble Servants,

(Signed at their request, for, and on behalf of the non-commissioned officers and privates of the 75th regiment),

"D. M'INTOSH,

Serj. Major 75th regt.

"June 24, 1798."

To Col. Sir GEO. VAUGHAN, *Bart.*

"SIR,

"We, the Non-commissioned Officers and Privates of the 75th regt. animated with a wish of testifying our fidelity and attachment to our Sovereign and Constitution, and anxiously concerned for the security of that government, by which we are not only supported, but enjoy so many blessings, and considering ourselves at all times honoured in defending it, but being, from our situation, removed from our mother country, where, at this arduous crisis, our personal services might be useful, (with the most respectful deference to your opinion) propose a month's gratuity for each rank, as a donation towards the support of the war in which we are engaged.

"We beg leave to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble Servants,

(Signed at their request, for, and in behalf of the non-commissioned officers and privates of the 75th regiment)

"D. M'INTOSH,

Serj. Major 75th regt.

"Bombay, June 24, 1798."

The Officers of the 75th regt. sensible of that spirit and loyalty which the Non-commissioned Officers and Privates of the corps have so well expressed in their letter to Col. Hart, are happy to follow the example, by subscribing, for the same purpose, one month's pay.

(For the Officers)

G. V. HART, *Colonel; Commanding the 75th regt.*

BOMBAY

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Bombay Patriotic Meeting.

June 28, 1798.

In purſuance of an advertiſement which appeared in the Bombay Courier of the 23d ult. wherein the ſheriff ſummoned the inhabitants of that ſettlement to aſſemble, for the purpoſe of promoting a contribution for the defence of the nation, a numerous and reſpectable meeting took place accordingly.

Upon this occaſion, the Sheriff undertook to open the buſineſs of the day, in a ſhort but appropriate addreſs. After remarking, in general terms, the importance of the ſubject that had invited the attention of that meeting, he ſaid, he felt perſuaded, that to expatiate upon it would not only be ſuperfluous, but a bad compliment to their intelligence and patriotiſm. He next proceeded, in terms of delicate circumſpection, to advert to their political ſituation in this country, where our dignity and ſecurity were ſo intimately blended, that it was impoſſible to loſe ſight of the one without endangering the other; and recommended, that while they indulged a zeal which every Briton muſt ſympathiſe in, they ſhould be cautious in exerciſing their judgment, not to expoſe the generous and patriotic motive to be miſtaken by thoſe around them: Britain, ſaid he, hath ever ſtood erect in her own independence: and her ſons, no doubt, would ſupport it there.

The meeting then proceeded to the nomination of a Chairman, when the unanimous voice called Mr. Henſhaw to that ſituation, who entered upon his duty by a panegyric upon the laudable purpoſe for which the aſſembly had met: he pointed out the liberal ſubſcription of their friends in the mother-country, and with various arguments recommended the propriety of their emulating ſo glorious an example.

The Chairman was followed by Mr. P. Hall, who, in an elegant, animating ſpeech, entered more fully into the ſubject of the meeting than thoſe who had preceded him. He enlarged upon the nature of the conteſt in which we were engaged, painted in glowing colours the happineſs we enjoyed under the preſent enviable conſtitution, and argued the happieſt effects from that ſpirit of unanimity and patriotiſm that had been diſplayed in the common cauſe.

Mr. Hall was ſeconded by Colonel Bellaſis, who roſe to give his moſt zealous ſupport to the purpoſe for which the meeting had been convened.

The buſineſs of the meeting cloſed by the voting of the following reſolutions:

Bombay Town Hall, June 28, 1798.

At a numerous and reſpectable Meeting of the Inhabitants, convened this day by the Sheriff, Robert Henshaw, Eſq. in the Chair,

Reſolved unanimouſly, That, under the preſent circumſtances of the war, while our fellow-ſubjects in England are ſo liberally ſubſcribing to aſſiſt government in carrying it on, it becomes the inhabitants of this ſettlement, participating in the advantages ariſing from our preſent conſtitution and laws, to come forward and exert themſelves to defeat the hoſtile deſigns of our inveterate enemy.

Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this meeting, that the moſt effectual aſſiſtance that can be rendered the nation, is by a ſubſcription to be opened for voluntary contributions; and that every exertion ſhould be made to render the ſame as productive as poſſible, and to extend it to every rank and deſcription of inhabitants at the preſidency and its dependencies.

Reſolved, That the following gentlemen be appointed a committee for conducting the ſubſcription:

Maj.

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Maj. Gen. Bowles, Mr. Adamſon,
Colonel Hart, Mr. Fawcett,
Major Cummine, Mr. Forbes,
Mr. Dundas, Mr. Tate,
Comm. Sutherland, Mr. Maiſter, and
Mr. Henſhaw, Mr. Hall.

Reſolved, That the committee be an open committee.

Reſolved, That the committee be empowered to adopt ſuch meaſures as may appear to them moſt conducive towards the promotion of the ſubſcription at the preſidency and its dependencies.

Reſolved, That the money ariſing from ſuch voluntary contributions, ſhall, in the firſt inſtance, be depoſited in the Hon. Company's treaſury; and that, when any conſiderable ſum is collected, the committee will ſubmit to a general meeting of the inhabitants, a plan for applying the ſame in the moſt effectual manner to the end propoſed.

Reſolved, That the Committee meet, for the diſpatch of buſineſs, to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock.

Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Nathan Crow, Eſq. ſheriff, for his ready and zealous attention to meet the wiſhes of the inhabitants, and for the very forcible and energetic manner in which he opened the buſineſs of the day.

Reſolved, That the thanks of the meeting alſo be given to the chairman, for his ready acquieſcence to their wiſhes in taking the chair, and the very able manner in which he conducted the buſineſs of the day.

Reſolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be publiſhed in the Courier and Gazette.

R. HENSHAW, *Chairman.*

Subſcription books, in conformity to the above reſolutions, are opened at the following public offices, viz. Secretary, Adjutant-General, and Superintendant of Marine.

By order of the committee,
R. HENSHAW, *Chairman.*

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

Jonathan Duncan	—	*Rupees* 25000
James Stuart	—	— 30000
James Rivett	—	— 12000
Wm. Page	—	— 15000
John Carnac	—	— 4000
P. Dundas, for W. Relph	—	— 80
P. Dundas	—	— 8000
James Sutherland	—	— 2000
Alex. Adamſon	—	*Rupees* 5000
J. Forbes	—	— 8000
James Tate	—	— 5000
H. Fawcett	—	— 5000
P. S. Maiſter	—	— 4000
R. Henſhaw	—	— 2000
P. Hall	—	— 8000
R. Bowles	—	— 3000
J. Bellaſſis	—	— 4000
Robert Nicholſon	—	— 8000
Thomas Brownrigg	—	— 1600
John Little	—	— 1500
Jeremiah Hawkes, as commiſſary		450
J. Boaden	—	— 800
S. Wilſon	—	— 300
D. Price	—	— 150
H. Woodington	—	— 580
W. Brooke	—	— 400
R. Gordon	—	— 800
F. Crozier	—	— 1000
W. Sandwith	—	— 400
A. Bethune	—	— 150
G. Williams	—	— 150
J. A. Ramſay	—	— 100
N. Gilmour	—	— 20
J. Bannatine	—	— 60
Lieut. Stuart, G. B.	—	150
Barclay, ditto	—	600
Wm. Eaſt	—	— 100
Wm. Morr	—	— 600
R. B. Crozier	—	— 100
Wm. Turner	—	— 60
H. Forreſter, con.	—	2000
Francis Warden	—	— 400
A. Ramſay	—	— 2000
J. Turner, ſen.	—	— 120
J. Taylor Warren	—	100
T. Kemp	—	— 92
G. Kemp	—	— 60
H. S. Pearſon	—	— 300
Levi Phillips	—	— 50
E. Margotty	—	— 320
R. Anderſon	—	— 1000
J. Forteſcue	—	— 50
P. Berwicke	—	— 40
T. Dobinſon	—	— 50
G. Hall	—	— 50
E. Stephenſon	—	— 80
W. Silby, his pay during the war, and now in advance	—	960
J. D. Richardſon	—	90
W. Simpſon	—	— 800
T. Lechmere	—	— 600
Wm. Williamſon	—	800
Colonel Bellaſis and the officers of the corps of artillery, one month's pay each	—	157
Non. com. officers and privates of the 1ſt, 2d, and 6th com. of artillery doing duty at the Preſidency	—	— 209
G. Simpſon	—	— 4000
C. Forbes	—	— 1000

G. Simp-

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S. Waddington	—	Rupees 500
J. Campbell, aid-de-camp to Gen. Stuart	—	120
Lieut. F. Warden	—	60
Major J. Bland	—	500
Capt. A. Walker	—	500
Lieut. F. Parry	—	100
James Smith	—	2500
J. Morris	—	3000
J. A. Grant	—	300
R. Richards	—	2000
C. Reynolds	—	2000
J. Harding	—	2400
J. Mitchie	—	50
Francis Kemp	—	400
J. Loughnan	—	400
C. H. Salter	—	46
J. Pruen	—	30
J. Ruffel	—	20
T. White	—	100
H. Scott	—	500
E. Moor	—	100
J. Robinson	—	60
L. Macquairie	—	300
R. T. Goodwin	—	100
C. Boye	—	180
G. Findlay	—	400
C. C Elphinstone	—	800
D. Seton	—	2500
E. Galley	—	2000
J. H. Cherry	—	1500
J. Church	—	1000
W. Soper	—	900
Lieut. Smith and the detachment of artillery at Surat, consisting of 1 serjeant, 2 corporals, 3 gunners and 6 matrosses, one month's pay each	—	929
R. Church	—	1000
S. Halliday	—	1000
R. Stuart	—	250
Col. R. Jones	—	800
Capt. J. Ward	—	400
T. Munn	—	150
C. J. Mears	—	192
W. Cooper	—	192
Surgeon J. Price	—	400
Lieut. J. Harding	—	168
D. Seton	—	120
J. Morley	—	60
W. Crofts	—	120
S. B. Bell	—	120
T. A. Cowper	—	120
Conductor F. Green	—	50
Garrison serj. major and staff serjs. of the local battalion, each a month's pay	—	50
Serjeant R. Wheeler, (a pensioner)		20
Detachment of European infantry. The 8th or Captain Mun's company, consisting of 3 serjeants, 6 corporals, 2 drummers and fifers, and 74 privates, each a month's pay	—	Rupees 725
W. Boag	—	150

Cawnpore Patriotic Contributions.

Cawnpore, June 28, 1798.

"It appearing, by advice received this day from Europe, by the way of Bombay, that it has been judged expedient in Britain, to bring forward the patriotic spirit of the country in a voluntary contributoin, to support the independence of the country—We, the European Officers, Non-commissioned Officers and Privates of his Majesty's and the Company's troops stationed at Cawnpore, actuated by the warmest affection to our King and Country, and feeling no less interested in those great and invaluable blessings, conceive ourselves equally called upon to contribute to their defence and preservation with our countrymen at home; and we do therefore severally agree to subscribe, for that purpose, the sum opposite our respective names, which we engage to pay, or cause to be paid, in the course of the three ensuing months, into the hands of John Richardson, Esq. Deputy Field Paymaster; and we do desire, that Major General Sir James Craig will apply to the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council, with our request, that he will be pleased to remit the same to the Right Hon. the Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer, by such means as may appear most proper to him."

SUBSCRIBERS.

		Sic. rup.
Major Gen. Sir J. Craig, K. B.		8000
Mr. G. Boyd, head surgeon	—	1000
Major E. Baines	—	1000
D. Parkhill	—	1000
Captain T. Harriot	—	1000
Mr. D. S. Freeman, hos. mate		200
Captain R. Macgregor	—	1000
J. Richardson, Esq. D. F. P. M.		500

Major

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	Sic. rup.
Major T. Alcock, Dep. Q. M. G.	1000
Capt. T. Salkeld, cavalry agent	500
J. Powell, poſtmaſter —	150
Enſign D. Macleod, engineer	100
Mr. K. Macauley, H. M. per ann.	300
Mr. S. Durham, ditto —	150
Mr. R. Robertſon, ditto —	150
Capt. T. Hardwicke, com. ord.	1000
Mr. W. Allaſon, vict. con. agent	200
Major R. Bruce, com. India N. cav.	2000
His Majeſty's 27th Light Dragoons	
Colonel W. St. Leger — —	1622
Major Weſt George Winyard	1086
Samuel Need —	1086
Capt. J. Lowe — —	498
Lieut. J Covell —	444
Lieut. W. Brookes —	324
R. Covell — —	324
R. Whitter — —	324
R. Durie — —	324
T. Smoke — —	324
A. Neſbitt — —	324
J. M. Partridge —	324
G. Bunce — —	324
Hughes — —	324
G. Gore — —	324
Cornet James Sandys —	252
M. G. Blake —	252
H. L. Spencer —	252
J. Hayes — —	252
S. Taylor — —	252
Chaplain, Rev. M. Ahmuty —	731
Surgeon, J. H. Law —	414
Aſſiſtant ditto, J. Sharp —	276
T. Lewes —	276
Quarter-maſter E. Paine —	168
J. Willſon —	168
W. Dennis —	168
R. Richardſon	168
P. Harding —	168
25 Serjeants L. 22 2 4 —	553
24 Corporals 15 13 4 —	380
6 Trumpeters 15 13 4 —	95
852 Troopers 11 1 4 —	3901
2d Regiment Native Cavalry.	
Lieut. Colonel Thomas Welch	1000
Capt. T. S. Bateman —	500
W. Mercer — —	120
P. Black — —	250
R. Nairne — —	150
Lieut. H. Roſe — —	120
Artillery.	
Lieut. Colonel Scott —	1000
Major Carnagie — —	300
Capt. Fraſer — —	140
Conſtable — —	100
Dr. Collie — —	100
Lieut. Butler — —	100
Mitchell — —	100
Sherwood — —	100
Non-commiſſioned and privates	1100

	Sic. rup.
1ſt European Regiment.	
Lieut. Colonel Clark —	1032
Major J. Hilliard — —	500
L. Grant — —	300
Capt. R. Walker —	200
G. Ball — —	120
J. Laurie — —	120
T. Long — —	200
A. Morriſon —	1000
T. Hickman —	120
B. L. Grenier —	100
E. Alliſon — —	100
Lieut. J. Hunt — —	150
Lieut. J. Morſe — —	100
C. Fagan — —	100
E. Clark — —	100
T. Martin — —	100
J. A. P. M'Gregor —	120
C. Mackenzie —	100
G. F. Harriott —	100
M. Boyd — —	100
S. Long — —	100
T. Marſhall —	100
T. Garner — —	100
J. Graham — —	100
H. Howarth — —	100
B. Ryan — —	100
Enſign E. H. Manwarring —	100
H. B. Loyd — —	80
F. V. Raper — —	100
Surgeon W. Ogilvie —	120
Aſſiſtant ſurgeon, J. Law —	240
Grenadier Company — —	473
Light infantry, ditto — —	436
1ſt battalion ditto — —	442
2d ditto ditto — —	355
3d ditto ditto — —	164
4th ditto ditto — —	623
5th ditto ditto — —	211
6th ditto ditto — —	473
7th ditto ditto — —	484
8th ditto ditto — —	384
2d batt. 3d regt. Native Infantry.	
Lieut. Col. Dickſon (per annum during the war) —	800
Major Noke — —	600
Capt. C. Stuart — —	200
Young — —	200
Taylor — —	150
Lieut. Burgh — —	200
Paſchaud — —	120
Muller — —	100
Enſign Lindſey — —	100
5th Native Regiment.	
Lieutenant Col. J. Mackenzie	1000
Major R. Blair — —	1000
S. Cox — —	1000
Capt. J Collins — —	150
Hawkins — —	200
P. Burrowes — —	150

W. Lalle/

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	W. Lalley	—	*Sic. rup.*	120
	Hammond	—	—	120
Capt.	Rawſtorne	—	—	120
	Burrell	—	—	120
	S. Adams	—	—	120
	C. W. Lamborne	—	—	120
	W. Yule	—	—	200
	J. Dawſon	—	—	120
	B. Stewart	—	—	120
	J. Ainſlie	—	—	200
	R. Hodgſon	—	—	120
	J. Hamilton	—	—	120
	Cleobury	—	—	120
	A. King	—	—	120
Lieut.	W. Burke	—	—	120
	F. Dalſton	—	—	100
	J. Roſe	—	—	100
	T. Willſon	—	—	120
	J. Paton	—	—	120
	Greenſtreet	—	—	120
	G. Eagle	—	—	60
	U. Ule	—	—	200
Surgeon	M. Magrath		—	120
Aſſiſtant Surgeon	J. Dyer		—	200

7th Native Regiment.

Major	Morris	—	—	1600
Capt.	J. W. Hopkins		—	120
	J. H. Hutchinſon		—	200
	J. Williams		—	200
	P. Don	—	—	150
	J. Marley	—	—	100
	J. Dunkley		—	200
	S. Kelly	—	—	500
	G. Richards	—	—	100
	R. Eyton	—	—	120
	S. White	—	—	100
Lieut.	P. Littlejohn		—	200
	H. A. Boſcawen		—	100
	R. Skirving	—	—	150
Enſign	G. Wiggins	—	—	150
	C. W. R. Pavoleu		—	100
Surgeon	I. Shaw	—	—	200
Aſſiſtant Surgeon	W. Moore			120

Merchants residing at Cawnpore.

Mr.	R. Bailie	—	—	250
	Maylin	—	—	250
	Smith	—	—	250
	Wheatley	—	—	250
	Ramſay	—	—	200
	Lloyd	—	—	200

JULY.

FUTTYGHUR PATRIOTIC CONTRIBUTIONS.

At a meeting of the Officers and Staff of the ſtation of Futtyghur, aſſembled at the requeſt of Major-General Stuart, on the 1ſt July, 1798, the officers aſſembled elected Major-General Stuart to be preſident of the meeting, and Capt. Alex. Orme to be ſecretary.

The meeting having taken into conſideration the ſtate of the mother country, and being impreſſed with ſentiments of the warmeſt loyalty, reſolved, that they would reſiſt, to the utmoſt of their power, every attempt to infringe upon the rights and liberties of their King, Country, and Conſtitution; and, from local ſituation, being deprived of the honour of adding their perſonal aid to the glorious reſiſtance in Europe, they further reſolved, to the utmoſt of their means, to give pecuniary aid to the national government; for which purpoſe a ſubſcription will be opened at the Brigade Major's office, where gentlemen may ſubſcribe in the manner moſt convenient and agreeable to themſelves.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

Major-Gen. R. Stuart		*Sicca rup*	8000
Major R. Frith, cavalry		—	1000
Captain-Lieut. Richard Frith, ditto			500
Brevet-Capt. G. S. Mounſey, ditto			250
——— A. Knox, ditto			400
Major J. Macintyre, artillery			600
Captain C. Willet, ditto		—	500
Lieut. C. Brown, ditto		—	100
——— A. Matthews, ditto		—	70
Conductor of Ord. H. G. A. Howe			50
Capt. Lieut. J. F. Paſchaud, artil.			250
Dep. Commiſſary of Ord. R. Catts			200
Cornet C. M. Roberts, cavalry			150
Lieut. W. Elliot, ditto		—	150
——— J. Nuthall, ditto		—	150
——— A. Watſon, ditto		—	120
Cornet J. Tombs, ditto		—	150
Lieut. M. Fitzgerald, ditto		—	100
Major W. Burn, 1ſt batt. 1ſt regt.			500
Capt. J. Sinclair, 2d ditto, ditto			300
Lieut. J. Weſton, Eſcort R. S.			100
Surgeon J. Henderſon, 1ſt regt.			500
Aſſiſt. Surg. R. Lowe, 1ſt batt. 1ſt regt.		—	120
Brevet Capt. T. Featherſtone, do. do.			200
Capt. W. Scott, ditto ditto		—	200
——— R. Adams, 2d batt. ditto			200
Lieut. W. B. Macvitie, 1ſt do. do.			62
Brevet Capt. J. Delamain, ditto ditto			100
Major R. Gruebar, 1ſt batt. 6th regt.			200

Brevet

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Brevet Capt. C. Stewart, ditto ditto	120
Brevet Capt. S. C. Jones, 2d ditto, 1ſt ditto — —	100
Surgeon J. Williams, 6th regt.	200
Brevet Capt. J. Rolland, 2d batt. 6th regt. — —	100
Brevet Capt. H. Imlach, 1ſt do do.	100
Lieut. K. Murchiſon, 2d ditto ditto	100
Affiſt. S. J. Henderſon, 1ſt do. do.	100
Capt. J. Crow, 2d ditto, ditto (an order on Meſſrs. Paxton and Co. London) —	160
Capt. W. Duff, ſtaff — —	300
Brevet Capt. A Orme, —	300
Major G. Wood, 2d. batt. 6th regt.	1000
Captain C. Gladvin, ſtaff —	400
Brevet Capt. P. Bradſhaw, Eſq. R. S.	400
Conductor of Ordnance, J. Battie	85
Surgeon P. Cockrane, ſtaff —	480
Lieut. J. Robertſon, 1ſt batt. 6th regt.	100
Lieut. Col. R. Rane, do. nat. regt.	1503
Lieut. Fletcher, 1ſt batt. 6th regt.	100
Brevet Capt. B. Kelly, 1ſt batt. 1ſt reg.	100
——— C. White, 2d do. 6th do.	100
Lieut. fireworker M. W. Brown, artillery — —	60
Capt. T. T. Baſſett, 2d batt. 1ſt regt. (*monthly*) — —	25
—— J. Gordon, cavalry (*monthly*)	25
J. P. Bellow, merchant, per annum, during the war —	600
L. Paul, ditto — —	400

Loſs of the Ship FORT LOUIS.

Extract of a Letter, dated Nagore, July 4, 1798.

"I am ſorry to inform you, that the ſhip *Fort Louis*, Capt. Proby, caught fire laſt night at 8 o'clock, and by nine was on fire fore and aft, and to the maſt heads, when her cable being burnt, ſhe drifted to the E. N. E. the wind then blowing freſh from the W. S. W.

"Every boat and catamaran on the beach, &c. was diſpatched to her aſſiſtance, the inſtant the fire was perceived; but as ſhe lay five miles from the ſhore, and two miles from the neareſt ſhipping, they were of no avail, nor could they ſave a ſingle ſoul belonging to her. I have been out all night, rowing round and near the ſhip, without picking up one of her crew: and on my reaching the ſhore, I found only two men and one boy had reached the beach, the progreſs of the fire being too a rapid to allow them to get out even their ſmall boat, which was ſtowed bottom upwards in the long-boat.

"The *Fort Louis* had on board a cargo, with 20,000 pagodas, and goods to a large amount on freight, and was to have ſailed this morning for Penang. She belonged to Meſſrs. Brown and Young, of that iſland. Adverting to the above melancholy detail, we have only to obſerve, that in this inſtance, *accident* alone could have been the cauſe of the deſtruction of the *Fort Louis*.

"The fire was firſt diſcovered in the Steward's ſtore-room, where oil, ghee, oakum, &c. were ſtowed. This accounts for the extreme fury with which the fire raged in a few minutes after it broke out. Only 15 of the crew, laſcars, are ſaved."

PATRIOTIC CONTRIBUTIONS *Of His Majeſty's 36th Regiment.*

By a letter from Pondicherry, we learn, that the Officers, Non-commiſſioned Officers, and Privates of his Majeſty's 36th regiment, induced by that liberal and loyal ſpirit which has on all occaſions diſtinguiſhed them, had voluntarily ſubſcribed the ſum of 2034 pagodas, for the ſupport and maintenance of the war. We are informed that the Commanding Officer of the regiment had communicated to the Commander in Chief the amount of the ſubſcription, and the ſpontaneous manner in which it had been given, and received in anſwer the following letter:

"*To Major* BURNE, *commanding 36th Regiment.*

"SIR,

"I have had the honour of laying before the Commander in Chief your

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your letter of the 4th inſtant. Lieut. General Harris has deſired me to aſſure you, that as he is highly pleaſed with the ſpirit ſhewn by the 36th regiment on this occaſion, he will have the utmoſt ſatisfaction in communicating to the Commander in Chief in India, ſo honourable a teſtimony of the loyalty and attachment of the regiment to their king and country,

"I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) "KEITH YOUNG,
Acting Dep. Adj. General.
"Fort St. George, July 7, 1798."

PATRIOTIC CONTRIBUTIONS
Of His Majeſty's 33d Regiment.

Calcutta, July 7, 1798.

The Officers of his Majeſty's 33d regiment in Fort William, under the command of the Hon. Colonel Welleſley, have given one month's pay, for the purpoſe of promoting the voluntary ſubſcription for the defence of Great Britain; and the Non-commiſſioned Officers and Privates of that regiment have alſo given one week's pay, for the ſame patriotic purpoſe. The money has been remitted to England by the overland packet, and amounts to about 600l. ſterling.

PATRIOTIC CONTRIBUTIONS
Of His Majeſty's 25th Regiment.

Letters from Arcot, dated 7th inſtant, mention, That the Officers, Non-commiſſioned Officers, and Privates, of his Majeſty's 25th regiment of light dragoons had moſt loyally and liberally ſubſcribed, for the proſecution of the juſt and neceſſary war in which we are now engaged: the ſum collected, at the moment when the letters were written, exceeded 400l. ſterling.

Having noticed the loyal donation of our countrymen of the 25th dragoons, we have to add one equally prompt and loyal from a native corps, the body guard of Madras;—the Subidars of that corps have voluntarily ſubſcribed twenty rupees, the Jemidars ten, and the Privates two rupees each, for the ſupport of the war in which Great Britain is ſo juſtly engaged: a proof of the attachment of this country to the Britiſh government, which reflects the higheſt honour on that government, and on themſelves.

PATRIOTIC CONTRIBUTIONS
Of His Majeſty's 74th Regiment.

The Private men of each company of the 74th regiment on the coaſt, ſent a meſſage to the Officers commanding their reſpective companies, ſaying, that in the preſent critical exigency, "when their country was threatened with an inva ſion, they were ſenſible that it was the duty of every Briton to ſtrain every nerve and exert every power to repel their inveterate enemies the French, and arreſt the progreſs of their deteſtable principles; they therefore had unanimouſly reſolved to ſubſcribe eight day's pay, to carry on the preſent war: a war, unprovoked on our part, and juſtified by the nobleſt of motives, the preſervation of our invaluable conſtitution." The Serjeants and Corporals of the ſame regiment, animated by ſimilar ſentiments, ſubſcribed half a month's pay each: and the Officers have added to theſe ſubſcriptions one month's pay each.

MADRAS
PATRIOTIC CONTRIBUTIONS.

At a Meeting of the European inhabitants of Madras, convened by notice of the Sheriff,

Major

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Major General Eccles Nixon in the Chair,

Resolved, That a subscription be entered into for the support of the war, and that the amount thereof be duly remitted to England.

Resolved, That if the war should be concluded before the arrival in England of the money subscribed, it shall be subject to the appropriation of parliament.

Resolved, That the books be opened and left at the Exchange to receive subscriptions.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed for carrying into effect the purpurposes of this Meeting.

Resolved, That the Committee do consist of the following gentlemen:

Major General Eccles Nixon,
Major General William Sydenham,
Thomas Cockburne, Esq.
Nathaniel Edward Hinderfley, Esq.
Henry Sewell, Esq.
William Harrington, Esq.
Major Alexander Allan,
Captain Keith Young,
Captain William M'Leod,
Josiah Webbe, Esq.
Benjaman Roebuck, Esq.
Charles Nicholas White, Esq.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Sheriff, for convening the inhabitants of the settlement.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Major-General Eccles Nixon, for his conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions, signed by the Chairman, be made known through the channel of the public prints, for the information of the community at large.

Eccles Nixon, *Chairman.*

Fort St. George, July 12, 1798.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

General George Harris	*Pagodas*	2000
F. Latour — —		2500
Palling, De Fries, and Co. —		2000
The Commissioners of the Road, &c. Lottery, by the Sheriff,		5000
Major General E. Nixon —		1000
J. Webbe — —		3500
A. Allan — —		3500
Thomas Cockburn —		3500
Lionel Place — —		3500
Basil Cochrane — —		L. 1500
Kinderfley, Watts, and Co.	*Pags.*	3000
W. Sydenham —		1000
R. Sulivan — —		1000
R. Darval —	*Pags.*	1000
H. C. Montgomery —		1000
C. Lushington — —		80
G. Dunbar — —		100
The Hon. Governor's Body Guard		100
S. Lushington — —		500
R. Turing — —		400
J. Anderson — —		1000
Stephens and Cockell —		1000
W. G. Wright — —		100
J. Gardiner — —		300
Keith Young — —		300
R. Leslie — —		250
W. Harington — —		250
W. Webbe — —		L. 500
Wright, Hurst, and Branson	*Pags.*	300
A. F. Franck — —		50
Dring, Gordon, and Connel		1000
Thomas De Mells — —		200
Thomas De Sowza —		300
Alex. Faleonar — —		500
H. Hall — —		150
G. Bullie — —		250
G. R. Collier —		L. 10 : 10s.
W. Balfour — —	*Pags.*	500
J. Goldingham — —		100
Messrs. G. and J. Galloway —		250
G. Parry — —		1000
H. Brown — —		500
A. Berry — —		500
C. N. White — —		1000
J. Malcolm — —		500
Serjeant Major and Quarter-master Serjeant, and Writers of the Town Major's office —		80
T. Sydenham — —		100
W. H. Hewet — —		100
G. Maidman — —		100
J. B. Travers — —		100
W. Harris — —		100
J. Hodges — —		100
R. Charleton — —		100
Alex. Boiswell — —		200
C. Scott — —		100
Tulluck, Brodie, and Co. —		2000
Colt, Baker, Day, and Co. —		2500
Major Gen. Geils, per ann. during the war, by his letter to the Sheriff —		L. 500
G. Read — —	*Pags.*	200
G. Stratton — —		150
R. Andrews — —		2500
G. Chalmer — —		1000
The Sheriff, on account of Mrs. French — —		20
P. Chiney — —		100
T. S. Ware — —		100
J. Taylor — —		100
G. G. Keble — —		100
G. Lys — —		100
R. H. Latham — —		100
W. Irwin — —		100

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W. Green	—	Pags. 100
J. Wallace, ſen.	—	50
C. Wynox	—	50
R. Williams	—	100
C. Oram	—	100
W. R. Bulman	—	50
C. Torin	—	100
J. H. Peile	—	100
T. Thackray	—	200
J. K. Lane	—	50
W. J. Lane, annually during the war	—	L. 31 : 10s.
J. Brunton	—	Pags. 250
P. Bruce	—	125
J. Underwood	—	200
H Gordon	—	100
W. Spence	—	50
J. Gordon	—	25
John Lenox	—	300
W. Gent	—	700
R. Abbot and Co.	—	2000
Chaſe, Sewell, and Chaſe	—	2500
W. Rayne	—	500
T. Clarke	—	500
W. Leamy	—	200
D. Young	—	50
M. G. Collins	—	1000
R. Harvey	—	25
P. R. Cazalet	—	50
J. L. Heefkee	—	50
C. Maſſey	—	350
S. M. Mooratt	—	1000
D. R. Baboom	—	230
R. Sherſon	—	100
R. Henderſon, annually	—	100
The Sheriff, on account of Capt. R. Dark, artil. (ann. during war)		50
Col. E. Trapaud	—	380
Lieut. Limonds, artil. 1 month's pay, ann. during the war.		
Lieutenant Hathway, ditto ditto		
F. Gahagan	—	50
A. C. Craig	—	50
Hope, Card, and Reynolds	—	100
The Officers of the 2d batt. of art. at St. Thomas's Mount	—	926
Rev. H. Kerr	—	100
William Purſer	—	50
Adrian De Fiers, for G. Baker		500
A. Brooke	—	100
Bold and Riordone	—	125
S. Jeſſon, jun.	—	50
General Braithwait	—	2500
Captain W. Wilſon	—	250
P. Roſs	—	1000
Captain Hill, Madras battalion		150
Lieutenant Crewe, ditto	—	20
Mr. Humpage, ditto	—	20
Two ſerjeants, ditto	—	8
G. Taſwell	—	500
J. A. Bannerman	—	600
S. D. Totton	—	125
J. Hunter	—	Pags. 200
Dring, Gordon, and Connel	—	1000
Captain W. Wilſon	—	250
D. Blair	—	100
Major Burne, officers and men of his Majeſty's 86th regiment	—	2034
Mr. Burlton	—	100
Mr. Thurſby	—	100
Mr. Mackenzie	—	50
Captain A. Grant	—	100
Maj. Tolfrey and officers preſent with 1ſt battalion 12th regiment		371
Lieutenant Boſe	—	20
T. Houlſworth	—	10
T. Oakes, by bill on England		3750
D. Baird	—	100
Lieutenant-Col. Lindſay, 1st regt. 6 months pay.		
J. Lautier, annually	—	50
C. Sheriff	—	100
Major Beatſon	—	1500
The following Officers of the 2d batt. 2d regt. each a month's ſubſiſtence, ann. during the war:		
Lieutenant-Colonel Bowſer	—	75
Major Corner	—	56
Captain-Lieutenant Scoby	—	19
Lieut. Roberts	—	19
—— King	—	19
—— Phillipſon	—	19
—— Macmillan	—	19
—— Sinclair	—	19
J. Phipps, key ſerj. Kiſtnagherry		4
A. Sooze, ſup. ſer. 2d batt. 4th regt.		4
W. Mackay, ſtore ſerj. Kiſtnagherry		4
E. Wallcott Lyte	—	5
J. Eddy, invd. Matroſe of 1ſt batt. of the H. C.'s artillery	—	1
J. Mather, ſurveyor	—	15
Macdonald	—	19
Enſign Pereira	—	15
—— Falconar	—	15
The Officers preſent with the 1ſt regt. nat. cav. each 1 month's ſubſiſtence:		
Captain Watſon	—	56
Lieut. Stretch	—	34
—— Dunn	—	34
—— Dallas	—	34
Cornet Monteath	—	30
—— M'Gell	—	30
Aſſiſtant-Surgeon Fallowfield		19
Europ. Officers 2d reg. Nat. cav.		800
Sir Paul Joddrell	—	1000
Lieut Col. A. Read	—	2500
R. Cameron, maj. 2d batt. 4th regt.		100
Capt. J. G. Graham	—	100
Lieut A. Limond, 2d. batt. 4th regt.		15
G. Doveton, maj. 1ſt batt. ditto		100
A. Ormſby, capt. ditto ditto	—	50
J. Hawkins, lieut. ditto ditto		50
J. Fotheringham, lieut. engin.		20

R. H. Fother-

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R. H. Fotheringham, ditto ditto Pags. 30
R. Stanley, lieut. 1ſt batt. 4th regt. 15
H. M. Cormick, lieut. ditto ditto 25
J. Innes, capt. ditto ditto — 30
A. Greenhill, capt. 2d ditto ditto 20
J. Brown, lieut. — — 25
S. Ireton, capt. ditto ditto — 50
T. Hickey, lieut. ditto ditto 25
G. King, quart. maſt ſerjt. ditto ditto 4
J. O'borne, ſerjt. maj. ditto ditto 4
T. Munro, capt. — — 100
Capt Aiſkil, 1ſt batt. 5d regt. Nat. Inf. 3d days, and 3d days half batt. monthly during the war
A. Cuppage, maj. — 60
C. Hudgſon, lieut. 1ſt batt. 5th regt. 15
J. Munro, capt. — — 100
W. Macleod, capt. — 200
S. M'Morris, aſſiſt. ſurg. — 20
C. Carpenter, Com. Ref. at Salem 20
J. Collins, aſſiſt ſurg. ditto — 50
J. Innes, capt. — — 20
C. Campbell. capt. — 80
A. Lindſay, capt. — — 100
J. M'Dowal, lieut 1ſt batt. 5th regt. 20
H. Yarde, lieut. 1ſt batt. 9th regt. 20
P. Le Meſurier, lieut. 1ſt do. 5th do. 20
J. Gillmore, aſſiſt. ſurg. 50 pags. and 150 annually during the war 50
A. Mathuſon, mercht. — 10
J. K. Symons, capt. — 100
R. Munro, capt. adj. and qt. maſt. 100
T. S. Jackſon, pay Kiſtnagery 100
W. Ord, aſſiſt. ſurg. Kiſtnay 50
W. Peyton, ditto — — 25
W. Elair, lieut. art. — 20
Captain T. Munro 500
Hon. Col. St. Leger — 250
A. Read — — 100
Captain Caper — — 600
——— A. Gibbons — 250
Lieutanant-Colonel J. Oram 500
R. Hughes, Eſq. — 250
H. Milan, Eſq. — — 100
Lieutenant P. Joyes — 50
J. James, aſſiſtant ſurgeon — 60
J. D. Greenhill — — 40
J. Kenworthy, Eſq. — 1000
H. Taylor, Eſq. — — 500
E. Atkinſon, Eſq. — 1250
J. Chinnery, Eſq. — 262
J. Dunkin — — 50
A. Simeons, ſurgeon — 50
G. S. Martin — — 2500
J. Caſanmajor — — 200
Goodſon Vines — — 100
J. Inglis — — 100
J. Stephens — — 30
J. Weibel — — 10
C. Gambier — — 250
Colonel Dupont — — 77
B. Torrin, Eſq. — — 2500

T. Cooper — — Pags. 80
W. Aſh — — 8
J. Snow — — 1000
Major-General Brydges — 1500
Captain Taylor — — 500
——— Shippey — 50
Lieutenant Beauman — 50
Capt. A. Caldwell, Beng. art. 50
M. Coſby per annum during war 250
Lieutenant Shaw - - 50
——— Munro - - 50
Lieutenant-Colonel W. Kinſey 250
——— Grant - - 50
——— Campbell - - 20
W. Gordon - - 250
Officers and Men of the 2d diviſion 2d regiment of European infantry 250
Alexander Britton and Co. - 500
Ditto for Captain D. Mackenzie 100
Mr. Hawes - - 50
R Campbell - - 50
Major Howley, art. - - 40
Lieutenant Blair, ditto - 20
Captain J. Wheadon - - 25
Garriſon ſerjeant-major Bliſs - 6
Captain J. S. Caldwell, engineer 50
A. Connor, conductor of ſtores 15
J. Newberry, ditto - - 15
Lieutenant Bryant - 20
——— Markes - 20
Serj. maj. and quart. maſt. ſerj. 1ſt batt. 10th regt. - - 9
Lieutenant Reynolds - 21
Mr. Garthſhore - - 25
A Anderſon - - 500
Major Coke - - 150
W. Iſacke - - 50
Lieutenant C. Armſtrong - 25
W. Brown - - 1000
J. Reid - - 500
Major-General Floyd - 2000
Lieutenant-Colonel Murray - 800
G. A. Ram, Eſq. - - 1250
Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts - 1000
Major E. Gibbings - - 800
Lieutenant-Colonel Fotheringham 500
Major Torin - - 150
Captain J. Taylor - - 500
Mr. Torriano - - 200
Captain Pearſon - - 100
J. Dorlet ann. during war - 50
J. Windes - - 30
J. Wallace, jun. - - 50
Lieutenant Sober - - 75
W. Vaughan - - 30
W. A. Gray - - 30
T. Spalding - - 75
J. Mackman - - 50
R. N. Bouncher ann. - 30
Lieutenant S. Crump - 50
Hon Lieut. Col. St. John - 200
W. Ainſlie, ſurgeon - 100

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	Pags.
Lieutenant R. Shaw	40
W. Peters, fub. affift. furg. 1 month's pay	10
J. Clapp, conductor of ftores, ditto	15
Serj. Maj. J. Heal, 1 month's net pay during the war	6
Serj. maj. Sherfon 1 month's pay	6
W. Lomax, late Park ferj. B. A.	3
J. Funeftal, late gunner 1ft B. A.	1
J. P. Holmes, fupernumerary	2
M. De Souza., paymafter affiftant	2
Colonel Sale	125
Mr. Shardon, paymafter	70
Major Macdonald	50
J. Beft, cond.	36
Captain, A. Boyd	50
A. Watfon	10
Captain W. Beazely	57
G. Willoughby, cond. of ftores	8
Serjeant Rofenood, key ferj. Salem	5
Store ferjeant Wallabank, Salem	5
——— Fox, Pinagra	6
Serjeant Dove	6
J Clark, cond. of ord.	15
Serjeant-Major J. Baker	5
Store ferj. J. Co'feland	5
Key ferj. W. Hall	4
R. Macartney, quar. maft. ferg. 1ft batt. 5th regiment	5
J. Kelley, ferj art.	4
R. Reeves, Gunner, ditto	1
Serj. Maj. Chapman, 1ft batt. 4th regt. Native infantry	5
Mr Morgan, cond. of ord.	6
G. Taylor, ord. wri. Riacottah	5
Quar. Maft. Serj. Keafer, 1ft batt. 4th regt. Native infantry	5
J. Everett, ftore ferj.	5
J. Crifp, key ferj.	5
F. Hartley, ferjeant major	4
J. Anderfon, barrack ferj.	4
J. Pope, ferjeant	5
J. Bentley, key ferj.	5
Y. Hankey	100
Col. M. Martinz	1000
W. Akin, ferjeant	6
C. Kennedy	50
William Tait	100
H. Rice	3
L. Gollit	8
F. Hockman	3
R. Elliett	3
T. Williams	3
W. Hannah	2
J. Pinch	2
Serjeant J. Shaw	2
D. W. Grant	5
D. T. Rofs	2
D. W. Hazely	4
D P Whannel	3
D. G. Childs	2
P. R. Scrivener	4

	Pags.
D. R. Taylor	8
S. J. Stevenage	2
The following Officers of the 1ft batt. 2d reg. N. I. ftationed at Dindigul:	
Enfign L. Gordon, R. S.	133
Lieut. T. H. Powell	175
—— J. Simpfon	175
—— G. Warburton	175
—— J. Ruffel	175
—— T. Rand, jun.	175
—— T. Hampton	175
—— W. Harris	175
Lieut. and Adj. B. Dodd	300
Lieut. and Adj. and Quart. Maft. J. Defborough	385
Lieut. M. Stewart	175
J. Simons, captain on the ftaff	378
P. Dalls, ditto	378
A. Robertfon, ditto	378
J. Goldie, furgeon	350
Sub. Sec. of Lieut. Col. Brown, of the ftaff	1000
The Nat. Com. Non-com. and Sepoys of the 1ft batt. 2d regt. and the public and private Followers attached to that corps	3149
Eu. Inf. and artil. Dindigul	5715
Lieut. Bagthaw, fort adj. ditto	100
Followers, ditto	10
Serjeant Major at ditto	6
Key Serjeant at ditto	6
18th Com. Nat. In. at ditto	186
J. Johnfon, con. of ftores, and the ftore ferj. at ditto	215
Hon. Lieut. G. Turnour	100
Benj. Marfden	30
D. Keith, ferjeant major	4
One comp. 2d batt. 1ft regt.	183
Major Smart	250
Capt. Davidfon	114
—— Bruce	80
D. J. Johnftone	100
Lieut. Tichborne	50
Wm. Smith	50
J. Knowles	50
Capt. C. Trotter, 1ft batt. 5th regt.	25
Lieut. J Maitland	35
Capt. Bovnefs, Muggletore	100
His Majefty's 80th regiment	2500
Capt. Hadow, 1ft batt. 9th regt. N. In. ann. during the war	50
B. Foffer, enfign, 4 days' pay, monthly, during the war	
J. Shaw, ann. during the war	15
T. French, ferjeant	10
J. Thompfon, ferj. major, annually	5
J. William, ftore ferjeant	3
W. Dalton, key ferjeant	3
W. Shillingworth, gun. invalid	1
J. Gage, ditto ditto	1
T. Allan, matrofs ditto	1
T. Burgefs, ditto ditto	1

Capt.

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		Pags.
Capt. T. Hayes	—	100
Lieut. Hammond	—	100
F. Ifaack, lieut. art.	—	25
C. Rogers, affift. furgeon	—	60
James Gillie, lieut. art	—	25
Serjeant and fub-cond. Brown		50
Four ferjeants at 4 pags.	—	16
Five corporals at 2 ditto	—	10
Ten gunners at 1 ditto	—	10
Fifty-eight matroffes at 1 ditto		58
One drum and fife at 1 ditto		2
Capt. H Evans	—	100
Admiral Rainier	—	1000
John Brounsker	—	500
Lieut. Goldfworthy	—	50
W. C. Jackfon	—	1000
Syrangs, Tindals, &c. attached to the 1ft comp. 1ft batt. artillery		100
F. A. Grant	—	250
J. Call	—	500
Lieut. Col. Vigors	—	400
Capt Hunt	—	50
—— Forbes	—	100
—— Ridge	—	100
—— Riddel	—	100
B. Branfill	—	1000
J. Peat, affiftant furgeon	—	25
Lieut. S. Johnfon	—	25
Capt. A. Orr	—	60
—— W. Macleod, in addition to his former fubfcription	—	300
—— J. Norris, 1 month's pay ann. during the war	—	38
—— T. Parkinfon, ditto	—	38
Doctor C. Rogers, ditto	—	19
Lieut. J. Clevill, ditto	—	19
—— D. Macgregor, ditto	—	19
—— A. Fair, ditto	—	19
—— W. H. Gordon, ditto	—	19
—— J. Duncan, ditto	—	19
—— J. Seward, ditto	—	19
Doctor R. Stone	—	40
Mr. P. Bowie	—	350
Mr. Skinner	—	100
Capt. W. Jolly	—	125
Three companies of 1ft regt. European Inf. at Point de Galle		200
Capt. T. Gillum	—	150
Lieut. T. Meulh	—	50
—— T. A. Conner	—	50
—— Barker	—	50
—— Pollock	—	25
—— Hazard	—	55
Regimental non-com. ftaff	—	19
Non-com. and privates of 3 comps.		278
Capt. C. Deighton	—	250
G. Weftcot 100l. ann. during the war	—	250
Officers of 3d regt. Native Cav.		600
Lieut. Col. Orr, 6 month's pay		521
Capt. Huddlefton, 1 months' pay and 2 months' batta	—	114
Lieut. M'Gregor	—	50
Cornet Darlell	—	44
J. Dalton, M. D. 1 month's pay ann. and his arrears whilft ferving with his Majefty's 74th regt.		
Lieut. Col. Clofe	—	800
Capt. Deffe	—	150
Lieut. B. Barclay	—	25
—— R. Ogg	—	25
—— Col. Croker	—	500

The following Subscriptions at Vizagapatam.

Lieut. Col. Fotheringham, in addition, 100l. per ann. during the war	—	250
P. Crifwell	—	50
R. Malcolm	—	500
T. Blackmore	—	170
C. Ogilvie	—	250
P. Lawfon.	—	142
J. Teyenton	—	50
W. Hackery	—	50
J. D. White	—	100
G. Wilfon, ann. during the war		250
W. Clark	—	28
N. Webb	—	285
Ditto, ann. during the war	—	142
F. A. Robinfon	—	100
J. Frazer	—	20
Staff Serjeant, Drummers and Fifers of the garrifon	—	34
European artillery invalids	—	4
W. Youngfon	—	100
J. Fox, ferj. invalids	—	5
Serjeant Relin	—	1
T. Morris, private	—	1
Serjeants Rapling and Richard		1
A. Mackenzie	—	142
Subfcription of European officers and ferjeants of 4th regt. native Cavalry		
Major T. Dalles, 1 month's fubfiftence ann. during the war		73
Capt. J. Leonard, ditto	—	56
—— W. Elliot, ditto	—	56
—— A. Deas, ditto	—	56
—— P. Walker	—	56
Lieut. U. Mackay, ditto	—	34
—— G. Neale, ditto	—	34
Cornet D. Foulis, ditto	—	30
—— D. Grant	—	30
Affift. furg. J. Fancourt	—	19
Serjeant Major W. Shubze		6
Quarter Maffer Serjeant J. Cowan		6
Serjeant N. Rodgers	—	4
—— P. Pinze	—	4
Officers, Quarter Maffer Serjeants, Corporals, Dragoons of his Majefty's 19th regiment	—	2000
W. Hawkins	—	1000
Officers, Serjeants, Corporals, Gunners		

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ners and Matroſſes of the 1ſt batt. art. ſouth of Coleroon — 560

Officers of the Hon. C.'s 2d batt. 3d. regiment, as follows:

Lieut. Col. Oliver — — 200
Capt. S. Cuppage — 100
—— E. M. Gepp — — 100
—— P. H. Keay — — 100
—— Lieut. Cunningham — 100
C. Rand — 100
Lieut H. Smith — — 50
—— H M'Intoſh — 40
—— P. Baynes — 50
—— H. F. Smith — 20
—— S Fiſh — — 20
—— F. Ahmutty — 20
Inverarity, aſſiſtant ſurgeon 50
T. F. D. Havilland, lieut. eng. 30
Capt. W. S. Limrick — 100
J. Richardſon — — 100
Capt. M. M'Gregor — 150
Lieut. W. Peacock — 20
—— E. Lyne — — 20
Enſign J. Campbell — 20
—— Ball, chaplain — 80

The 1ſt Regiment of European Infantry, each one month's pay.

J. Marſhal, Lieut.
Burton, ſerjeant
Privates—Beaumont, Hyde, Lorriman, Lebſcomby, Prieſt, M'Coy, M'Hally, Prichard, Prentice, Staggers, Vaughan, Ward, Dekin, Wood
Daniel Ince — — 500
E. W Fallowfield — 2000
Rev. C. Pole — — 25
Native Servants in paymaſter's and garriſon ſtore-keeper's department, at Tritchinopoly; the Vakeels for the payment of families of Sepoys on foreign ſervice, one month's pay each — — 69
W. W. Stanhope — 20
Capt. J. Graham — 100
—— F. Pierce — — 250
Lieut. J. Maclean — 125
His Majeſty's 25th dragoons 1563
Ditto, 12th foot — — 2173
Ditto, 19th ditto — — 2500
Ditto, 73d ditto — — 2500
Ditto, 74th ditto — — 2650
Lord Clive — — 6250
His Majeſty's Swiſs regiment of Meuron, and commiſſioned Officers; the amount of their ſubſcription annually during the war — — 2778
E. Mackay — — 20
Capt. J. Graham, in addition 150
Serj. Maj. Watter — 21
Key Serj. Barlow — — 21
Store Serj. Mondick Pags. 21
Barrack Serj. Doyde — 21
W. Wheatly — — 30
Capt. C. Macauley — — 500
Capt. Caldwell of the engineers, in addition to his former ſub. 150
Major Jeneret — — 125
Lieut. T. Coghlan — — 50
—— C. Mandeville — 50
—— A. Rochead — — 50
Aſſiſt. Surg. J. Carnie — 50
Non-com. Officers and Privates of the 1ſt R. E. I. doing duty at Jaffnapatam — — 109
Aſſiſt. Surg. S. Heward — 50
T. R. Macdonald — 50
Lieut. J. Noble, artillery — 50
—— E. P. Long — 25
—— J. Campbell — 25
—— C. Faran — — 25
Hon. Fred. North 1500l. per ann. during the war, payable from his ſalary as Governor of Ceylon — — 3750
Mr Stevenſon, ſurgeon — 50
Mr. Balmain — — 200
B. Woodcock, Eſq. — 50
Capt. W. Douſe — 150

A. ALLAN, *Treaſurer.*

Madras, Oct. 12, 1798.

ADDRESS TO HIS MAJESTY.

Fort St. George, Oct. 1, 1798.

At a Meeting of the Subſcribers to the Voluntary Contributions for the ſupport of the war, the Committee laid before the Meeting a ſtatement of the contributions, amounting to one lack and ninety thouſand pagodas, of which one lack and ſixy thouſand have been received by the Treaſurer, and paid into the Hon. Company's caſh.

Reſolved, That an humble Addreſs to his Majeſty, ſuitable to the occaſion, be prepared, and that a Committee be appointed for that purpoſe

Reſolved, That the Committee do conſiſt of the members of the preſent committee with the addition of the Hon. Baſil Cochrane, and Lieut. Col. Cloſe.

The Committee having accordingly retired, prepared the following draft of an Addreſs to his Majeſty, which having been read to the Meeting, was unanimouſly approved.

"To

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"*To the* KING's *Moſt Excellent Majeſty,*

The moſt humble and dutiful Addreſs of the Britiſh Subjects at Madras and its Dependencies.

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"At the moment of conveying to our country a pledge of our affection, we, your Majeſty's moſt duriful and loyal ſubjects, impreſſed with the moſt reſpectful and cordial ſentiments of loyalty and attachment to your royal perſon, which no diſtance can impair, no abſence diminiſh, beg permiſſion to approach your Majeſty, as the auguſt head of that conſtitution which binds our hearts and intereſts by indiſſoluble ties to our native country.

"Looking to that invaluable conſtitution for the beſt protection of individual ſecurity, civil liberty, and rational freedom, we cannot but feel an earneſt intereſt in the exertions which have been made, to defeat the attempts of our inveterate enemies; againſt ſuch enemies, and the ruinous principles they propagate, we beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that we are ready with our lives and fortunes to ſupport your Majeſty's crown, and the conſtitution of our country; and we implore Divine Providence to continue that influence over your Majeſty's perſon, councils, and arms, which has hitherto enabled your Majeſty to contend, with ſucceſs, againſt the efforts of our enemies; to the end that your Majeſty may obtain for your people, a ſafe, laſting, and honorable peace."

Reſolved, That a fair copy of the above addreſs be made, and left at the Exchange for ſignatures.

Reſolved That the Committee be deſired to preſent the addreſs, in the name of the Meeting, to Lord Clive, and to requeſt that his Lordſhip will be pleaſed to take ſuch meaſures as he may think moſt proper, for tranſmitting it to his Majeſty.

Reſolved, That when a day ſhall be fixed for preſenting the addreſs to Lord Clive, notice may be given to the Inhabitants, that they may accompany the Committee on the occaſion.

Reſolved, That the thanks of the meeting be given to Major General Nixon for his conduct while in the chair.

Reſolved, That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Committee, for the attention they have paid to the objects of this and the former meeting.

A. ALLAN, Sec.

Fort St. George, 12th Oct. 1798.

This day, purſuant to the foregoing reſolutions, the Committee, attended by the Britiſh inhabitants, waited upon the Right Hon. Lord Clive, and preſented the following Addreſs to his Lordſhip, together with the Addreſs to his Majeſty.

"*To the Right Hon.* EDWARD, LORD CLIVE, &c.

"MY LORD,

"We beg leave, in the name of the Britiſh Inhabitants at Madras, and its Dependencies, to deliver to your Lordſhip an Addreſs to his moſt gracious Majeſty, which has been unanimouſly agreed to at a public Meeting; and we requeſt your Lordſhip will be pleaſed to take ſuch meaſures as you may deem moſt proper for its being preſented to his Majeſty.

"We have the honour to be,

"With great reſpect, my Lord,

"Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient

"And very humble ſervants,

E. Nixon,	N. E. Kinderſley,
T. Cockburn,	W. Harrington,
H. Sewell,	W. Macleod,
K. Young,	B. Roebuck, and
J. Webbe,	C. N. White."
W. Sydenham,	

To which his Lordſhip was pleaſed to return the following anſwer:

Fort St. George, Oct. 12, 1798.

"*To the Committee of the Britiſh Inhabitants of Madras and its Dependencies.*

"GENTLEMEN,

"It is with the greateſt pleaſure I undertake to execute the commiſſion

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miſſion you have thought fit to honour me with, of tranſmitting the unanimous Addreſs of the Inhabitants of Madras and its dependencies, to his moſt gracious Majeſty.

"This teſtimony of your loyalty to your Sovereign, and of your zeal for the Public Service, will, I am confident, be acceptable to his Majeſty, and will be heard by your fellow-ſubjects in England with a juſt and grateful admiration of your affectionate ſolicitude for the welfare of your native country. It will afford the moſt unequivocal and honourable proof, that your diſtance from the parent ſtate, and your remote ſituation from the immediate theatre of war, has not been in any degree able to diminiſh the lively and patriotic attachment which Engliſhmen will ever feel to that glorious conſtitution, the bleſſings of which we have ſo long enjoyed, and which it is the avowed object of our inveterate and deſperate enemies to deſtroy.

I am happy to have this public opportunity of declaring my cordial concurrence in the ſentiments you have expreſſed, and ſhall feel the moſt ſincere ſatisfaction in being the inſtrument of conveying to his Majeſty, this pledge of your determination to ſupport the government of your native country, and to uphold its unrivalled ſyſtem of religion, order, liberty, and law.

"I have the honour to be,
"With the greateſt reſpect,
"Gentlemen,
"Your moſt obedient and
"faithful ſervant,
(Signed) "CLIVE."

CALCUTTA PATRIOTIC MEETING.

On Tueſday morning the 24th inſtant, the principal Britiſh inhabitants of Calcutta aſſembled at the theatre, purſuant to a requeſt of Mr. VANZANDT, the Sheriff, to conſider of an Addreſs to his Majeſty, and alſo to promote Voluntary Contributions for the Public Service in this part of India.

The Meeting was moſt numerouſly and reſpectably attended. The Sheriff took the Chair, and expreſſed himſelf much gratified, that the public application he was requeſted to make, had produced ſo reſpectable an aſſembly, for the important objects which would be ſubmitted to their conſideration.

Mr. BURROUGHS, the Company's Advocate General, then addreſſing himſelf to the Sheriff, ſaid, it could not but be highly gratifying to every man who was a friend to the very laudable object the Sheriff had mentioned from the chair, to ſee ſo very numerous and reſpectable an attendance in conſequence of the public notice he had given. It was an additional proof of that ardour which had been ſo univerſally felt, ſince the late accounts had been received here of ſimilar meetings in Europe, and of the inſolent menaces of our ancient rivals and inveterate enemies, by which thoſe meetings had been occaſioned. In England we had ſeen that ardour animating all ranks of people, from the monarch on his throne, to the loweſt of his ſubjects; and here already it had produced ſuch liberal, or rather, he ought to ſay, ſuch ſplendid proofs of patriotiſm among our military friends at various ſtations, as demanded our higheſt applauſe. In this ſettlement itſelf, he, and he was ſure many other gentlemen, had witneſſed the impatience, with which the preſent meeting had been expected: many thought it had been

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been too long delayed; and he for one ſhould, he owned, have been very deſirous of an earlier meeting, if it had been poſſible ſufficiently to conſider and prepare for all the different circumſtances which, upon conferring with ſeveral of the moſt reſpectable gentlemen in the ſettlement, he had been convinced it was proper to attend to, on ſo important an occaſion. But, however deſirous he, and the friends under the ſanction of whoſe opinion and approbation he now ventured to call the attention of the Meeting, naturally felt themſelves of coming forward as ſpeedily as they could, yet he was convinced no man could be unwilling to yield the palm to the gallant corps, who, with that ardour ſo natural to their profeſſion, had in this country taken the lead in manifeſting their readineſs to devote their fortunes, as they have devoted their lives, to that ſtate, whoſe rights they were ever ready to aſſert. He felt, he owned, very particular pleaſure from their being the leaders on the preſent occaſion, and could not expreſs the degree of praiſe and admiration to which he thought they were entitled, for ſuch proofs of their attachment to their country. They had felt as all other men had felt who loved Great Britain, ſince the real views of the French had been made apparent to all the world by the late negociations at Liſle. Since that memorable tranſaction, indeed, no reaſonable man appears to have entertained a moment's doubt as to the objects of the enemy. There our enemies had been put to a final and deciſive teſt, and no man now could doubt, that nothing ſhort of the deſtruction of our trade, and of that free and happy conſtitution which has made Great Britain the firſt empire upon earth, could ſatisfy their rancorous envy, and confirmed hatred. There, by the candour, coolneſs, and ability of the Britiſh miniſter, the maſk had been completely removed from the real tyrants and pretended philoſophers of France, who, covered with ruins, and drenched in the blood of their own unhappy country, and at the very time of their pouring out their perfidious profeſſions of peace and moderation towards all the world, were meditating ſchemes of the moſt unbounded ambition, and forging chains for all the nations that ſurrounded them. This, he ſaid, had become ſo plain and clear at Liſle, that the enemy no longer attempted to diſſemble or deceive, but now hoped, by menace and alarm, to terrify thoſe whom they could not over-reach; they had determined, if we were to believe their declarations, to invade Great Britain from many different parts of their extended coaſt; and are even ſaid to have marched armies, aſſembled generals, conſtructed moſt extraordinary and unheard-of rafts, to make good their paſſage; and to have carried their inſolence ſo far, as to propoſe loans on the credit of anticipated ſpoil and plunder in England, which they allowed to be the richeſt country upon earth. That all theſe threats were but the gaſconades of that vain and vapouring people, many men believed. And if we could ſtill apply to France the rules and reaſoning which applied to her in former times, that opinion would be but reaſonable; but we muſt recollect the changes which have happened there, and that her rulers now are probably not leſs anxious to ſacrifice thoſe armies, whoſe return they fear, than they are anxious

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to disturb the internal peace of England, and take their chance of those events which might be produced by their effecting a descent in either of the British islands in the present times. They have long since, we know, sold those districts when they appropriated at the commencement of the war, to reward their armies after peace, That breach of faith, they knew, must subject them to a severe account, and must render the return of those armies not a little formidable. The ultimate destruction of those troops they might persuade to embark on their desperate expedition, would therefore be to them a relief, and not a loss; and the actual mischief they might do to England, would be in fact a gain.

Preparations to attack them must, they know, be made; and they vainly hoped that her numerous taxes, and heavy debt, will incapacitate Great Britain from the expence of much greater efforts. By their mere threats, therefore they conceived they could wage successful war on our finances. They hoped to alarm and divide the people, to injure our public credit, and oblige us to submit to the destructive terms they had at Lille the insolence to demand Happily, however, instead of dividing, they had united the people; and instead of lowering, they had raised the public credit; and they had at length roused the genuine spirit of the British character, to resent and chastise their insolence. In that astonishing country, we had seen such proofs of power and resources as the world would scarcely credit, and we had seen every hand and heart united in the common cause. The clergy and the laity, the nobility and the commons, the rich and poor, the old and young, all classes, ranks and descriptions of our fellow subjects, without distinction of sex or age, had come forward with a zeal which may be felt, but cannot be described; they had sacrificed large portions of their private fortunes for the service of the state; all had crowded round the throne with the most ardent offers of support, and, by their truly noble conduct, had shewn the world the advantages of our glorious constitution, which can alone account for the power and pre-eminence of England, and has enabled her to stand the bulwark of the whole civilised world, the envy of all her enemies, and the admiration of all the other nations of the earth. Here, Mr. Burroughs said, he was satisfied there was no less ardour, than there had been at home; and in offering any observations to the meeting, as to any particular reasons for our exerting ourselves on so momentous an occation, he really felt that he was trespassing unnecessarily on the time and attention of the many respectable persons present. That some such reasons, however, did exist, no man could deny. We had enjoyed, he said, uninterrupted peace in India, while other parts of the empire had suffered all the calamities of war. We had heard the distant thunders of the storm, but all its desolating fury was visited on other regions of the globe. Our revenues, population, and agriculture, had increased considerably, and were still increasing, under the blessings of tranquillity and of the English laws; while, in some of the West Indian islands, the enemy had laid waste the property of thousands of our fellow-subjects, and added tenfold horrors to the usual calamities

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mities of war, by arming the ſlaves againſt their maſters, and exciting them to commit ſuch maſſacres and plunders as muſt for ever brand with infamy thoſe who had ſet them on. The few loſſes we had ſuffered on the Indian ſeas, (and very few, he was happy to ſay, they were) had occaſioned no failures—ſcarcely, he believed, any individual diſtreſs; while the captures made by the enemy before their navies had been annihilated, had ruined many of the greateſt houſes in England. The trade of India to Europe, including the Company's inveſtments and thoſe of private merchants, had been, he believed, more than double its former amount; and though, by its immenſe extent, and by the expence of thoſe armaments which had made us maſters of almoſt every valuable poſſeſſion our enemies had before the war, a ſcarcity of caſh was felt in this capital, yet he was happy to ſay, and he had good reaſon to believe, that this temporary inconvenience would ſoon be relieved by expected returns from Europe, of the capital which had been tranſmitted thither in goods; and, that ſcarcity excepted, he really knew not any inconvenience we had ſuffered by the war, though every man muſt be ſenſible that the conqueſts we had made muſt open to our merchants here new ſcenes of the moſt valuable commerce. Here too, he ſaid, we had been exempt from all additional taxes, while our fellow-ſubjects in England had been from year to year ſubjected to an immenſe increaſe of thoſe they had formerly paid, and in this year were ſubjected, by an act of parliament, to at leaſt three times the amount of the aſſeſſed taxes of the laſt year, before they had come forward with voluntary contributions of the millions which had been there ſubſcribed. Here, too, every man in the public ſervice had been paid with punctuality under the proviſion of the ſtatute of 1793; and to gentlemen of that deſcription he might, as he was one of them himſelf, without offence obſerve, that the ſavings of their ſalaries had in fact been more productive ſince, than before the war, as the intereſt of money had riſen from eight to twelve per cent. We muſt alſo recollect that here we were no coloniſts, but reſidents only for a time, and that in England all our hopes and wiſhes centre, and that with England every man muſt ſtand or fall. He was perfectly convinced, by a reſidence of ſeveral years in India, that his Majeſty's ſubjects were as zealouſly attached, as any deſcription of men in any other part of the empire. That there were ſome in England, who, from total ignorance of India, and from prejudice (the child of ignorance), ſtill imagined we loſt our love for the rights and liberties of England, by our ſituation and habits in theſe eaſtern climates, he would not deny: And if ſuch opinions really were entertained, he, for one, could not but rejoice in the opportunity we now had of convincing the world of their injuſtice, and proving that there were men on the banks of the Ganges, as loyal to their king, and as zealouſly devoted to the conſtitution, and to the true principles of Britiſh liberty, as any who were the avowed champions of that conſtitution, in the heart of England itſelf. He felt, he ſaid, that he was treſpaſſing on the time of the meeting by urging any of theſe reaſons: but he could not avoid reminding them, that the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon, which were the keys to the

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the Indian trade and territory, had been the objects of contention of all the negociations; and that, in fact, the preſervation of India, from which all here derived our fortunes, occaſioned the continuance of the war. The known liberality of the ſettlement, every man, he ſaid, muſt always mention with happineſs and pride; we were, he would venture to ſay, diſtinguiſhed above all other ſocieties for the generoſity of our donations to the families of any of our fellow-ſubjects here, who were reduced by any misfortune to apply to us for aid; and we could not but recollect, that on the preſent occaſion, it was not individual diſtreſs, or any particular deſcription of our friends which required our aid, but that our native country, which included all relations, now laid claim to the ſupport of her ſons, in proportion to their means. The ſentiments, he ſaid, by which, on ſuch an occaſion, every man would be governed, could not but remind us of a paſſage which had come down to us from a celebrated Roman philoſoper and ſtateſman, "*Cari ſunt parentes cari liberi, propinqui, familiares, ſed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa eſt.*"

Mr. Burroughs then ſaid, that the plan which he ſhould beg permiſſion to propoſe to the meeting, had two objects; one, an Addreſs to his Majeſty, expreſſing our duty and attachment to his royal perſon and government, to the illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick, to the honour and intereſts of the Britiſh crown, and to our happy conſtitution; the other was, promoting voluntary contributions in ſupport of government at home, at the preſent important period. As to the firſt, he ſhould only ſay, that though it had not been uſual, at ſuch a diſtance from the ſeat of empire, to addreſs the king on public events, yet the preſent occaſion was, he thought, of ſuch importance as rendered it entirely different from any that had formerly occurred, and it was one which, in his opinion, called upon every man to avow his ſentiments. From a body of his ſubjects ſo numerous, wealthy, and reſpectable, it could not but be expected, that they would lay their profeſſions of duty and loyalty at the foot of the throne, when he had ſeen every petty corporation in England do ſo, when occaſions of much leſs importance had occurred; we muſt, he thought, either admit that no occaſion could occur on which it would be proper for us to addreſs the king, or elſe we muſt admit that it was now proper to do ſo. He ſhould therefore beg leave to ſubmit to the Meeting ſome reſolutions which had been communicated to ſeveral of the moſt reſpectable gentlemen in the ſettlement, and had received their entire approbation. By that approbation he was encouraged to come forward with them, though he was fully ſenſible, that, perſonally, he was not of ſufficient weight to aſſume any lead; and without their ſanction he certainly ſhould have very much heſitated to do ſo.

Here Mr. Burroughs ſtated the purport of the reſolutions; and he then obſerved, that though it might be deſirable to adopt ſome general rule as to the meaſure of the ſubſcriptions, yet to do ſo, appeared ſo difficult that none had been attempted. Moſt gentlemen in the ſervice with whom he had converſed, appeared to think a month's allowance would be a proper ſubſcription. But that rule could not be

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be followed by any other deſcription of people, and even with reſpect to them it would be very unequal. Some had large allowances, but had not realized any thing which could be called a fortune; others had large fortunes and ſmall allowances: ſome were bachelors, others had large families. He himſelf belonged to this laſt claſs; but ſtill, for himſelf and his family, he would moſt cheerfully ſubſcribe 500l. and would, if he preſerved his health and life, appropriate the ſame amount annually to the public ſervice, as long as he remained in India, and as the war continued: he had been authoriſed by a venerable Judge, who had long preſided in the ſupreme court, and was now about to return to England, to ſubſcribe for him 1000l. But it muſt of courſe be left entirely open to every man to ſubſcribe according to his means, without adopting any particular rule in doing ſo.

In all the attention he had beſtowed upon the ſubject, and in all the converſations he had heard on it, no objection, that to him appeared of the leaſt degree of weight, had occurred, either to himſelf or to any of his friends. He had heard it obſerved, indeed, that we ought to devote the ſums we ſubſcribe to the ſupport of our government in India.

He, for one, would moſt cordially agree with that opinion, if our government in India ſtood in need of any ſuch ſupport. But every man at all acquainted with our ſituation, muſt know, that in India we never before were ſo powerful, and ſo unaſſailable, as at the preſent moment. We have an army infinitely ſtronger in number and diſcipline, than we ever had before in India. We were without an enemy who could venture to attack us; and he would aſſert that there was not a ſingle native power who would now even wiſh to attack us, unleſs indeed our old enemy Tippoo might have ſuch a wiſh. But that Prince had received ſuch a leſſon in the laſt Myſore war, as muſt deter him from any ſuch enterpriſe again, even if he could have the aid of France in doing ſo. Any aid from Europe it was impoſſible he could have, conſidering the total want of ſhips in France, on which troops could be tranſmitted; and we know beſides, that the Engliſh fleets maintained the entire dominion of the ſeas, and that our enemies were every day lamenting their inability to ſend one ſail in ſafety from any of their ports, as they were all blocked up by the Britiſh navy.—The French iſlands in India had thrown off all connection with France, and, inſtead of taking any part againſt us, muſt now look to us as friends, to protect them from any attempts which might be made on them by France—that we had beſides, in theſe provinces, an increaſed and increaſing revenue, which far exceeded all our eſtabliſhments civil and military, and which, after paying them the intereſt of our debt, and every charge required from the other preſidencies, left us ſtill a large ſurplus, which was now diſpoſed of in purchaſing goods to ſend to Europe as the Company's inveſtment.—The Company, indeed, were borrowing money at high intereſt; but they were doing ſo merely to increaſe that inveſtment, which, by the ability of the Board of Trade here, yielded ſuch a profit at home as to render ſuch loans highly adviſeable; any ſums we might ſubſcribe, therefore, if they were to be appropriated to the

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ſervices of this government, would only be an addition to the great ſurplus of the revenues which now remain, after paying for all eſtabliſhments, intereſt of debt, and public exigencies here; and would, of courſe, be in reality laid out by this government in adding to the inveſtment, and conſequently we did no more, by deſiring the amount of our ſubſcription to be remitted to Europe, than would in reality be done if we were to appropriate it to the public ſervice here. By paying our money into the treaſury here, to be remitted, we, in fact, did public good here, and rendered our aſſiſtance to England two-fold of what it would be, by giving bills on England inſtead of money. This, he ſaid, was clear to any man acquainted with our trade to England, as this government, in order to effect the remittance of our contributions, muſt order their accounts to be laid out in goods, and would thereby employ ſo many additional hands; and in England the duties and cuſtoms on thoſe goods, as well as the net produce of them, ſuppoſing that produce to be only equal to their coſt, would go to the public ſervices; thus, for inſtance, if ten thouſand rupees ſubſcribed here, were to be laid out in the purchaſe of piece goods in order to effect the remittance, the ſtate would receive that ſum in bills on the Company, and would in the duties and cuſtoms of the goods received, he believed, as much more. Some gentlemen, however, he ſaid, had ſent all their fortunes to England, and, conſequently, might be obliged to pay their contributions by bills on London; and thoſe bills, it was clear, could not be appropriated to the ſervice of this government. But the beſt reaſon for not appropriating our ſubſcription to this government, was the one he had already mentioned, namely, that happily this government wanted no ſuch aid.

The part he had this day taken, no man who knew him well, he ſaid, would aſcribe to any other motive, than that which had already produced contributions here, and contributions in England, from all deſcriptions of people.

He was not of conſequence enough to be of any party, and was not even perſonally known to any of his majeſty's miniſters in England. The contributions there had not been entered into by any particular party, but by all claſſes and conditions, without diſtinction of ſex or age. His majeſty, out of the 60,000l. which conſtituted the whole amount of the income he could diſpoſe of for domeſtic or perſonal purpoſes, had nobly devoted, as he underſtood, one third of it to the public ſervice. Men in great offices, it was true, had given, in ſome inſtances, the whole, in others the half, third, fourth, or fifth part of their official incomes, to the ſame purpoſe; by doing ſo, they at leaſt proved that they had no perſonal intereſt in continuing the war, but on the contrary that they were deeply intereſted in putting an end to it, if they could. But we had ſeen, that a ſingle nobleman, out of office, and adverſe to the preſent miniſter, had nobly devoted 10,000l. per annum to the public ſervice, out of his private fortune.

We had ſeen too, that the contributions had not been local, but that the Livery of London, who had petitioned againſt the war and againſt the miniſtry; that all the manufacturing towns, which were moſt deeply intereſted in the reſtoration of peace, and had been noto-

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notoriously in oppoſition to government, were amongſt the firſt and moſt liberal ſubſcribers. Were they, and all the boys of Eton, and all the public ſchools, governed by party attachments in contributing? If they were, ſaid Mr. Burroughs, I, for one, though wholly unconnected in politics with any man, or ſet of men, will glory in belonging to ſuch a party.

To Old England's proſperity, and the honour of Old England, he was ready to unite with every man, let his general politics be what they may. This, he was perſuaded, was the ſentiment of all thoſe whom he now had the honour to addreſs; and he ſhould not therefore, ſay one additional word, except that he begged leave to move the firſt reſolution that he had read.

Mr. Burroughs afterwards, in obſerving on the laſt part of the ſecond reſolution, ſaid, that he was perſuaded that no man who meant to be a ſubſcriber here, would think of deſiring his money to be refunded, in caſe the war ſhould be at an end before the remittances ſhould be realiſed. That, however, he thought it neceſſary for us to ſtate; as parliament might, without having ſome declaration on the ſubject, heſitate as to the diſpoſal of the money. After every war, he obſerved, there were great arrears, and ſome floating unfunded debts to be provided for—even after the war, notwithſtanding the wiſe precautions taken every year to prevent the growth of an unfunded debt, ſome muſt unavoidably exiſt; and for the diſcharge of that, as well as for other exigencies ariſing from the war, proviſion muſt be made. It was therefore thought moſt adviſable to leave the appropriation of our ſubſcriptions to the diſpoſal of parliament, without expreſſing any opinion, or ſuggeſting any object to which we might wiſh them to be applied——Poſſibly it might be thought expedient to pay the money to the commiſſioners for reducing the national debt, in augmentation of the ſinking fund: and if any particular object could with propriety be ſuggeſted, that, he acknowledged, was of all others the one he ſhould wiſh to recommend. But parliament muſt evidently be more competent than we could be, to determine on this point; and to their wiſdom, therefore, the appropriation ought to be confided.

The following reſolutions were then moved by Mr. Burroughs, and ſeconded by Mr. Graham:

Reſolved, That a moſt humble and dutiful Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to aſſure his Majeſty of our firm attachment to his royal perſon and government, the rights of his illuſtrious houſe, the honours and intereſts of the Britiſh crown, and that free and happy conſtitution under which the Britiſh empire ſo long has proſpered; and that we ſhall be at all times ready with our lives and fortunes, to ſupport his Majeſty's government againſt all his enemies; and farther to aſſure his Majeſty of our utter abhorrence of thoſe principles which the tyrannical rulers of France have ſo fatally laboured to eſtabliſh in their own unhappy country, and in every other which they have been able either to influence or ſubdue; that we moſt ardently rejoice at the numerous triumphs of his Majeſty's flag, over the various enemies of Great Britain, unequalled in their ſplendour and importance in the annals of naval hiſtory; that we rely with perfect confidence on the aid of Divine Providence, the wiſdom of his Majeſty's councils, the vigour

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of his arms, and the wealth and valour of his ſubjects, for the confuſion and diſgrace of all his enemies, for the ultimate defeat of any attempt they may dare to make on the internal peace and happineſs of his kingdoms, and for the continuance of ſuch ſucceſs as may enable his Majeſty to obtain for his people (the evident and anxious wiſh of his heart) a laſting, ſafe, and honourable peace.

Reſolved, That we have ſeen, with the higheſt admiration and applauſe, the noble proofs which all ranks of our fellow-ſubjects in Europe have diſplayed of their loyalty to the King, and attachment to their Country, by ſurrounding the throne with the moſt ardent declarations of ſupport, and devoting, in voluntary contributions, large portions of their private fortunes to the ſervice of the ſtate; that, yielding to no deſcription of his Majeſty's ſubjects in duty and loyalty to our Sovereign, and love for our Country, we feel ourſelves irreſiſtibly called upon to imitate a conduct ſo truly patriotic, by entering into ſuch voluntary contributions as our reſpective means enable us to offer, and which, however diſproportioned to our inviolable attachment to his Majeſty and the Britiſh conſtitution as by law eſtabliſhed, will, we hope, be conſidered as the only exertion which at ſuch a diſtance from the ſeat of empire we have it in our power to make, in demonſtration of the ardour which we feel, at this important period, in the common cauſe.

Reſolved, That books be opened for the purpoſe of receiving the ſubſcriptions of all ſuch perſons as ſhall be deſirous of entering into voluntary contributions, for the ſupport of his Majeſty's government in Europe; and that the amount thereof be remitted to Europe, to be there diſpoſed of for the public ſervice in ſuch manner as the wiſdom of parliament may direct, whether Great Britain ſhall continue in a ſtate of war, or whether peace ſhall have been eſtabliſhed.

Reſolved, That the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council be humbly requeſted to authoriſe the Sub-treaſurer at this Preſidency, the Reſident at Lucknow, the ſeveral Collectors of Revenue, and Military Paymaſters in the interior of the Hon. Company's provinces, to open books for the purpoſe above mentioned, and to receive into their reſpective treaſuries the amount of all contributions which may be tendered to them, by any perſon who ſhall enter into ſubſcriptions, purſuant to the foregoing reſolutions; and farther, that the Governor General in Council be alſo requeſted to direct thoſe ſeveral public officers to tranſmit, from time to time, an account of all ſuch ſubſcriptions, and of the ſeveral ſums they ſhall receive, to the Accountant General at this Preſidency.

Reſolved, That the Governor General in Council be humbly requeſted to remit to the Lords Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, by bills to be drawn on the Hon. the Court of Directors of the Eaſt India Company, the amount of all ſums of money which ſhall be ſo received on account of ſuch voluntary contributions, at the exchange of 2s. 6d. for the ſicca rupee.

Reſolved, That if any of the perſons who ſhall enter into contributions here, at Lucknow, or at any of the ſubordinate ſtations of this Preſidency, ſhall think proper to make the ſame by bills on England, the Right Hon. the Governor

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Governor General in Council be farther requeſted to direct the Accountant General to take charge of all ſuch bills, and to tranſmit them, from time to time, to the Hon. the Court of Directors, or to ſuch officer or officers of that Hon. Court, as his Lordſhip in Council ſhall, for that purpoſe, be pleaſed to appoint, in order that the amount thereof may be received and paid to the Lords Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, for the purpoſe above mentioned.

Reſolved, That a committee be now appointed, for the purpoſe of preparing the draft of an addreſs to be preſented to our moſt gracious Sovereign, purſuant to the tenor of the firſt of the foregoing reſolutions, and alſo for the purpoſe of preparing the draft of an addreſs to be preſented to the Right Hon. Richard Earl of Mornington, the Governor General, requeſting his Lordſhip will be pleaſed to forward to Great Britain, in ſuch manner as to his Lordſhip ſhall appear moſt proper, the addreſs to the King voted at this meeting, to be preſented to his Majeſty; and farther requeſting that his Lordſhip will receive a copy of the foregoing reſolutions, and that his Lordſhip in Council will iſſue ſuch orders to the public officers, as may be neceſſary for receiving, accounting for, and remitting ſuch contributions as may be made for the purpoſe therein ſtated.

The reſolutions and the addreſs being moved and ſeconded,

Mr. CHARES FULLER MARTYN roſe, and, in an eloquent and truly patriotic ſpeech, the outlines of which we have only been able to collect, addreſſed the meeting.

Mr. Martyn ſaid, "When he looked to the concourſe of perſons which the occaſion had brought together, he was perſuaded there was not a man in the aſſembly, who could, for a moment, ſuffer himſelf to be deluded by the idea, becauſe we were at preſent happily removed from the ſeat of danger; that therefore the ſtorm would not reach us in this quarter alſo, in the event of a ſerious calamity happening to Great Britain. He muſt be ſhort-ſighted indeed, who reaſoned otherwiſe. The Britiſh poſſeſſions in India, ſaid Mr. Martyn, are linked with the fate of England. Individually and collectively; we moſt aſſuredly ſhall ſtand or fall with the mother country. If he was warranted in thoſe aſſertions, it was impoſſible for us to look unconcerned ſpectators of the momentous ſtruggle in which the kingdom was now engaged;—a ſtruggle, on the iſſue of which depended not only our own ſafety and proſperity, but the general welfare of Europe and ſociety. Whatever differences had hitherto ſubſiſted in the minds of men at home—whether the war could, or could not, have been avoided—whether it was a war of aggreſſion on the part of the enemy, a war of policy on our ſide, or, what many have ſuppoſed, a war againſt opinions—theſe differences, by the laſt accounts from Europe, no longer exiſted. A ſpirit of unanimity had now pervaded every rank and deſcription of perſons. A ſenſe of common danger had compelled them all to rally under one ſtandard;—a ſtandard, around which it was our duty alſo to aſſemble, in ſupport of the throne, in defence of the laws, morality, and order; in a word, in defence of all we held dear to us as Engliſhmen—the exiſtence of our civil and religious liberties. From being a divided, we had rapidly become a united people—united hand

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and heart, he truſted, to repel the daring deſigns of an implacable foe, whoſe inordinate views of aggrandizement and ambition had diſorganized every government, and diſturbed the repoſe and happineſs of every ſtate around them. Our national ſpirit, he was proud to ſee, was at length roufed. It loudly proclaimed that England was reſolved to maintain her preeminence in the ſcale of nations, and that ſhe would reſiſt with firmneſs every attempt that may be made to ſubvert her conſtitution, her liberties and her independence, or periſh in the conteſt. The duration of this conteſt, no man could foreſee or conjecture. Great exertions were making to ſuſtain the conflict, and great ſacrifices would yet be required of the people. As a component part of the empire, we were called upon here, not ſo much to emulate, as to imitate, in ſome degree, the patriotic conduct of our countrymen; and if it had ſometimes been ſuppoſed that an Indian clime debilitates the frame, we were this day at leaſt about to give a ſtriking inſtance that it cannot weaken the affections of the mind, when we are ſummoned to expreſs our loyalty and attachment to his Majeſty, and our zeal and energy in defence of the country, the conſtitution, and the invaluable bleſſings which, as a free nation, we enjoy."

Mr. BURROUGHS then moved, that the following gentlemen be of the Committee; which was ſeconded by Sir C. BLUNT, Bart.

Reſolved, That the Committee do conſiſt of the following gentlemen, viz.—

Gen. Fullarton,	Mr. Buller,
Gen. Popham,	Sir Charles Blunt,
Gen. Deare,	Mr. Vanderheyden,
Col Cameron,	Mr. Scawen,
Lieut. Col. Scott,	Mr. Laird,
Lieut. Col. Dyer,	Mr. Gardener,
Mr. Briſtow,	Mr. Fairlie,
Mr. Graham,	Mr. Fleming,
Mr. Brooke,	Mr. Farquharſon,
Mr. Hatch,	Mr. Dowdeſwell,
Mr. Myers,	Mr. S. Johannes,
Mr. Barlow,	Mr. Baretto, and
Mr. Cockerell,	Mr. Martyn.
Mr. Barber,	

Reſolved, on the motion of Mr. VANDERHEYDEN, ſeconded by Mr. MYERS, that Mr. Burroughs be alſo one of the committee.

The committee having for ſome time retired to prepare drafts of the addreſſes, returned to the meeting, and reported that they had agreed to thoſe, which are as follow.

The drafts prepared by the committee, having been UNANIMOUSLY agreed to by the meeting, the following farther reſolutions were then propoſed by Mr. Burroughs, and were UNANIMOUSLY carried:

Reſolved, That the High Sheriff and the gentlemen do ſubſcribe their names on behalf of themſelves, and of the Britiſh inhabitants of Calcutta, to the addreſs voted at this meeting, to be preſented to the Right Hon. the Governor General.

Reſolved, That the gentlemen of the committee, and ſuch other gentlemen preſent at the meeting who may be deſirous of attending, do preſent the addreſſes and reſolutions to the Right Hon. the Governor General, at ſuch time as his Lordſhip may be pleaſed to appoint for receiving the ſame.

Major Gen. FULLARTON having been then voted into the chair, the thanks of the meeting were unanimouſly given to the Sheriff for his ready compliance with the requiſition which had been addreſſed to him for the purpoſe of convening the meeting, and alſo for his very proper conduct in the chair.

"To

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"*To the* KING'S *Moſt Excellent Majeſty.*

The moſt humble and dutiful Addreſs of the Britiſh Inhabitants of Calcutta, at a public Meeting convened by the Sheriff.

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Britiſh inhabitants of Calcutta, being deeply ſenſible (however diſtantly removed from the ſeat of empire) of the numerous bleſſings we enjoy under our preſent free and happy conſtitution, feel an irreſiſtible impulſe, at this important criſis, when the internal peace and happineſs of your Majeſty's kingdoms are threatened by a deſperate and implacable enemy, to offer at the foot of the throne our moſt ardent profeſſions of attachment to your Majeſty's royal perſon, the rights of your illuſtrious houſe, and the honour and intereſts of the Britiſh crown.

"To your Majeſty, as the hereditary guardian of that conſtitution which has ſo long continued the admiration and the envy of the whole civilized world, we owe the ſtrongeſt declarations of our determined reſolution to ſupport, with our lives and fortunes, your Majeſty's government againſt the machinations and attacks of an ambitious and inveterate enemy, the common diſturbers of all ſettled ſtates, the foes to all religion, morals, order, and genuine freedom; who, perverting the ſacred name of liberty, have eſtabliſhed the moſt awful ſyſtem of uſurpation and tyranny through ſome of the faireſt regions of the globe.

"On the wiſdom of your Majeſty's councils, on the patriotiſm and loyalty of all orders of your Majeſty's ſubjects, on the known bravery of your armies, on the diſtinguiſhed valour of your Majeſty's fleets, whoſe recent victories have even ſurpaſſed in ſplendour the former glorious achievements of the Britiſh navy, under Divine Providence we confidently rely, for the ultimate confuſion and diſgrace of all your Majeſty's enemies, and for ſuch continued triumphs of the Britiſh arms, as ſhall enable your Majeſty to procure for your people, (the evident and anxious wiſh of your heart) a laſting, ſafe, and honourable peace.

"To the great Diſpoſer of events we offer our humble ſupplications, that it may pleaſe his divine goodneſs to prolong to a very diſtant period your Majeſty's invaluable life, and that your Majeſty's poſterity, following the virtuous example of your Majeſty, may continue to the remoteſt ages to protect, with the Britiſh ſceptre, our free and happy conſtitution."

"*To the Right Hon.* RICHARD, *Earl of Mornington, Knight of the Moſt Illuſtrious Order of St. Patrick, and Governor General of Fort William in Bengal.*

"MY LORD,

"We, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Britiſh inhabitants of Calcutta, beg leave to communicate to your Lordſhip a moſt humble addreſs to his Majeſty, which we have unanimouſly agreed to at a public meeting convened by the Sheriff, and which we requeſt your Lordſhip will be pleaſed to receive and forward to Great Britain, in ſuch manner as to your Lordſhip may appear moſt proper.

"We farther beg leave to preſent to your Lordſhip, a copy of ſeveral reſolutions entered into at the ſame meeting, for the purpoſe

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of promoting voluntary contributions in this country, for the support of his Majesty's government in Europe, at the present important period; and we humbly hope, that the object we have in view, and the resolutions we have adopted, will meet with your Lordship's approbation.

"We farther request that your Lordship will be pleased to give directions to the proper officers, to receive, account for, and remit to Europe, the amount of such contributions as shall be entered into, in this country, for the service of the state."

The Brigade Major of Artillery stated to the meeting, that he was desired by Col. Hussey, commanding the corps, to acquaint the chairman, that a general subscription had been set on foot in the corps from himself, and the whole of the commissioned, non-commissioned Officers, and Private Soldiers, for the purpose of supporting government in the present war with France, &c.—which, when finally closed, is meant to be presented, in one sum, as the donation of the Bengal Artillery; but as the several parts of the corps are much dispersed, that object cannot be accomplished before the 1st of November next.

The Commanding Officer of the 2d European regiment, also informed the meeting, that the commissioned and non-commissioned Officers of their corps intended to subscribe regimentally; and that the amount, when collected, would be paid into the treasury.

CALCUTTA, *July* 28.

On Tuesday morning last, in a very full levee, Major General Fullarton, and the other gentlemen chosen of the committee, to present to the Right Hon. the Governor General, the address of the British inhabitants of Calcutta to his Majesty, being introduced to his Lordship; the General, on behalf of his constituents, read and presented to his Lordship the address to himself, and also the address to his Majesty; and his Lordship was pleased to make the following reply:—

"GENTLEMEN,

"I shall feel a sincere pleasure in transmitting your dutiful and loyal address to his Majesty; and I am persuaded, that nothing can be more acceptable to his Majesty, than to receive, from so respectable a body of his faithful subjects, this seasonable testimony of their attachment to his royal person, family, and government; of their zeal for the honour and independence of his crown; of their affectionate solicitude for the safety of their native country; and of their unanimous determination to co-operate with their fellow-subjects at home, in opposing a steadfast resistance to the desperate projects of our implacable enemy.

"The resolutions which you have adopted, for the aid of the public service, by voluntary contributions, have afforded me the utmost degree of satisfaction. I not only approve the object which you have in view, and the mode in which you have pursued it; but I am happy to take this public opportunity of declaring my cordial concurrence in every sentiment which you have expressed,

"Although remote from the immediate theatre of the war, you have justly felt, that every success of the enemy must deeply wound your most dear and valuable interests, and endanger the primary objects of all your hopes and cares. You have manifested to the world, that the British empire in Europe

is

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is the common centre of your moral and civil duties and affections, and the happy retreat in which alone you expect to secure the honourable and permanent reward of your reſpective labours in the public ſervice. You have, therefore, wiſely pledged your lives and fortunes in ſupport of the government of your native country, and of its admirable ſyſtem of religion, order, liberty, and law.

"In this pledge I deſire to join you with an ardour and reſolution proportioned to the animoſity and power of our inveterate adverſary; our intereſts, our duties, our affections, and our honour, all unite to demand the pledge of life and fortune, in the defence of thoſe bleſſings, without which, property would become a precarious poſſeſſion, and life itſelf an intolerable burden.

"You may be aſſured that I will uſe every effort to give the moſt full and expeditious effect to your reſolutions, and to render your contributions as beneficial to the public ſervice as it is honourable to you.

(Signed) "MORNINGTON."

AUGUST.

PATRIOTIC CONTRIBUTIONS *of the 2d Regiment European Infantry.*

"*Lieutenant-Colonel* WAHAB, *Commanding the 2d Diviſion 2d Regiment European Infantry.*

"SIR,

"We have much pleaſure to inform you, that the Serjeants, Corporals, Drummers, and Privates of the companies which we have the honour of commanding in the 2d diviſion 2d regiment European infantry, have moſt loyally ſubſcribed part of their pay, to the amount of ſtar pagodas 472, for the proſecution of the juſt and neceſſary war in which Great Britain is engaged; and agreeably to their requeſt, we beg you will be pleaſed to remit the above ſum through ſuch channel as you may judge proper for that purpoſe.

"We have the honour to be, &c.

Roſs Lang, Capt.
Alex. Macleod, Capt.
Thomas Green, Capt.
R. Robinett, Capt.
— Hawes, Lieut."

The Officers of the 2d diviſion 2d European regiment, ſenſible of the ſpirit and loyalty which the non-commiſſioned Officers and Privates of the corps have ſo well expreſſed, through their officers, to Lieutenant-Colonel Wahab, are happy to follow their example, by ſubſcribing, for the ſame purpoſe, one month's pay.

MOORSHEDABAD PATRIOTIC CONTRIBUTIONS.

Moorſhedabad, Aug. 1, 1798.

At a meeting of the Company's Civil Servants reſident at Moorſhedabad, held (purſuant to public notice given) at the houſe of Thos. Pattle, Eſq. the following reſolutions were propoſed, and unanimouſly voted:—

We, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, reſidents at Moorſhedabad, highly approving the reſolutions adopted on the 17th ult. by our fellow-ſubjects, the Britiſh inhabitants of Calcutta; under the influence of ſimilar ſentiments of duty and loyalty to our Sovereign, and love to our country, and its ſacred conſtitution as by law eſtabliſhed, have reſolved, in imitation of that laudable example, to evince our zeal and attachment for the common cauſe, by contributing ſuch portion of our property as our means reſpectively permit, by ſubſcribing the ſums ſeverally

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annexed to our names, and causing the same to be paid into the treasury of the collector at this station, to be applied to the purposes of the resolutions above referred to.

Resolved, That application be made to the collector, to receive, in deposit, the sums subscribed.

Resolved, That intimation of these our sentiments and resolutions be conveyed to the committee of British inhabitants in Calcutta, through the medium of their secretary Mr. Myers, and that they may give directions for the disposal of the amount subscribed; and that we request, in our letter to that gentleman, that our names may be by him affixed to the address which it has been agreed to present to his Majesty on this important occasion.

	L.	s.	d.
T. Pattle	500	0	0
John Fendall	200	0	0
J. Becher	500	0	0
R. Rocke	400	0	0
J. Law	62	10	0
J. Rattray	62	10	0
W. Orton Salmon	50	0	0
E. Cuthbert	37	10	0
C. Becher	37	10	0
H. Somerville	37	10	0
M. Law	37	10	0
William Cowell	62	10	0

POONAH, *August 10th.*—Information has been received at the durbar of Dowlut Row Scindeah, that Nana Furnavese has written a letter to Stremunt Behadur (the peshwa); wherein he says, "Let Amrut Row Bahadur have a jaghire of ten lacks of rupees conferred upon him, and let him then retire from the capital; or secure upon the musnud of sovereignty, and confide to your old servant the office of Furnavese: if this arrangement please you, 'tis well; if not, pursue your pleasure, and keep me an honourable prisoner in my dwelling under a guard of trusty cavalry, and call upon me when occasion requires to afford you counsel. I have learned the sentiments of the Bhyes. They say that if the heart of Dowlut Row be clean, let him wait upon us with a few attendants only, and hear our terms; wherefore is it necessary that he should bring his battalions and artillery?"

Aug. 11th.—Stremunt Behadur addressed a letter to Dowlut Row Scindeah, of which the following is an extract:—"What does it avail that you should write to me continually to be the mediator between you and the Bhyes? you on the one hand do not receive my counsel, nor do the Bhyes listen to my advice. Nevertheless I once more observe, that if you desire to have the former good understanding restored between you and them, first send to them by Raijee Patell, all their jewels that are in your possession, then inquire their terms of reconciliation."

The answer of Dowlut Row was as follows:—"In the course of two or three days, I shall take account of all the jewels belonging to the Bhyes, and send them by the hands of Raijee Patell; and after that I will continue to be governed by your advice, to bring the dispute to a propitious issue."

Of the recent transaction at Poonah, we are not enabled to enter into any minute detail: no very important event has to our knowledge occurred lately in that quarter; each party seeming desirous of out-procrastinating the others, rather than gaining advantages by decisive acts, opportunities for which have not been wanting. Nana, it is said, unawed by threats and his subsequent imprisonment by Dowlut Row Scindeah, has not been proof against the insinuating promises of that party,

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party, and has been induced to remove for the moment the very preſſing pecuniary exigencies of Dowlut Row, by a donation of caſh to the amount, by ſome accounts, (but they are probably exaggerated) of a lack of gold mohurs.

Whatever benefit Nana might have promiſed himſelf from Row's diſtreſſes, it does not appear to have been realized; for he is ſaid to have been under greater reſtraint ſince, than before the gift or loan; and to have been threatened with renewed impriſonment, in the event of his withholding the farther ſupplies of what this ill-timed donation ſeems to prove his ſtill having at command.

It was reported in Calcutta, that Tantea Paugnavees (otherwiſe called Balloo Tantea) was about to be reſtored to liberty, and probably to his former influence at the head of the Scindean council.—Such of our readers as have marked the devious progreſs of Mahratta politics, will recollect this miniſter's arreſt to have been the ſignal of the ſhort-lived regency of Purſeram Bhow; who, faſcinated with the poſſeſſion of an authority to which his talents were ill adapted, ſacrificed the intereſts of his patron Nana Furnaveſe, and aſſociated himſelf with Balloo Tantea, who, from his talents and addreſs, may be termed the Nana of the Scindean durbar, and who ſeems the only one in the long liſt of Dowlut Row's counſellors and confidants to whom he can look up for a reſtoration of his power. Preciſely in this predicament ſtands Nana Furnaveſe, with reſpect to the general intereſts of the Mahratta empire.

It is almoſt needleſs to add, that theſe two great miniſters are not more diſtinguiſhed by abilities, than reciprocal enmity towards each other; and ſhould they again be let looſe in political hoſtility, it will remain to be proved which addreſs will in the end prevail;—or ſhould they wiſely (in ſuch coalitions virtue ſeems out of the queſtion) unite their recovered influence, they may ſafely bid defiance to the whole of Indian chicanery and intrigue; for of thoſe grand ſprings in the machinery of Aſiatic courts they are moſt conſummate maſters.

Nana Furnaveſe, who, upon the laſt ſhifting of the ſcene, was obſerved to be tranſported a ſtate priſoner to the fortreſs of Amednagur, where it was ſuppoſed he would languiſh the few remaining years of his life, is deſtined to appear once more upon the ſtage.

The old miniſter was withdrawn from his confinement on the 7th inſt. and, at the date of our accounts, was encamped under the cuſtody of a thouſand horſe, and three or four battalions, commanded by Fackerjee Ghadvah, between the villages of Kuterabad and Mundavgunny.

The letters we have received repreſent the reſidency of Bencoolen as being very unhealthy, and the liſt of caſualties we have received from thence, prove it to have been the caſe.—Every neceſſary of life was amazingly dear there; a correſpondent writes us, "from the coaſt of ſickneſs, deſolation, and ſtarvation," that the prices of

	Dollars.
A Bengal ſheep was from	14 to 18
A goat -	10 - 16
A young bullock -	20 - 35
A hundred gals. of paddy	10 - 15

Rice from 5 to 8 dollars per gallon.
And wines, liquors, and every thing elſe, proportionably dear.

The court-martial held at Trincomalée, on the mutinous ſeamen of

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of Admiral Rainier's ſquadron, has been cloſed;—when John Bray, a ſeaman belonging to the Suffolk, was ſentenced—*Death*. The charge of mutiny being alſo proved againſt three of the other priſoners, they were ſentenced as follows:—one to receive 400 laſhes, and the other two 200 laſhes each, and to be confined for a limited time in the Marſhalſea Court Priſon:—the former part of their ſentence has been carried into execution.

Chunar Patriotic Contributions.

Aug. 16, 1798.

We, the Commiſſioned Officers, &c. &c. &c. at the ſtation of Chunar and its dependencies, learn by advices lately received from Britain, that the inhabitants of all ranks have deemed it expedient to ſtep forward, and voluntarily ſubſcribe, in ſupport of the exertions of government; and as we have always been no leſs remarkable for our loyalty, than for our promptitude to ſacrifice our lives for our King and Country, we are equally diſpoſed to contribute our aſſiſtance to a government, to which we are naturally attached, and, of courſe, warmly affected in the preſervation of a conſtitution which we conſider as ineſtimable, and in which our own intereſt is ſo inſeparably connected.—We therefore agree to ſubſcribe the ſums oppoſite to our reſpective names, to be paid within three months into the hands of Mr. Hornby, paymaſter at this ſtation, who will be pleaſed to receive the amount of all contributions which may be tendered to him, for which he will, from time to time, account with the Accountant-general.

List *of* Subscribers.

General and Garrison Staff.

Major-General Erſkine -	L.500
Captain E. Brown, com. -	105
T. Price, aid-de-camp	25
W. Burton, maj. brig.	50
J. Davidſon, garr. ſtore-keeper - - *Rupees*	200
W. Inglis, Eſq. head ſurgeon -	L.50
N. Hornby, Eſq. dep. paymaſter	100
Mr. J. Martin, aſſiſt. ſurg. *Rupees*	120
J. Johnſon, ditto -	120
Alex. Aird, conductor of ord.	50
P. Leary, ditto - -	50
T. Quarterman, ditto -	50
Serj. J. Stoney, hoſp. ſteward -	40
G. Cline, fort ſerj. maj. -	40
W. Beſt, barrack ſerj. -	40

European Invalids.

Capt. G. Benſon, adj. and qr.-mr.	150
Lieut. H. Pennington - -	50
L. Berkeley 5 guineas this year, and 25l. ann. during the war - -	L.5 : 5s.
G. Hyde - - *Rupees*	50
Enſign W. Graham - *Rupees*	51
T. Cuſſons - -	100

European Artillery, Invalid Company.

Nine ſerjeants - - -	96
Nine corporals - - -	92
Seventeen gunners - -	112
Twenty-ſix matroſſes - -	10
One Native fifer - -	25

European Infantry, Invalid Company.

One ſerjeant-major - -	16
Three ſerjeants - -	48
Firſt company - -	222
Second Ditto - -	197
Third Ditto - -	146

1ſt Batt. 8th Reg. Native Infantry.

Lieutenant-Colonel W. Vanas -	1000
Major J. Powell - -	800
Capt. M. White - -	500
A. Hamilton 1 month's pay	130
R. B. Gregory 1 month's batta ann. during the war -	180
J. Plumer - -	100
S. Wood - -	
W. Hawkes 1 month's batta ann. during the war -	180
Lieut. J. Cumming 1 month's pay	60
F. Drummond 1 month's batta ann. during the war -	120
H. Blanckenhagen 1 mon. pay	60
Enſign J. Harriot 1 month's batta ann. during the war -	120

1ſt Batt. 9th Reg. Native Infantry.

Major B. Marley 1 month's pay ann. during the war -	180

Capt.

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Capt. T. Kearnan	-	150
L. Simpſon	-	120
J. Arnold	-	120
J. Clark ann. during the war		80
J. Bullock ditto ditto	-	100
D. Lyons ditto ditto	-	62
D. Macpherſon	-	60
Maxwell ann. during the war		62
Lieut. C Berry	-	50
T. Taylor	-	100
J. Scott	-	50
W. P. Cartwright	-	50
K. Sweetenham	-	100
R. F. Lake	-	100

13th Regiment Native Infantry.

Colonel C. Ruſſell -	L.250
Surgeon J. Smith	*Rupees* 130

1ſt Battalion.

Major P. M'Dowgal -	L.100
Capt. S. Jones 1 month's pay,	*Rupees* 120
J. Tetley ditto - -	120
H. Lennen - -	100
T. M. Wegnelin -	100
F. French - -	L.25
Lieut. J. Craig 1 month's pay,	*Rupees* 60
T. Anderſon ditto -	60
Lieut. W. Richards ditto,	60
H. Carter ditto -	60
J. Sharp ditto - -	60
F. Shaw ditto - -	60
A. Campbell ditto -	60

2d Battalion.

Major S. Bradſhaw -	L.20
Capt. C. Crawford -	20
J. Morriſon -	55
C Smyth -	20
A. Henneſſy -	10
Lieut. W. Sturrock -	35

European Inhabitants not in the Service.

George Chiſholm -	*Rupees* 200
J. Bewick -	150
J. Hay - -	50
James Conner - -	50

Arrival of Lord Clive, *&c. at Madras.*

From the Madras Gazette, Aug. 21.

This evening, arrived the Dover Caſtle, Indiaman, having on board the Right Hon. Lord Clive, Lady Clive, family and ſuite. His Lordſhip landed about five o'clock, under the ſalute due to his rank, attended by the ſecretary to government, the town major, and ſeveral other ſtaff officers, who had been deputed to congratulate his Lordſhip on his arrival. The troops in garriſon were drawn up in a ſtreet, through which his Lordſhip paſſed to the admiralty-houſe, where he received the compliments of the gentlemen of the ſettlement.

His Lordſhip afterwards proceeded to Fort-ſquare, where the commiſſion, appointing his Lordſhip Governor and Preſident in Council at Fort St. George, and Commander in Chief of the forces at the Preſidency, were publicly read by Mr. Secretary Webbe, before the Hon. Company's civil and military ſervants, and a number of inhabitants aſſembled for that purpoſe, and the troops under arms. As ſoon as the commiſſion had been read, a ſalute of 19 guns was fired, and three vollies of muſquetry, by the troops in garriſon.

Loſs of the American Ship Ceres.

We learn from Batavia, that the American ſhip *Ceres*, laſt from London and the Iſle of France, was wrecked in January laſt, upon the iſland of Anguna.

The circumſtances of this loſs, though ſomewhat obſcure, and not without matter of ſuſpicion, are, however, detailed upon the authority of a part of the crew, who arrived at Batavia in the jolly-boat of the ſhip, with about 4 or 5000 dollars, part of the treaſure with which the veſſel had been freighted. By the accounts of theſe people, as ſoon as the Ceres had ſtruck, the Captain and ſhip's company fought the ſhore in the boats, carrying the treaſure with them; upon their landing, the natives came down upon them,

and

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and the Captain, in order to conciliate their good will, advanced towards them with the supercargo, and one or two paſſengers, making ſigns of ſubmiſſion; the attempt was vain, for the ſavages immediately put them to death. The reſt, witneſſing this barbarity, betook themſelves to flight, and found refuge in the woods. The party who ſurvived to tell this tale, are ſaid to have viſited the ſhore at duſk, to have found the jolly-boat lying there with the treaſure, but rove, to have repaired the damage by the application of their jackets to the leak, and to have proſecuted their way to Batavia.

This account had been thought to carry with it ſuch an air of improbability, that the party had undergone ſeveral examinations, without, however, any variance being diſcovered, that could warrant the farther interference of the magiſtrates.

SEPTEMBER.

COURT OF THE RECORDER, BOMBAY.

On Monday the 8th ult. James Tate, Eſq. mayor of Bombay, together with the Aldermen of the Court, aſſembled at the Town-hall, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, in purſuance of the directions in his Majeſty's charter—When aſſembled they were met by Sir William Syer, Knight, Recorder of Bombay. Sir William took his ſeat in the chair of the Preſident of the Court, and the Mayor and Aldermen being alſo ſeated, his Majeſty's charter was publicly read, and proclaimed. The Mayor then adminiſtered the preſcribed oaths to the Recorder, who having ſubſcribed them, he proceeded to adminiſter the oaths to the Mayor and Aldermen, each of them ſubſcribing their reſpective oath; the Court of the Recorder of Bombay, was publiſhed and proclaimed.

The ſeveral Aldermen prohibited by the charter from the immediate exerciſe of judicial functions having retired, the Court of the Recorder conſiſted of Sir William Syer, Knight, Recorder of Bombay; J. Tate, Eſq. Mayor; Alex. Adamſon, R. Kitſon, and J. Forbes, Eſq. ſenior Aldermen.

Theſe gentlemen immediately proceeded to the appointment of the ſeveral officers of the Court, required for the immediate progreſs of judicial authority. Meſſrs. Conſtable, Anderſon, Popham, Morley, White, Hall and Gerraud, were admitted and enrolled Attornies and Advocates in the Courts of law and equity, and Proctors in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts.

Mr. G. Simſon was appointed Prothonotary, and Regiſter to the Courts of law and equity; Mr. J. Morley, Clerk of the Crown, Clerk of Arraigns, and Clerk of Indictments; Mr. M. Briſbane, Examiner; and Mr. Evans, Sealer. The Court then adjourned to the firſt day of the firſt term, being the 6th inſtant.

Zillah Court, 24 Pergunnahs, Sept. 8, 1798.

"The Right Hon. the Governor General in Council having been pleaſed to direct me to tranſmit to him, as early as I poſſibly can, a correct list of the Europeans reſiding within my juriſdiction, not in his Majeſty's or the Hon. Company's civil or military ſervice, with information reſpecting each, according to the following form:

Name

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Name.
Covenants or not.
Covenants, of what nature.
Local licence or not.
When arrived in India.
Britiſh ſubjects, or foreigners.
With or without leave of the Court of Directors to remain in India.
Nature of leave.
Employment.
Deſirous of entering into covenants.
Propoſed ſecurities.

And having farther been pleaſed to direct me to be careful with reſpect to the truth of aſſertions made by Britiſh ſubjects (who may not already have executed covenants), relative to the period of their actual reſidence in India, either by requiring a certificate of the ſame, ſigned by two reſpectable men, or by the depoſition of the party on oath; and to call upon ſuch Britiſh ſubjects as have received permiſſion to reſide in India, to produce their certificates for my inſpection.

Notice is hereby given to all Europeans of the above deſcription, reſiding within the juriſdictions of the Zillah, that they are individually required without delay to report themſelves to me in the form preſcribed, and on their parts to conform in every reſpect to the orders iſſued to me, to enable me to make the return directed.

J. B. SMITH, *Judge and Magiſtr.*

STATION ORDERS.

Cawnpore, Sept. 10, 1798.

Major General Sir James Craig will not fail to report to the Commander in Chief the very improved ſtate in which he had the ſatisfaction to ſee the 2d regiment of cavalry this morning, reflecting much credit on the regiment in general, and on the exertions of the officer who has been in the command of it in particular.

The particular points in which their progreſs of improvement was moſt obvious, were thoſe of rapidity and ſolidity in their movements; and theſe are preciſely thoſe qualities that are moſt eſſential to cavalry, and in which the ſtrength of that corps almoſt entirely conſiſts.

The Major General is deſirous of embracing the opportunity of pointing this out to the native officers and men, as tending to inſpire them with a confidence that is due to the advantages of diſcipline: ſkill in horſemanſhip, and perſonal valour, are the circumſtances that muſt decide the fate of actions among the cavalry of native armies; for with them a battle is but an aggregate of perſonal conflicts between man and man, in which, if the above qualities happen to be equally diſpenſed to the two parties, ſuperiority in number muſt prevail: but let it be ſtrongly impreſſed on our minds as an unerring principle, proved by the military experience of all ages, that neither ſkill in the management of the horſe, dexterity in the uſe of their weapons, or even ſuperiority of perſonal courage (if that can be ſuppoſed to exiſt in the caſe to which we allude), will avail againſt that union of effort, acting with a weight and velocity, which is produced by

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by a ſteady and well-grounded diſcipline: nor will the latter be found leſs availing againſt almoſt any number, however ſuperior, of undiſciplined irregular enemies, hurried by the undiſtinguiſhing impulſe of raſhneſs, or frenzy of opium, each relying on his ſingle proweſs, and each acting alone and independent: let the oldeſt or the youngeſt ſoldier ſay, if he does not feel in the charge of this morning, they could have borne down and trampled upon a looſe unconnected maſs of ſuch enemies, though it had been a mile in depth.

Sir James Craig joins in the general ſentiments of the regiment, on the approaching departure of their lieutenant colonel; his unremitting attention to the regiment, the effects of which were ſo well diſplayed this morning, has added the regret of being deprived of his farther exertions as an officer, to that which, in common with all, he feels at the loſs of his ſociety as a gentleman. The Major General deſires that this order may be particularly explained to the native officers and men.

Calcutta, Sept. 15.

The floods up the country have done conſiderable damage, more indeed than we at preſent are aware of; nor is it improbable but we may very ſoon experience their effects in Calcutta, having traced them from their riſe down to Dinapore cantonments.

The river Goomty is the firſt we hear of, which has riſen in the beginning of the preſent month, to a height unequalled in the memory of man. Not many days after, the river alſo roſe at Chunar: the words of a correſpondent will beſt explain the effects of it. The letter is dated the 8th inſtant.

"The river has been riſing for ſeveral days paſt, very rapidly, and is now at an aſtoniſhing height, far beyond what can be remembered by the oldeſt inhabitant of Chunar. The whole circumjacent country is entirely inundated, and the Jurgah nullah, which is generally a full quarter of a mile from the Ganges, to the weſtward of th fort, has now formed a junction with it, ſo as totally to cut off all communication from one part of the lines to the other.

"The Jurgah nullah, though in moſt ſeaſons not exceeding 300 yards in breadth, is now an immenſe expanſe of water. The damage done by this immenſe flood is incalculable; I ſhall mention a few particulars of it.

"One of our officers, whoſe bungalow was ſituated about ſixty yards from the bank of the Nullah, and which ſtood perfectly ſecure for theſe twelve years paſt, was forced to quit it at midnight, and embark with his family on board a boat, which he fortunately had at the time, as the Nullah was then flowing into his bungalow, which has ſince entirely fallen down, as have alſo moſt of the ſoldier's houſes erected on the banks of it.

"This terrible deluge has ſwept away whole villages; and every day, nay, every hour, preſents the ſhocking ſpectacle of floating bodies, immenſe trees, choppers, &c. &c.

"Several houſes and out-offices at this ſtation, which ſtand above the ordinary channel of the river, are entirely filled or ſurrounded by the water, which is ſtill riſing to

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to the moſt alarming height, and rushes on with aſtoniſhing rapidity, ſo as to create an apprehenſion that the whole ſtation (except the fort) will be completely ſubmerſed.

"It is to be feared that accounts of the moſt diſtreſſing nature will be received from the lower parts of the country, which, I apprehend, muſt certainly be laid totally under water."

The next account we have of theſe deſtructive and alarming floods is from Dinapore, as deſcribed in the following extract, dated the 8th inſtant.

"The miſerable ſtate the whole country is reduced to at preſent cannot be deſcribed, ariſing from one of the moſt ſerious and deſtructive inundations that was ever experienced in the memory of the oldeſt inhabitant. It began on 2d inſtant, at night, and has continued to increaſe upon us ever ſince: the entire face of the country has been laid under water for theſe five days paſt, and is ſo very deep in the cantonments, as to render it neceſſary to uſe boats to go to and from the different ranges of barracks.

"The water now has only to riſe four inches more, to be in the verandahs of the quarters: and as the inundation ſtill continues to flow in upon us and increaſe, I fear it will not be long ere it has arrived at that height."

A picture of His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales has been delivered to his Highneſs the Nabob of Arcot, by Capt. Burrowes, of the *Earl Howe* Indiaman. Beneath the picture are inſcribed the following words:

GEORGE AUGUSTUS FREDERICK,
Prince of Wales,
TO HIS FRIEND
OMDUT UL OMRAH,
Nabob of the Carnatic,
JAN. 1, 1798.

A very elegant monument, of a pyramidical form, executed by Mr. Myers, has been erected (by orders of the executors) to the memory of the late worthy Mr. Juſtice HYDE, at the new burying-ground. The following well-merited inſcription, written by Thomas Scott, Eſq. one of the Maſters in Chancery at Calcutta, is now cutting on a large tablet, which is to be placed at the baſe of the pyramid:

Sacred to the Memory
of
The Honourable JOHN HYDE,
Who was appointed one of the Puiſne Judges
On the Eſtabliſhment of the Supreme Court at Calcutta,
In the year 1774;
And died, after faithfully and ably diſcharging the duties of that high ſtation,
For a period of above twenty-one years,
Aged 59,
On the 8th July 1796.
He was an affectionate Huſband;
A fond Parent;
A firm and zealous Friend;
Of unqueſtioned Integrity as a Judge;
And a truly virtuous
Man.
His loſs was deeply and honourably regretted
By that Community which had long reſpected his Virtues;
And the public Records
Of this Government declare him to have been

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" *A Magiſtrate, whoſe Integrity in the diſcharge of his Public Functions;*
" *Was only equalled by the Virtues of his private Character.*"
Social, yet dignified,
He commanded at once
The Affections and Reverence
Of the wide extended circle, honoured by a Participation of his Hoſpitalities.
But his nobleſt Eulogium will be found
In the laſting regrets of a long Liſt of unfortunate Perſons,
Whoſe indigent Condition,
By his Advice, Protection, and Munificence,
His Life was one continued Study to meliorate:
And who muſt ever regard him
As a departed Model of unexampled, yet cautiouſly concealed Charity,
The practical extent of which
Could alone be exceeded
By the boundleſs Benevolence and Generoſity of his Mind.

Account of the Loſs of the Ship SARAH.

The following are the particulars of the loſs of the ſhip *Sarah*, Captain Parker. We learn, that on the 28th ult. the ſhip Sarah quitted her pilot at five P. M. with the wind to the northward, the Abercromby pilot ſchooner and two other ſchooners being then in ſight. At eight o'clock it began to blow hard from the north-weſt, and at three the next morning ſhe experienced a ſevere gale of wind; at eight the main and mizen maſts were cut away, in conſequence of her having broached to; the increaſed violence of the hurricane cauſed the ſea by this time to run ſo heavily, that it was expected the veſſel would inſtantly be overwhelmed; added to which, ſhe laboured ſo much, that in a ſhort time ſhe had eight feet water in her hold. Finding it was impoſſible to keep her long from ſinking, the whole crew committed themſelves to the mercy of the elements in the long boat, the jolly-boat having been rendered uſeleſs ſoon after the commencement of the gale; the veſſel, it is ſuppoſed, went down ſoon after they quitted her; ſhe was then about fifty miles to the S. E. of the Sand Heads. At day-break no trace of her was diſcoverable; the weather moderated, and fortunately not one of the crew was loſt; they arrived at Pipley on the 24th ultimo.

When Capt. Parker found it abſolutely impoſſible to ſave the ſhip, he put into his pocket a few gold mohurs, in the hope, that ſhould they be preſerved, he might procure, for his ſufferers, conveyance to Calcutta; but as ſoon as they came on ſhore, the Mahrattas, who were waiting on the beach to receive them, ſtripped every man, and returned no article, either valuable or uſeful; in ſhort, they cruelly robbed them, and then withheld the common neceſſaries of life; theſe acts, however, were not intended to cloſe the ſcene of their barbarity, for they did not condeſcend to tell the ſufferers they were at liberty to depart, until the long-boat, and every thing belonging to her, had been properly ſecured.

The Mahratta paſs, which expreſsly forbids any moleſtation of perſons in amity with its government, was ſhewn them; but they only laughed at the captain for having been at the trouble to ſave it; thus, without a conveyance, and bereft of the means of aſſiſtance, they were compelled to commence

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commence a journey which took three days to accompliſh.

On the 27th the unfortunate ſufferers arrived at Cauntee; where, through the humane aſſiſtance of Mr. Chapman, the reſident, they were provided with every neceſſary comfort; boats, proviſions, &c. were liberally ſupplied; and the Captain and crew arrived in Calcutta on Wedneſday evening, the 31ſt ultimo.

The following Extracts of Rules reſpecting the Pilotage, are publiſhed for general Information.

That the Maſter Attendant ſhall, immediately after the arrival of any ſhip or veſſel at her moorings in the river Hoogly, tranſmit to the Marine Paymaſter the bill for pilotage, who ſhall demand payment thereof within five days.

In reſpect to ſhips outward bound, the Maſter Attendant ſhall require the Commander of a ſhip, upon his application for a pilot, to depoſit a ſum of money with the Marine Paymaſter, to diſcharge the bill for pilotage outward, according to the draft of water the ſhip may draw, if laden at town, or may draw, if laden down the river, with an advance of ten per cent. thereon, to be kept in reſerve; which advance ſhall be returned to any perſon the commander may appoint to receive the money, after the ſums due for pilotage have been diſcharged, provided no part of the advance has been appropriated to make good the amount due. Should the other part of the depoſit be found to exceed the amount which may actually become due, it muſt be repaid in like manner.

Publiſhed by order of the Preſident and Members of the Marine Board at Calcutta.

The epidemic diſeaſe which prevailed at Buſſorah, as a conſequence of the inundation of the Euphrates, had been attended with a moſt alarming mortality, carrying off no leſs than 12000 of the inhabitants in the ſpace of about ſix weeks.

Perſia continues to be diſtracted by the various competitors for the throne; nor is the Government of Buſhire ſuppoſed to be permanently ſettled, ſince Sheick Naſſur, the late Governor, is at Graine, and ſaid to be collecting a fleet of dows, with which he meditates an attempt to reinſtate himſelf in his former authority.

OCTOBER.

Loſs of the Brig SURPRIZE.

The *Surprize*, brig, was loſt off the Sand Heads, at the mouth of the Hoogly, on Friday the 5th inſtant. This veſſel arrived in the roads from Pulo Penang on the 4th, the weather being exceedingly boiſterous, and the wind at S. E. to S. S. E. No pilot being in ſight, they let go an anchor; but ſhe drove into two fathoms on Saugur Sands; and, in order to prevent her going aſhore in the night, it was deemed proper to cut away the main-maſt: in conſequence of this meaſure ſhe was got into ſeven fathoms in the eaſtern channel; but, parting two cables the next day, and not having another anchor on board, ſhe drove on ſhore at two o'clock, and filled.

The crew got aſhore (it being fortunately flood tide when ſhe ſtruck) on Saugur Iſland, on a raft made of her ſpars and a ſmall canoe: the commander, officers, and ſeven men arrived at Calcutta, on Thurſday morning, leaving thirty-

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seven of the crew on Saugur Island: boats with provisions were immediately dispatched to the relief of the unfortunate sufferers.

WAR *between the* SIAMESE *and* BURMAHS.

Letters from Rangoon, dated the 10th instant, mention the hostile preparations carrying on there: The Siamese have already taken the field, and have been successful in some slight skirmishes with the Burmahs; the latter act with the greatest caution, and have hitherto been on the defensive only; the Government has, however, thought proper to command Rangoon, and its adjacent districts, to furnish 6000 men, completely armed, &c.; and it is said, that similar orders have been issued in every division of the empire, so that a very large army was expected to assemble early in the present month; in which case, it is supposed, they will boldly meet their inveterate foe, and, by some valorous effort, endeavour to obliterate the painful recollection of their recent discomfitures.

Extract of a Letter from Colabah, dated Oct. 14.

"I am just returned from being a spectator of a very awful and distressing scene. About one o'clock I heard a smart cannonade at sea, which continuing for some time, I went about two o'clock to the light-house, from whence I observed a dingey bearing S. W. by W. distant about three leagues, standing direct into the harbour; she was engaged with nine Mahratta gallivats, with the whole of which she kept up a steady and well-directed fire, keeping them for some time at bay.

"About half past two, four of the boats had got close on her quarters, and fired right into her, which was returned by the dingey; after which, she immediately blew up.

"I was at that very instant looking at her through the spy-glass, and could see her plainly; she was instantly in a blaze in every part of her; and, horrid to relate, while in this dreadful situation, the Mahratta boats continued with savage barbarity to fire into her, till she was close burnt down to the water's edge.

"At half past three she disappeared, and went to the bottom; and with her, I am much afraid, many of the unfortunate crew, who might have escaped the fate of the battle or the flames, must have been drowned."

Extract of a Letter from Delhi, dated 18*th October*, 1798.

"As various accounts of the events at Delhi have appeared in some of the papers at Calcutta, I shall now transmit you a brief, but correct sketch of the late siege, and recent capture of the fort.

"On the refusal of the killedar to deliver up the fort to a detachment, consisting of two battalions from Colonel Sutherland's brigade —three battalions more were ordered up by General Perron, to augment the detachment, and co-operate in forcing the killedar to surrender, should he still hesitate on its evacuation.

"On the conjunction of these forces, the fort was invested on all sides, and batteries and trenches immediately opened. The fire from us was very inconsiderable, out of a respectful regard for the King and his numerous family, who were in a measure imprisoned in the fort.

"When every preparation was ready for a breach and escalade, the

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the killedar began a mamlut (negociation), which terminated in the capitulation of the fort on the 15th of the preſent month, after a ſiege of nineteen days.

"The terms were brief—the killedar had permiſſion to go unmoleſted wherever he pleaſed, and his troops were to receive from us the arrears of pay due to them.

"In my next I ſhall give you an account of the fort, of the unfortunate monarch himſelf, and of the unhappy ſituation of the ſclateen, thoſe miſerable branches of the royal family, doomed, by Aſiatic policy, to eternal ſeclusion.

"From the well-known humanity of General Perron, who is expected here in a few days, ſome alleviating alteration may, we hope, take place, in order to mitigate the pecuniary hardſhips of theſe royal ſufferers."

Extract of a Letter from the Mahratta Camp at Muttrah, dated the 19th October, 1798.

"The troops ſent by General Perron, to take the fort of Delhi, have ſucceeded in their project by a capitulation, which took place four days ago.

"The Mahratta who commanded in the fort, caught the general ſpirit of revolt, and rebelled from his ſubjection to Scindeah; and was promiſed aſſiſtance from the other diſaffected chiefs. The Prince ſent repeated orders to General Perron to inveſt the fort, and uſe every vigorous means to poſſeſs it.

"The general, from that amiable humanity which is a noble trait in his character, endeavoured to avoid recourſe to hoſtile meaſures, in regard to the old King, the numerous Princes and Princeſſes who are detained in the fort: and, even when the ſiege was laid, it was with the full permiſſion of the King; and every meaſure adopted to obviate any poſſible injury to the old monarch and the royal family.

"Though the troops in the fort, amounting to 600, were debarred from all exterior ſupplies of proviſions, yet General Perron ordered that the royal perſons ſhould be amply ſupplied, and their proviſions paſs unmoleſted.

"The fort was inveſted by five battalions, and a ſlight fire kept up for a few days, to intimidate the killedar, which produced the effect of a ſurrender: there were five guns in the fort, and the killed and wounded of the beſiegers were trifling.

"General Perron has the entire and merited confidence of the Prince, and is inveſted with the full and uncontroled government of all Scindeah's poſſeſſions, from the Chumbull river to Patiala, an extenſive country, which, even in its preſent ruinous ſtate, yields an annual revenue of near a crore of rupees.

"The general is to raiſe what armies he thinks proper, and to retain or diſcharge what troops he pleaſes. In fact, no European, not even General Du Boigne, ever poſſeſſed ſuch confidence or ſuch power, as General Perron.

"I imagine we ſhall ſhortly lay ſiege to the ſtrong fort of Agra, which has alſo revolted from the Prince."

BOMBAY

MILITARY ASSOCIATIONS.

Town-Hall, Oct. 23, 1798.

At a numerous and reſpectable meeting of the Gentlemen in the Civil Service of the Honourable Company, of the profeſſion of the

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Law, of the Free Merchants, Free Mariners, and other British subjects, convened by handbills circulated under authority of Government.

Mr. HENSHAW opened the business, by reading the following card, from the Honourable the Governor, to the Assembly:

"The Governor presents his compliments to the gentlemen in the civil service, and to those in the profession of the law, to the free merchants, free mariners, and other British subjects, not in the military or marine service of the Honourable Company; and acquaints them, that the purpose for which they have, by the handbills of yesterday, been invited to meet this day at the theatre, has been to take into consideration the subject of a recent instruction from the Honourable the Court of Directors to the Government of this Presidency, to encourage Military Associations among the civil servants and others, to be prepared to act on any emergency: in pursuance of which a plan has been suggested, which Mr. Henshaw will impart to the gentlemen assembled; on whose zeal, patriotism, and promptitude to come forward on the present occasion, the Governor places the utmost reliance; being also at all times ready and solicitous to give the utmost effect to their exertions, by whatever may be within his own power; under the impression derived from all the information before him, that on the example that shall now be shewn, and by the personal services of the gentlemen here addressed, the safety of this important settlement may, under the blessing of Divine Providence, in a very material degree depend.

(Signed) "J. DUNCAN.

"Bombay, Oct. 26, 1798."

Mr. Henshaw also read the plan for a Militia and Armed Association, alluded to in the Governor's card.

The Meeting therefore unanimously approving the recommendation of the Honourable the Governor, as well as the plan laid down in the minute from General Stuart, agreed, and accordingly resolved, to form themselves into an Armed Association, to be in future employed as may be deemed most expedient for the protection of this island; and conceiving that a Committee should be formed from the Members present, to conduct and carry into effect this important object, so strongly recommended to the Assembly in the Honourable the Governor's card,

Resolved, That the following gentlemen be a standing Committee for that purpose, viz.

Mr. R. Henshaw,	Mr. J. Morris,
Mr. L. Corkran,	Mr. H. Fawcett,
Mr. F. Reeves,	Mr. J. Forbes,
Mr. N. Crow,	Mr. J. Loughnan,
Mr. P. Hadow,	Mr. P. Hall, and
Mr. H. F. Constable,	Mr. J. Guise.
Mr. R. Taylor,	

The Meeting then broke up, and the Committee continued their sittings.

Mr. HENSHAW, in the Chair.

Resolved, that the following letter be addressed to the Honourable the Governor in Council, and presented by the Chairman, who at the same time is desired to express the wishes of the Armed Association, that the Honourable the Governor and the two Civil Members of Council will do the Association the honour to be the three superior Officers in the corps.

"*To the Hon.* J. DUNCAN, *Esq. President and Governor in Council.*

"HON. SIR,

"We the undersigned, being a Committee elected by a numerous assembly convened this day by public invitation to the gentlemen of the Civil Service, the gentlemen of the

the profeſſion of the Law, and the reſt of the Britiſh inhabitants not in the Military or Marine Services of the Company, are deputed to tender to your Honour the moſt zealous perſonal ſervices of every perſon preſent, for the purpoſe of an Armed Aſſociation for the defence of this ſettlement, in the manner that has been propoſed in the plan communicated to us and the aſſembly at your deſire.

"And we are further authoriſed to ſignify, on the part of the ſeveral gentlemen aſſembled, that the ſervices, which the preſent criſis calls upon them to offer, will be moſt cheerfully performed by each at his own charges, and to the utmoſt extent of his individual ability.

"We have the honour to be,
"Honourable Sir,
"Your moſt obedient humble
"Servants,
"R. HENSHAW, &c. Committee.
"Bombay, 23d October, 1798."

Reſolved, That the next meeting be at the Theatre, on the 25th inſtant. Adjourned. R. HENSHAW, Chairmain.

Bombay Town Hall, Oct. 25th, 1798.

The Committee being aſſembled, the Chairman read the following letter from the Honourable the Governor in Council, in anſwer to their addreſs of the 23d inſt.

"*To* R. HENSHAW, *Eſq. &c. Committee for conducting the Voluntary Aſſociation.*

"GENTLEMEN,

"In reply to your communication of yeſterday's date, I am directed to loſe no time in expreſſing the Preſident in Council's warmeſt ſatisfaction at the prompt and cordial reception which the Governor's intimation has met with from the meeting of the gentlemen at the Theatre, aſſembled for the purpoſe of conſidering the plan of an armed aſſociation, for the defence of this ſettlement; and underſtanding that it will prove agreeable to their ſentiments, I have to add that the Governor will eſteem himſelf honoured by his name appearing at the head of ſo creditable a corps, as its commanding officer; whilſt the two civil members of government will be no leſs proud of holding the next ſituations in point of rank; in conſideration of which you are requeſted to proceed to make choice of your other Officers.

"The Commander in Chief has alſo been requeſted to afford all ſuch farther aſſiſtance as may, in a military point of view, be neceſſary for giving effectual operation to the plan in queſtion; and will readily comply with whatever application may in this reſpect be preferred to him through the Governor in Council.

"I have the honour to be,
"Gentlemen,
"Your moſt obedient ſervant,
"R. RICKARDS, *Sec. to Gov.*
"Bombay Caſtle, Oct. 24th, 1798."

The Committee then proceeded to take into conſideration the farther ſteps neceſſary to carry into effect the object of the aſſociation.

R. HENSHAW, Chairman.

Extract of a Letter from Columbo, dated 26th October, 1798.

"A diſcovery has been lately made here, of a very rich mine of quickſilver, about ſix miles from this place. The appearances are very promiſing, for a handful of the earth on the ſurface will, by being waſhed, produce the value of a rupee. A guard is ſet over it, and accounts ſent expreſs to the Madras government."

Advices from Poonah mention, that Purſeram Bhow, after having

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plundered the town of Sattarah, proceeded to the ſouthward with a large force, towards the country of the Calipoor Rajah. We are alſo adviſed from the ſame quarter, that Col. Drugeon, who was lately put under arreſt by the European officers of his own corps, has been diveſted of the command of the firſt brigade in Scindeah's ſervice, by order of General Perron; and that Col. Heſſing has been proviſionally appointed by Scindeah to that ſituation, ſubject to be confirmed by General Perron. Colonel Drugeon was to proceed to Bombay in the courſe of a few days, under the protection of a guard to conduct him thither.

Golaum Mahommed, the leader of the Rohillas in 1794, and whoſe ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh government was then received, after viſiting the tomb of Mahommed at Mecca, in order to invigorate his faith, he undertook a journey to Seringapatam, where he met with a favourable reception from Tippoo Sultan. After a reſidence of ſome time in Myſore, he found his way back to Rohilcund, where he has continued for twelve or eighteen months paſt, diſtinguiſhed, as formerly, by his ambition and turbulence. To the deſigns and machinations of this man, the late refractory ſpirit diſplayed by the Rohillas, ſubjects to the Nabob Vizier, may in a great meaſure be aſcribed.

ABSTRACT OF VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.

Bengal, Oct. 12, - - -	L. 159,053
Madras, Sept. 16, - - - -	74,945
Bombay (including Cochin), Sept. 15, - - - - - -	31,891
Calicut, July 27, - - - - -	5,944
	L. 271,833

NOVEMBER.

Proceedings in the Court of the Recorder at Madras.

On the 1ſt inſtant, at eleven o'clock, the Mayor and Aldermen of Madras having aſſembled themſelves in their corporate capacity in the town-hall, in order to receive Sir Thomas Strange, nominated to preſide, as recorder, in the new court of judicature, ſent a deputation of their members, conſiſting of the ſenior and junior aldermen, to conduct him into the hall.

The Recorder having entered, and taken his place on the bench, ordered that his Majeſty's royal charter, of the 20th of February laſt, ſhould be publicly read; at the concluſion of which a royal ſalute was fired from the walls of the garriſon.

Mr. Abott, as mayor, then adminiſtered the oaths, preſcribed to be taken by the recorder, to Sir Thomas Strange; and tendered the declaration againſt the tranſubſtantiation, alſo directed to be ſubſcribed by the ſupreme judge; and the recorder afterwards adminiſtered the like oaths, and exhibited a ſimilar declaration to the mayor and aldermen reſpectively, according to ſeniority; and the ſame having been taken and ſubſcribed, and the new court having been thereby conſtituted and formed, the Sheriff was ordred to publiſh and proclaim the ſame, by the name and ſtyle of the Court of the Recorder at Madras.

The following proclamation was then read by the ſheriff in open court:

"GEORGE the THIRD, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and ſo forth.

"Whereas his moſt gracious Majeſty,

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Majeſty, by his letters patent, bearing date at Weſtminſter, the 20th day of February, in the 38th year of his reign, did, of his eſpecial grace, think fit to direct and ordain, that a new court of judicature ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the ſettlement of Madraſpatnam, and the factories and territories ſubordinate thereto, and dependent thereon, which ſhould be called the Court of the Recorder of Madraſpatnam, and ſhould be holden by and before one principal judge, who ſhould be called the recorder of Madraſpatnam, and ſhould be the preſident of the ſaid court, and by and before the mayor and three of the aldermen of Madraſpatnam, to be from time to time ſelected in rotation to be aſſiſtant judges thereof; and his Majeſty, in and by the ſame letters patent, was graciouſly pleaſed to conſtitute and appoint Sir Thomas Strange, knight, to be the firſt recorder of the ſaid court; and whereas the ſaid recorder, mayor, and aldermen, in purſuance of his Majeſty's ſaid letters patent, have this day aſſembled themſelves in the town-hall of Madras, and, after having cauſed the ſame letters patent to be read and publiſhed, have proceeded to qualify themſelves for the execution of the ſeveral powers and authorities thereby veſted in them, by taking the oaths and ſubſcribing the declarations therein directed to be taken and ſubſcribed: This is therefore to proclaim and publiſh, that the court of the recorder of Madras is in due manner conſtituted and eſtabliſhed, and that all the judicial powers and authorities heretofore exerciſed by the mayor's court at Madras, and by the governor and council as a court of appeal from the ſame, and by the court of oyer and terminer and jail delivery, have, by virtue of the directions contained in his Majeſty's letters patent, thereby ceaſed and terminated; and that all civil, criminal, eccleſiaſtical, and admiralty juriſdiction, will henceforth be exerciſed in the Court of the Recorder of Madras, in the manner and to the extent, by the ſame letters patent, directed and preſcribed; of which all perſons are hereby commanded and enjoined to take notice.

"GOD SAVE THE KING."

Extract from His Majeſty's Charter, bearing date 20th February, 38th year of his Reign.

"And we do further hereby ſtrictly charge and command all governors and commanders, magiſtrates and miniſters, civil and military, and all other our faithful and liege ſubjects whatſoever, in and throughout the Britiſh territories and poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies, and the countries, territories, diſtricts and places which now are, or ſhall be hereafter dependent thereupon, or ſubject or ſubordinate to the Britiſh government there, that in the execution of the ſeveral powers, juriſdictions and authorities hereby granted, made, given or created, they be aiding, aſſiſting, and obedient in all things, as they will anſwer the contrary at their peril."

Publiſhed by order of the Right Hon. the Governor in Council.

J. WEBBE, *Sec. to Gov.*

Fort St. George, 1ſt Nov. 1798.

The Court was afterwards adjourned to Monday the 5th inſt.

After the adjournment of the Court, Sir Thomas Strange, attended by the mayor and aldermen, proceeded to the council chamber, in order to preſent the Right Hon. the Governor with a copy of the chapter.

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On delivering the charter into the hands of Lord Clive, the recorder, in a very appoſite addreſs, explained to his lordſhip the intent and purport of the charter, and concluded with an earneſt and impreſſive appeal to the chair, to forward and carry into effect the moſt gracious intentions of his Majeſty, as manifeſted and declared by his royal charter, when occaſion (but which he truſted would be very rare) ſhould require the co-operative ſtrength and energy of the executive government.

To the addreſs of the recorder, his lordſhip made a ſuitable reply; when Sir Thomas retired.

The ſheriff, in the courſe of the morning, read the proclamation in the fort, and various parts of Madras.

On Monday the 5th inſtant, the Court of the Recorder met, purſuant to adjournment, when Mr. Alderman Roebuck addreſſed the Recorder, to the following effect:—

That he was deſired by his brethren on the bench, to congratulate him on the appointment which his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow on him of Recorder of that Court. That they were not unacquainted that he had already filled a high judicial ſituation in one of his Majeſty's colonies, giving dignity to his appointment, by the juſt and impartial adminiſtration of the laws entruſted to his diſpenſation; nor were they ignorant, that he had diſplayed an urbanity of manners, and a conciliatory diſpoſition, in the ſettlement where he had lately reſided, which had procured him the general eſteem, and which had been peculiarly manifeſted to him in the regret which had been publicly teſtified on the eve of his departure to his mother country.

That, bearing with him ſo full and ample a tribute of public approbation, he and his brother aldermen were ſatisfied, that they had acquired in the perſon of the Recorder, an upright and able colleague, to aid and guide them in the diſcharge of an arduous taſk which their country had impoſed on them,

That the firſt act of office which he had performed, required the particular thanks of the bench—He alluded to the very manly and impreſſive addreſs which he had delivered to the Right Hon. the Governor in Council, when he preſented them with the exemplification of the charter. And they had no doubt, not only from the viſible operation of his addreſs, but from his lordſhip's manner of thinking, and from the conſtitutional principles which he was known to poſſeſs, but that his lordſhip would give every requiſite aid to ſupport the dignity and enforce the decrees of the court. It was, however, to be lamented, that the late court (in the place of which the preſent was erected) for many years, had not been ſo fortunate as to meet with ſo neceſſary a ſupport: otherwiſe the adminiſtration of juſtice in the ſettlement might have been more perfect than it has been.

The late court, he could not but obſerve, had to combat with difficulties peculiar to its conformation—That it had frequently to find its way through a labyrinth, without any clue to direct its courſe. But though the members which compoſed the mayor's court were not men with profeſſed legal acquirements, yet he might venture to aſſert that they all poſſeſſed a general and liberal view of the conſtitution of their country, and the principles on which juſtice was to be

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be administered under it. It was not perhaps for him to say, how the court had discharged itself of what was expected from it—but the public records were the best proof of the manner in which the law had been administered—and the very few instances in which it would appear that the decrees of the mayor's court had been reversed by his Majesty in Council, afforded an unerring test, that the generality of their decisions had not been incorrect; and wherever their decrees might be seen to differ from the ultimate forum, the difference would not be found on matter of fact, but on point of law: But that they had been in general so correct, he was not inclined to ascribe all the merit to the bench; for it were but justice to the gentlemen at the bar to acknowledge that their professional talents, labour and research, had often assisted and governed their decisions. Individually he might be allowed to add, that he was particularly indebted to them for much voluntary information, which had enabled him, in cases of nicety, to form an opinion to the satisfaction of his own mind.

Perchance it might also be deemed a duty incumbent on him, while speaking of the external assistance which the bench had experienced, to say something of the officers of the court: for it must be observed, that he, (the recorder) could only know them by general communication or confined personal acquaintance. But he, (Mr. Roebuck) had had the almost daily opportunity of remarking on their conduct, for a long period of time; and from so extensive an experience of their respective merits, he was certainly authorised to assert, that the gentleman who held the office of Register, though he had come young and inexperienced into office, had conducted himself with a considerable degree of talent in the execution of his duties, and, what perhaps was of more public importance, with unbiassed and incorruptible integrity. That of the young gentleman, his Deputy, who had not been long in his situation, from the application which he had given, and the line of conduct he had pursued since he had been in that department, there could be little doubt but he would qualify himself to be a fit successor hereafter to a person who has so ably and honourably held the principal office.

Before he concluded, Mr. Roebuck hoped that he should stand excused, in adding a few words to what he had already said in respect to the gentlemen at the bar. There were men amongst them, he was proud to say, whose talents and acquirements were sufficient to embrace every subject with benefit to their clients, and credit to themselves,—whose practice had been large and liberal—fair and honourable,—whose zeal, though kept in proper bounds, could not and cannot be excelled in any court of judicature in the British dominions. Men possessing such talents, and adopting such a line of practice, must have the most ample gratification in their own mind;—but, he trusted, it would not be unacceptable to them to understand, that a conduct so honourable in itself had not passed unnoticed, and that a just tribute was paid to it by those whose duty it had been to observe it.

The Recorder observed, that he had to express his thanks and acknowledgments to the mayor and aldermen, in whose joint name Mr. Roebuck had addressed him, for the very flattering opinion which they entertained of a stranger, who had so

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ſo recently come amongſt them. If he had merited, by the line of conduct purſued by him in another part of the world, which he ſcarcely dare preſume, thoſe high encomiums which the worthy alderman had been pleaſed to beſtow on it—and if he had been fortunate enough to obtain the eſteem of thoſe amongſt whom he had been deputed to adminiſter juſtice—he muſt attribute a great part of his ſucceſs to the aſſiſtance of thoſe who were appointed to co-operate with him, and to the obliging diſpoſition of perſons with whom he aſſociated, that inclined them to receive his good intentions with a liberal allowance. He begged leave to aſſure the mayor and aldermen, that no endeavours ſhould be wanting, on his part, to conform himſelf to the ideas which they had been ſo good as to conceive of him—But he was not unaware, that he had a more difficult ſituation to fill than he had heretofore diſcharged. He had to adminiſter juſtice amongſt a people, of whoſe manners, cuſtoms and uſages, he poſſeſſed but a very circumſcribed knowledge; yet every exertion in his power ſhould be uſed to inveſtigate matters which would judicially come before them, and to explain the principles on which their deciſions ſhould be grounded; and in all circumſtances and caſes to render them ſuch aid as his abilities might allow. On many occaſions he muſt receive, rather than afford aſſiſtance; and he muſt expect to be inſtructed there by the gentlemen on the bench, and the worthy alderman in particular; and he depended that they would moſt readily and unreſervedly give him that local information and advice, of which they were ſo capable, from their long reſidence and frequent previous inquiries. He was extremely gratified to receive ſo favourable a teſtimonial of the conduct of a gentleman who held ſo important an office as that of Regiſter: nor was he leſs happy to hear a commendation equally flattering, and from a quarter ſo diſtinguiſhing, as proceeding from the worthy alderman, of the gentlemen at the bar; and they would ſee from the proceedings of the court that day, that a general confidence was placed in their character. And although the teſtimony borne by the worthy alderman did not appear to apply univerſally, yet he truſted that every individual, profiting by the liberality of the court, would endeavour to attach to himſelf a claim to ſo honourable a commendation.

The court then proceeded to appoint their officers: when George Taylor, Eſq. was ſworn prothonotary and regiſter, and J. Abbot, Eſq. as deputy prothonotary and regiſter.

And afterwards, J. S. Hall, G. Chalmer, R. Williams, E. Samuel, A. Anſtruther, G. Rickets, G. M'Mahon, C. M. Buſhby, J. Suthgrland, H. A. D. Campton, F. Diſney, C. Walters, and M. James, Eſqrs. were approved, admitted, and enrolled advocates of the court, and took and ſubſcribed the oath of allegiance.

G. Lyes, Eſq. was ſworn examiner of the court.

The Recorder then delivered his ſeal to Mr. L. H. Sirling, thereby conſtituting him ſealer of the court, who thereupon took and ſubſcribed the oaths of office.

The petition of S. D. Totton, Eſquire, was then read, praying to be admitted an advocate and attorney, and ſtating his pretenſions as founded on being a graduate of Oxford, and a member of the honourable ſociety of Lincoln's Inn.

The

The Recorder, in delivering the reſolution of the court, which was unfavourable to the prayer of the petition, ſuggeſted—that however deſirous the court might be to admit Mr. Totton, they were prevented from ſo doing by the ſtrict letter of the charter. He bore every honourable teſtimony to the high eſtimation in which Mr. Totton ſtood in the ſettlement; and as a proof of the ſentiments entertained of him by the court, the Recorder farther obſerved, that in limiting the number of practitioners in future, if ſuch a meaſure ſhould be found neceſſary, there ſhould be a reſervation in his favour, if he ſhould think proper to apply to the Company for the licence required.

After the officers were ſworn in, Mr. Hall (the ſenior advocate) then addreſſed the bench, and ſaid in ſubſtance—

That the bar might juſtly be conſidered as deficient even in common feelings, if, after the very liberal and honourable expreſſions that had fallen from the bench, they were not to declare their grateful ſentiments. That he aſſured his lordſhip that they were individually and deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of the partiality ſhewn to them, which could not fail to influence their conduct, and make them ſtudy to become what the worthy alderman had repreſented them to be.

How far they might deſerve the future commendation of the court, would depend on the reſpective merit and tenour of their practice; and he truſted, with ſuch inducement and intentions, they would not fail to inſure the protection and ſupport of the court, without which no bar could ever hope to be reſpectable.

The nomination of Mr. Williams as Company's attorney, conformable to the directions of the charter, was ſignified to the court, by a letter under the official ſignature of the ſecretary to the government.

The court then adjourned.

Camp, near Hydrabad, 1ſt November 1798.

"You have heard of the grand object of our expedition, which has been attended with all the ſucceſs that could have been wiſhed. We arrived here on the 12th of laſt month; and from that time till the 22d, we remained in anxious ſuſpence as to our future proceedings. On the 22d it was determined that our detachment, conſiſting of four Madras battalions, a company of artillery with ſixteen guns, joined by the Bengal regiment with their artillery and guns, ſhould attack the French lines. The French force amounted to about 14,000 men, 100 pieces of cannon and abundance of ammunition: but fortunately enough for us, a mutiny had broke out among their troops, which had riſen to ſuch extremity, that they confined ſeveral of their officers; and Monſ. Perron, with many of his friends, were obliged to come over to our camp the night immediately preceding the intended attack, and threw himſelf on the mercy of the Engliſh government; and had he not thus prudently ſecured his ſafety by flight, he would certainly have been murdered by his troops.

"Our object was to deſtroy, completely, the French intereſt and influence in this quarter, which has been happily effected without bloodſhed. On the morning after M. Perron ſurrendered himſelf, we marched down in full force to the French lines. Our detachment took poſſeſſion of ſome heights, which commanded the whole of the enemy's lines, and the Bengal detachment

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detachment was on their right flank. The inſtant they perceived that we were ſo advantageouſly poſted, the men immediately threw down their arms, and diſperſed, except a few of Perron's own corps, who ſaid they were willing to come to any reaſonable terms, provided they received the arrears of pay that were due to them, which was complied with on the part of M. Perron; and we have now got poſſeſſion of all the Frenchmen that were either at Hydrabad or in the Nizam's ſervice; and we have alſo ſecured all the arms and amunition, a large quantity, and for which the Nizam has promiſed to pay M. Perron and his officers.

"Perron has acted judiciouſly, and has ſecured to himſelf the greater part of his property. He and his adherents are to be ſent to Madras; and it is ſuppoſed that they will from thence be ſent round to Bengal. They are all permitted to ſell off their property, except their houſes. Theſe his highneſs the Nizam takes as his ſhare of the ſpoil."

BOMBAY PATRIOTIC MEETING.

Town Hall, Nov. 5, 1798.—At a General Meeting of the Britiſh inhabitants, ſubſcribers to the Voluntary Contributions for the ſupport of the war, convened by the Sheriff at the requeſt of the committee appointed by the ſaid inhabitants,

R. HENSHAW, Eſq. in the Chair.

The Chairman ſtated to the meeting the amount of the ſubſcriptions this day, being upwards of three lacks of rupees. Of this ſum one hundred twenty ſeven thouſand, ſeven hundred ſixty-three rupees one quarter and nineteen reas were lent in aid to government, payable whenever called for. A farther ſum of thirty two thouſand rupees had been advanced to his Majeſty's naval officers for bills on the navy board, which bills had been indorſed payable to the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majeſty's Treaſury, and remitted to them in the name of the Britiſh inhabitants of Bombay, through the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate; that a farther ſum of fifty-five thouſand rupees had been called for by his Majeſty's naval officers, and was in a courſe of payment. All which received the full approbation of the meeting.

The Chairman then propoſed, that an humble Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, expreſſive of the reſolution of his true and faithful ſubjects to ſupport the meaſures of his government in the preſent war, and congratulating him on the ſucceſs of his arms in the Mediterranean, in which our ſafety in this iſland was ſo nearly concerned.

The motion was approved; and it was reſolved unanimouſly, that the Committee formerly appointed, together with General Carnack, be requeſted to prepare ſuch an addreſs.

The Committee withdrew, and after ſome time returned, when the Chairman read the following draft of an addreſs, which being unanimouſly approved of, was ordered to be fairly tranſcribed for ſignature.

To the KING'S *Moſt Excellent Majeſty.*

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

We your Majeſty's moſt faithful ſubjects, the Britiſh inhabitants of Bombay and its dependencies, animated by an ardent zeal for our country, which we truſt will ever be the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of

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of Britons, have exerted our beſt endeavours, by a general contribution, for ſupporting the preſent juſt and neceſſary war in which we are engaged, in oppoſition to an unprovoked combination of your Majeſty's enemies; reflecting with equal pride and gratitude on the bleſſings we derive from a conſtitution which has elevated the national character through ages, and by the ſecurity it affords to liberty and property, has rouſed and maintained a ſpirit of commercial adventure, equally productive of public wealth, and individual proſperity, it became our duty, as well as our earneſt inclination, to unite for its protection. Of this invaluable ſyſtem we regard your Majeſty as the faithful guardian, and as farther endeared to us by thoſe amiable perſonal virtues which are the peculiar ornaments of your character.

We feel particular pleaſure at this period in congratulating your Majeſty on the late ſucceſs of your naval arms in the Mediterranean, under Admiral Nelſon, againſt an inveterate and uſurping foe, whoſe hoſtility is directed to the deſtruction of every tie that can bind ſociety in good order and government; a victory, which, while it has eminently diſplayed the wiſdom and vigilance of your Majeſty's councils, in the means of its attainment, and the bravery and good conduct of your officers in its accompliſhment, has averted from your ſubjects in this remote ſituation an intended blow, which threatened their exiſtence.

While we expreſs to your Majeſty the exertions of your Britiſh ſubjects here, in the public cauſe, it is with much additional ſatisfaction that we fulfil a duty incumbent upon us, in conveying to you the unſolicited concurrence we have experienced in the natives of this iſland, through their different caſts, and the aid they have afforded on the preſent occaſion; effects, which can only be aſcribed to the benign influence of your Majeſty's government in the ſupport and protection of all to whom it is extended.

With the moſt fervent wiſhes for the long continuance of your Majeſty's reign, with increaſe of glory and proſperity, and the enjoyment of your domeſtic felicity, we have the honour of ſubſcribing ourſelves with the warmeſt ſentiments of veneration and gratitude.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,
Your Majeſty's moſt obedient and
Faithful Subjects.

Reſolved, That the addreſs be fairly tranſcribed on parchment, and lay open at the Adjutant General's, or Secretary's Office, for ſignature, and that the committee be requeſted afterwards to preſent the ſame to the Honourable the Governor, and ſolicit him, in the name of the meeting, to adopt ſuch mode as he ſhall judge moſt proper for tranſmitting it to his Majeſty.

Reſolved, That a duplicate of the addreſs be prepared for ſignature as above.

Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to to the committee, for conducting the performance of the truſt committed to them.

Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Nathan Crow, Eſq. ſheriff, for his obliging and ready acquieſcence in calling the inhabitants this day.

The Chairman having left the chair, it was then

Reſolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Robert Henſhaw, Eſq. chairman of the committee and of this meeting, for his ability and attention in the diſcharge of thoſe duties. Adjourned.

R. HENSHAW, *Chairman.*

Public Department, 5th Nov. 1798.

Whereas the ſale of fire-arms, or other warlike ſtores, to or for the uſe of the country powers or private perſons, without expreſs authority for that purpoſe, having been heretofore prohibited by the orders of government,

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government, and the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council having reaſon to believe that attempts have been made to evade the ſaid prohibition; his lordſhip in council hereby declares, that the ſaid trade, in fire-arms and warlike ſtores, has been and continues to be entirely forbidden; and that any perſon or perſons who ſhall be detected in exporting from Calcutta, or any other part of the Company's province, to any part or parts of the country within their territories, or otherwiſe, cannon or guns of any other deſcription, or any arms or warlike ſtores of whatever denomination, without a paſs, ſealed with the ſeal of the Company, and ſigned by the Secretary to this government, will be conſidered as having forfeited the protection of the Company, and will be ſent to Europe.

It is farther hereby notified and declared, that the juſtices of the peace for the town of Calcutta, the collectors and officers of the cuſtoms within the Company's provinces, including the zemindary of Benares, and the magiſtrates of ſeveral diſtricts, have been directed to take due care that the ſtricteſt attention be paid to this order, and to ſeize within their reſpective juriſdictions any property attempted to be paſſed in violation of this order, declaring the ſaid property to be confiſcated, one half to the uſe and benefit of the honourable Company, and the other half to the benefit of the informer, who ſhall be entitled to the ſame upon conviction of the party or parties engaged in the trade.

Publiſhed by order of the right honourable the Governor General in Council.

D. CAMPBELL, *Sub-Sec.*

PROCLAMATION.

By the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council.

Calcutta, Nov. 9, 1798.

Whereas it has been repreſented to the right honourable the Governor General in Council, that ſeveral places in the vicinity of Calcutta, and elſewhere within theſe provinces, are become the ordinary reſort of diſorderly perſons from the foreign ſettlements on the ſabbath-day; and that at ſuch places of public reſort, horſe-races are frequented, and the pernicious practice of gaming prevails, to the ſcandal of the Britiſh government, and to the prejudice of thoſe who are entitled to its protection; and whereas the profanation of the day ſet apart for the ſolemn obſervance of public worſhip, is a practice deſtructive of the good order and morals of ſociety, and contrary to the duties and ordinances of the proteſtant religion; his lordſhip in council hereby orders and directs all magiſtrates, and officers commanding at military ſtations, to prohibit horſe-races, and all other meetings for the purpoſe of gaming on the ſabbath-day, within the limits of their reſpective juriſdictions or commands; and if any perſon or perſons ſhall be guilty of diſobedience to ſuch prohibition, the magiſtrates and officers of the diſtrict or ſtation in which ſuch offence ſhall be committed, are hereby ſtrictly commanded to report the name or names of any perſon or perſons ſo offending, to the right honourable the Governor-General in Council; and his lordſhip in council hereby declares, that the perſon or perſons ſo offending, ſhall be liable to forfeit the protection of the honourable the Eaſt-India

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India Company, and to be ſent to Europe.

Publiſhed by order of the right honourable the Governor-General in Council.

G. H. BARLOW, *Sec. to Gov.*

"*To James Anderſon, Eſq. M. D.* Phyſician General, &c. Madras.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have the pleaſure to ſend you the hiſtory of a caſe, which was attended with the moſt alarming ſymptoms, as a confirmation of the beneficial effects to be expected from the uſe of Eau de Luce, or ſpirits of hartſhorn, in the bites of even the moſt dangerous ſnakes. On the 11th of this month, at half paſt three o'clock, *p. m.* one of the dooley bearers of the 2d regiment of cavalry, in the act of cutting a branch of a tree, about 100 yards from my houſe, was bit by a ſnake, on the outſide of the left leg, a little below the knee. He felt immediately the pain ſtretching up his thigh; and in the courſe of ten or twelve minutes, he was ſeized with violent ſpaſms all over his body, and fell down apparently without ſenſe or motion. He was then brought to me, when I found all his joints quite ſtiff, his limbs rigidly extended, pulſe hardly to be felt, and jaws faſt locked. Having no eau de luce at hand, I put a tea-ſpoonful of hartſhorn into a tumbler, with a ſmall quantity of water; and having with difficulty opened his mouth by means of a turn-ſcrew, I poured it in; but the power of diglutition being perfectly gone, only a very ſmall part found its way to the ſtomach. In ten minutes more I repeated the draught, and again a very ſmall quantity got to the ſtomach; ten minutes after I gave him another doſe, when, by holding his head back, the greateſt part went down; and in a few minutes he was ſenſibly relieved, as his joints became more pliable. I now received ſome eau de luce, and in about ten minutes gave him about twenty-five drops, mixed with a little water, which, by holding his head as before got all into his ſtomach. He now began to recover his recollection, and upon being aſked, pointed that he felt a pain in his breaſt, and the crown of his head. Half an hour after giving the laſt doſe, I repeated it; and in about five minutes he was ſeized with vomiting, when he brought up a ſmall quantity of green ſlimy matter, which ſeemed to relieve him greatly, for he was then able to look about him. I repeated the medicine every half hour, and after every doſe he got a little better; ſo that at nine o'clock he was able, with a little ſupport, to walk home from my houſe, ſcarcely feeling any effect but weakneſs from the bite, and I ſaw him next morning, perfectly well. During the internal exhibition of the medicine, the wound was rubbed with it, and ſeemingly with ſome good effect. The ſnake was not killed, ſo that I cannot ſay what ſpecies it was of; but from the violent effects produced by its bite, I have no doubt of its being a dangerous one.

"I am,

"Dear Sir,

"Your moſt obedient Servant,

(Signed) W. MACKINTOSH.

"Arcot, Nov. 13, 1798."

LAW INTELLIGENCE.

Supreme Court, Calcutta, Nov. 13, 1798.

This day the Supreme Court was occupied till four o'clock, on a cauſe brought by Mr. Robert Baillie, an up-country trader, againſt Major Gen. Robert Stuart, for an aſſault and falſe impriſonment.

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ment. It appeared, that the plaintiff had been a resident within the cantonments, at Cawnpore, for many years past, and dealt, in general, in Europe articles, which he principally disposed of to the military, stationed there: that in October, 1797, he had, in consequence of a complaint made to him by one of the people of his zenanah, tied up, and very severely flogged, one of his chokydars, who complained to the commanding officer, Major General Stuart. Mr. Baillie was immediately ordered to be tried by a military line court martial; and, as he acknowledged to have taken no less than six Europe swish whips in the flogging, alledging as his reason, that they were new whips, and he was afraid of breaking them and spoiling their sale; the court martial sentenced him to five days imprisonment, and to make an apology to the commanding officer. This sentence, General Stuart, though he did not approve of, confirmed; and issued orders for Mr. Baillie to depart the camp, as soon after his enlargement as possible. Against the proceedings of this court martial, and the previous and subsequent imprisonment, it was that Mr. Baillie complained; and the two principal points which seemed to arise in the cause, were, whether Mr. Baillie, living and vending the articles he did, within the camp, came within the description of a suttler, or not? and, if he did—whether or not he was subject to military law? These facts were established very clearly to the satisfaction of the court, and in consequence the plaintiff was non-suited.

Counsel for the plaintiff, Messrs. Strettell, Macnaughten and Dickens; attornies, Messrs. Taylor and Lloyd.

The defence was supported by the Hon. Company; consequently the defendant's counsel were Messrs. Burroughs, Shaw, and Carrington; attorney, Mr. Jackson.

On Monday the 19th instant, intelligence was received from Captain Kirkpatrick, the British resident at the court of his Highness the Nizam, that the exchange of the ratifications of a new subsidiary Treaty, between the Hon. the East India Company and his Highness, took place in the fortress of Golconda on the 29th October, and that his Highness the Nizam had been pleased to announce this event by a salute from that fortress. The same was also announced at Calcutta, by a salute from the fortress of Fort William.

GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATION:

Zillah Twenty-four Pergunnahs.

November 20, 1798.—Whereas, with a view of conforming the more effectually to an order from the right honourable the Governor General in Council, an advertisement from this court, dated the 18th of September last, was published in the Calcutta Gazette, requiring all Europeans, whether British subjects or foreigners, to attend at, or report themselves to, this court, without delay, in the manner and form therein particularly prescribed; and whereas the terms of that advertisement not having been attended to, in any degree, by a very small number of the many Europeans resident within this jurisdiction; they are hereby again peremptorily called upon to report themselves separately and distinctly, as required by the advertisement in question, on or before the 15th of December next; and in the event of any of them failing,

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failing, or neglecting to attend to, and comply with the forms prescribed in that advertisement, after the expiration of the last-mentioned period, a list of such of their names as may be procurable shall be submitted to the animadvertion of government.

J. B. SMITH, *Jud. and Mag.*

Fort William, Nov. 20, 1798.

There being reason to believe that the rules respecting vessels receiving on board goods after obtaining their port-clearance are not duly attended to; the said rules are re-published, as follow, for particular observation:

"The pilot of every vessel which may have obtained her clearance, shall be ordered by the master-attendant not to permit any goods or merchandise to be received on board, unless the goods shall be accompanied by a certificate from the collector of the customs of their having paid or settled the export duties.

"If the commander of any vessel shall, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the pilot, receive on board any goods or merchandise, not accompanied with a certificate as prescribed in the preceding clause, the pilot shall immediately report the circumstance to the master-attendant, and detain the vessel for his farther orders; and all goods in such predicament shall be liable to confiscation."

Published by order of the Board of Trade.

W. A. EDMONSTONE, *Sec.*

Fort William, Public Department, 28th November, 1798.

Notice is hereby given, that individuals are, from and after the publication of this advertisement, permitted to import saltpetre from Benares, Oude, and the west provinces, for exportation to England.

2dly, Previous to the saltpetre passing the custom-house at Manjee, the proprietors of it must give bond with security to the collector, of its being landed at Calcutta, under a penalty of ten sicca rupees per maund. The security must be that of two responsible persons residing within the Company's provinces, who, if not already amenable to the jurisdiction of the supreme court of judicature, must render themselves so in respect of the premises.

3dly, Any saltpetre attempted to be passed before bond shall have been given, will be liable to confiscation.

4thly, The saltpetre on its arrival at Calcutta must be deposited in warehouses, under the joint keys of the Calcutta collector of customs, and the proprietor or consignee of the saltpetre; and must not be removed without permission.

Published by order of the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council.

D. CAMPBELL, *Sub. Sec.*

THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF LITERATURE.

Oriental Repository at the India-House.

[We cannot insert the following order, without pointing out to the admiration of the public, the very liberal patronage which the Hon. the Court of Directors afford to the cultivation of Indian literature and science. The institution of an ORIENTAL REPOSITORY will be no less honourable to themselves, than serviceable and ornamental to the nation.]

The following Extract from a Letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors, dated the 15th of May 1798, is published for general information.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council.

D. CAMPBELL, *Sub. Sec.*

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PAR. 105.—"You will have obſerved, by our diſpatches from time to time, that we have invariably manifeſted, as the occaſion required, our diſpoſition for the encouragement of Indian literature. We underſtand it has been of late years a frequent practice among our ſervants, eſpecially in Bengal, to make collections of Oriental manuſcripts, many of which have afterwards been brought into this country. Theſe remaining in private hands, and being likely in a courſe of time to paſs into others, in which probably no uſe can be made of them, they are in danger of being neglected, and at length in a great meaſure loſt to Europe as well as to India. We think this iſſue a matter of greater regret, becauſe we apprehend that, ſince the decline of the Mogul empire, the encouragement formerly given in it to Perſian literature has ceaſed; that hardly any new works of celebrity appear, and that the copies of books of eſtabliſhed character are now made; ſo that there being, by the accidents of time, and the exportation of many of the beſt manuſcripts, a progreſſive diminution of the original ſtock, Hinduſtân may at length be much thinned of its literary ſtores, without greatly enriching Europe. To prevent in part this injury to letters, we have thought that the inſtitution of a Public Repoſitory in this country for Oriental writings, would be uſeful, and that a thing profeſſedly of this kind is ſtill a bibliothecal deſideratum here. It is not our meaning that the Company ſhould go into any conſiderable expence in forming a collection of eaſtern books; but we think the India-Houſe might, with particular propriety, be the centre of an ample accumulation of that nature; and conceiving alſo, that gentlemen might chuſe to lodge valuable compoſitions, where they could be ſafely preſerved, and become uſeful to the public; we therefore deſire it to made known, that we are willing to allot a ſuitable apartment for the purpoſe of an Oriental Repoſitory, in the additional buildings now erecting in Leadenhall-ſtreet; and that all eaſtern manuſcripts, tranſmitted to that Repoſitory, will be carefully preſerved and regiſtered there."

106. "By ſuch a collection, the literature of Perſia and Mahommedan India may be preſerved in this country, after, perhaps, it ſhall, from farther changes, and the farther declenſion of taſte for it, be partly loſt in its original ſeats."

107. "Nor would we confine this collection to Perſian and Arabian manuſcripts. The Sanſcrit writings, from the long ſubjection of the Hindûs to a foreign government, from the diſcouragements their literature in conſequence experienced, and from the ravages of time, muſt have ſuffered greatly; we ſhould be glad, therefore, that copies of all the valuable books which remain in that language, or in any ancient dialects of the Hindûs, might, through the induſtry of individuals, at length be placed in ſafety in this iſland, and form a part of the propoſed collection."

D. CAMPBELL, *Sub. Sec.*

Advices from Tellicherry of the 25th inſtant, mention the arrival there of a grab ſhip belonging to Chocara Mooſſa, from Mocha. This veſſel had been captured on the 5th of Auguſt, off the iſland Socotora, by L'Uni, a French privateer mounting eighteen eight pounders, two eighteen pounders and four carronades, and manned with Europeans and Caffres. The com-

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commander of the privateer, after taking the ſpecie out of the grab, put fifteen Frenchmen on board of her, and diſpatched her to the Mauritius. The crew, however, conſiſting chiefly of Moplas, ſoon afterwards roſe upon the Frenchmen, put them to death, and brought the ſhip and cargo in ſafety to Tellicherry. Another of Mooſſa's veſſels, with two ſhips belonging to the queen of Cannanore, had been captured at the ſame time, and were in like manner plundered of their ſpecie, and diſpatched to the Mauritius; but their crews following the example above-mentioned, alſo retook the ſhips, and had arrived ſafe at Cannanore. Letters were found on board the grab from the commander of L'Uni to his owners at the Mauritius, wherein he mentions having transſhipped treaſure to a large amount from different veſſels into his own, but that if he ſhould happen to fall in with and capture a large ſhip, he would diſpatch her with the money to the Mauritius; that he intended to ſweep the Malabar and Coromandel coaſts, and to call at Tranquebar for refreſhments.

DECEMBER.

MURDER.

On the 2d inſtant, a moſt ſhocking murder was perpetrated on the body of Patrick Kain, a private of his Majeſty's 29th light dragoons; he was found on the beach on the ſouth end of the eſplanade with his throat cut in a moſt dreadful manner: a coroner's inqueſt was held on the body, who brought in a verdict of wilful murder, by a perſon unknown. Though every inquiry has been made, hitherto no traces are to be found of the perpetrators of this horrid deed.

On the ſame day a female infant of nine months was found ſtrangled at the Even Brab Trees. A Coroner's inqueſt was held on the body, who brought in a verdict of wilful murder, by a perſon, or perſons unknown.

SUPREME COURT.

The 2d ſeſſion of Oyer and Terminer commenced on Tueſday the 4th inſt.

On the 6th inſtant, Thomas Mackenzie, and John Petrie, Sheriff's officers, were tried for extortion; againſt Petrie there appearing no evidence to ſupport the charge, he was conſequently acquitted; but the proofs were ſo glaring reſpecting Mackenzie, that the Jury was unanimous in convicting him.

It appeared in the courſe of the trial, that Mackenzie having been employed to apprehend a man ſuppoſed to be employed as a ſeaconny, (he was not preſent at the trial) charged with having committed an aſſault, he proceeded to his houſe, met with, and pinioned him: not content with having done ſo, he paſſed into the compound, where a woman was bathing, who it ſeems is the wife of the man he came to apprehend; he alſo bound her, and threatened that he would inſtantly take them both to jail; having greatly excited their fears, he gave them to underſtand that for two gold mohurs he might perhaps be able to prevent their being diſgraced; but as they could not poſſibly raiſe ſo much, it was ultimately agreed that they ſhould give him twenty rupees; this ſum he abſolutely received, but he dragged them to priſon notwithſtanding.

The Chief Juſtice paid a handſome compliment to the gentle-

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men who brought forward the profecution; and there can be no doubt, but that by exemplary proceedings of this nature, a ſtop will be put to a practice, which it is feared has been too often followed by the ſubordinate officers of the Court.

The Chief Juſtice delivered the charge to the Grand Jury.

On Tueſday the 10th inſtant, the ſecond ſeſſion of Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol Delivery, cloſed at the Court Houſe; when the Chief Juſtice pronounced the under-mentioned ſentences on the following perſons:

Radamonee, for perjury; to ſtand in the pillory for one hour in the Loll bazar; a paper to be affixed to the pillory, in the Engliſh and native languages, expreſſive of her crime, &c. to be publicly whipped in the Burrah bazar three times, and kept to hard labour. Buxoo, larceny; to be twice whipped, kept at hard labour and impriſoned. Rogonaut Mozondar, larceny; to be whipped once, kept at hard labour ſix months, and then diſcharged. Thomas Mackenzie, for extortion, to pay a fine of five hundred rupees, and be impriſoned until ſuch fine be paid. Gopey Podar, for receiving ſtolen goods, to be whipped in the Burrah bazar, impriſoned, kept at hard labour ſix months, and pay a fine of one hundred rupees to the King.—Eight were diſcharged by proclamation.

Walter Ewer, Eſq. has been appointed High Sheriff of Calcutta for the enſuing year, and Edward Lloyd, Eſq. Deputy Sheriff.

ACCIDENTS.

On the 6th inſtant, a very melancholy accident happened in the woods at a place called Pallaw. A carriage driving along rather too faſt, unfortunately ran over a child about ſix years of age, and killed him dead on the ſpot. The coachman immediately abſconded. A Coroner's inqueſt was held on the body of the child, who brought in a verdict of accidental death.

Same day, a ſepoy belonging to the garriſon at Tannah was bitten by a ſnake, he was immediately carried to Captain Lambert's quarters, when about thirty drops of eau de luce, in a glaſs of water, was adminiſtered internally, whilſt the wound was rubbed with the eau de luce. Dr. Durham was immediately called in to his aſſiſtance, which might be almoſt five or ſix minutes after the accident happened; the patient was then foaming at the mouth, and his jaws almoſt locked. Mr. Durham hardly entertained any hopes of his recovery, but finding eau de luce had been adminiſtered, he continued to give a tea ſpoonful every ten minutes, for three doſes, continuing at the ſame time to bathe the wound; the fourth doſe was adminiſtered at the diſtance of a quarter of an hour, when the patient began retching, and the wound diſcharged a thin ſerum; he began to recover, and after giving him a glaſs of brandy, he was ſoon ſufficiently recovered to be ſent to the hoſpital, but a numbneſs continued in his leg for ſome time: by the application of a bliſter the numbneſs was removed, and on the 9th inſtant, the man was diſcharged from the hoſpital perfectly recovered.

At the requeſt of his Excellency the Governor of Ceylon, the following advertiſement, publiſhed by him on the iſland, is hereby alſo promulgated for general information;

For

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Fort St. George, Dec. 7, 1798.

"Notice is hereby given, that from and after the firſt day of January next, the importation of ſalt, into any port on the iſland of Ceylon, without the expreſs written permiſſion of Government, is prohibited, with exception of the quantity neceſſarily brought as ballaſt, by donies, and ſuch other ſmall veſſels as may import bale goods or paddy, to ports on Ceylon, from any part of the coaſt ſouth of the river Coleroon. Such veſſels will be permitted to import the quantity of ſalt brought as ballaſt, on delivering the ſame into the Company's ſtores, at any authoriſed port on Ceylon, at the rate of ten rix dollars Ceylon currency. per laſt. All ſalt imported without ſpecial licence on other veſſels, or landed in any other manner than that above directed, from thoſe excepted from the prohibition, will be confiſcated, and the owners ſubject to farther penalty, according to the circumſtances of the caſe.

"That all arrack exported from Ceylon, on and after the firſt of January next, ſhall be ſubject to an export duty of eight rix dollars, per leguer of ſeventy-five welt.

"That all beetle-nut exported from Ceylon, ſhall, from the ſame date, be ſubject to an export duty of ten rix dollars (including the preſent duty) per ammonam of twenty-four thouſand nuts; and that the duties formerly collected by the Dutch Government of Ceylon, on the export of tobacco, Palmira laths, timber and planks, ſhall be levied on ſuch as are exported from any port on Ceylon.

"That on and after the firſt day of January next, a duty of ſeven and eight per cent. will be levied on all muſlins, ſilk, cotton, cloths, and mixtures of ſilk and cotton, plain or coloured, which may be imported into any port on the iſland of Ceylon.

"All other duties to remain as at preſent on Ceylon. It is farther notified, that the importation of ſalt-petre, ſulphur, gunpowder, lead, ammunition, and arms, into any port on the iſland of Ceylon, is poſitively prohibited, without ſpecial licence from Government, to whom ſufficient ſecurity muſt be given, on application for ſuch permiſſion, regarding the deſtination of ſuch articles ſo imported, and in conſequence of various attempts to carry on a contraband trade in cinnamon, the commerce of which article is reſerved ſolely to Government, and prohibited in the moſt poſitive terms to individuals. Regulations have been eſtabliſhed for all ports on Ceylon, whereby every ſhip, veſſel, or boat, on board of which a quantity of cinnamon, exceeding twenty pounds in weight, may be found, which has not been ſhipped under the expreſs authority of Government, ſhall, on proof of the ſame before the principlal revenue officer on Ceylon, be confiſcated, with all her cargo, for the uſe of Government. And that for every pound of cinnamon, leſs than the quantity of twenty pounds, which may be found on board any ſhip, veſſel, or boat, without proper authority for receiving the ſame, a penalty of fifty ſtar pagodas ſhall be paid, on proof of the fact; for payment of which, ſuch ſhip, veſſel, or boat, ſhall be ſubject to ſeizure and ſale,—one half of the ſaid penalty of fifty ſtar pagodas, for each pound of cinnamon ſo found, to be the property of the perſon or perſons, who ſhall give requiſite information for diſcovering the ſame. Veſſels having on

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board a ſmall quantity of cinnamon for medical, or other uſes of the ſhip, which may arrive at ports of Ceylon, ſhall immediately notify the ſame in writing to the officer of the cuſtoms at the port, ſpecifying the quantity: in failure of which the penalty above mentioned will be exacted."

Publiſhed by order of the right honourable the Preſident in Council.

J. WEBBE, *Sec. to the Gov.*

A letter from Mattra, dated the 7th December, mentions that Zemaun Shah had advanced ſeven coſs from Lahore; that the Mahratta army were preparing to oppoſe him; the women were ordered to quit the camp in forty-eight hours; the country was in much confuſion, the inhabitants retiring with their families and property to the fortified towns.

Letters from Chittagong, received in the courſe of this month, mention that a large body of Mugs had arrived in that diſtrict, deſiring to place themſelves under the protection of the honourable Company, having emigrated from their own country on account of the ſevere oppreſſions of the Burmah Government, which they could no longer ſupport.

Letters from Penang convey the melancholy accounts of the entire loſs of his Majeſty's ſhip Reſiſtance, Captain E. Packenham, on the 15th of July, near Mintora Banca, where ſhe blew up, about four o'clock in the afternoon, ſuppoſed to have been ſtruck by lightning, as no previous intimation whatever of her being on fire was given; fifteen of her crew only were picked up by the Lannoos, on a part of the wreck, ſeveral of them very much cut and bruiſed; they were carried to Pulo Lingin, where eleven of them died of their wounds.

[We have inſerted an authentic account of this melancholy event in our Miſcellaneous Department, p. 175.].

Fort William, Public Department, Dec. 21, 1798.

The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, conſidering that the due adminiſtration of the internal government and affairs of the Company in Bengal, requires that no civil ſervant ſhould be nominated to certain offices of truſt and reſponſibility until it ſhall have been aſcertained that he is ſufficiently acquainted with the laws and regulations enacted by the Governor-General in Council, and the ſeveral languages, the knowledge of which is requiſite for the due diſcharge of the reſpective functions of ſuch offices; his Lordſhip in Council hereby apprizes the civil ſervants of the Company in Bengal, that from and after the 1ſt of January, 1801, no ſervant will be deemed eligible to any of the offices herein-after mentioned, until he ſhall have paſſed an examination (the nature of which will be hereafter determined), in the laws and regulations, and in the languages, a knowledge of which is hereby declared to be an indiſpenſable qualification for ſuch reſpective offices.

The languages, a knowledge of which will be conſidered requiſite, in the ſeveral offices in the judicial revenue, and commercial departments, are,

For the office of judge or regiſter of any court of juſtice, in the the provinces of Bengal, Behar, Oriſſa, or Benares, the Hindoſtanee and the Perſian languages.

For

For the office of collector of revenue or of customs, or commercial resident, or salt agent in the provinces of Bengal, or Orissa, the Bengal language.

For the office of collector of revenue or of customs, or commercial resident, or the provision of opium in the provinces of Behar or Benares, the Hindustanee language.

With regard to the laws and regulations, the examination will take place with respect to those laws and regulations which may relate to the duties or the conduct of the business of the respective offices already enumerated.

The Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council has given this previous intimation to the civil servants of this establishment, in order that every servant whose views may be directed to the succession to any of the situations abovementioned, may have sufficient time to qualify himself for passing the prescribed examination, whenever he may be called upon for that purpose.

Published by order of the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council.

G. H. Barlow, *Sec.*

Fort William, Dec. 15, 1798.

The Right Hon. the Governor-General having determined to proceed to Fort St. George, his Lordship has been pleased to nominate his Excellency the Hon. Lieutenant-General Sir Alured Clarke, K. B. Vice-President, the Deputy-Governor of Fort William.

Published by order of the Vice-President in Council,

D. Campbell, *Sub, Sec.*

Calcutta, Dec. 25, 1798.

This day the Right Hon. the Governor-General embarked from the water-gate of the Fort, on board the Government yacht, which immediately got under weigh, and proceeded down the river for Ingellie, where his Lordship embarks on board his Majesty's frigate the Sybille, Captain Cook, for Madras.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor-General in Council to the Hon. the Court of Directors, dated the 25th December 1798.

Par. 9. "Mr. Carrington being under the necessity of returning to Europe for the recovery of his health, we have accepted of his resignation of the office of Junior Counsel to the Company.

10. We feel great regret at being deprived of the service of Mr. Carrington, whose character and abilities obtained him the office which he has been compelled to relinquish. He was selected for that office with a view of securing his future professional services at the bar of the Supreme Court, where he was distinguished, not only by his diligence and talents, and by his knowledge of the civil law and the law of England, but also by his application to the study of the laws and customs of the Mahommedans and Hindûs, as they prevail in this country."

JANUARY, 1799.

Supreme Court, Calcutta.

On Monday the 7th instant, the first term of the Supreme Court of Judicature, was opened by the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice, and the Hon. Sir W. Dunkin,

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Mr. Juſtice Royds and Sir Henry Ruſſel, at the Court-houſe. The judges, the gentlemen of the bar, and the officers of the Court, went in proceſſion from the houſe of the Lord Chief Juſtice, and reached the Court-houſe about half-paſt ten o'clock. The Lord Chief Juſtice ſtated to the Court the following rules for its future guidance; which were afterwards delivered to the proper officers, to be read and filed. The firſt rule is to the following effect:

In all caſes wherein the property of infants may in future be litigated, notice of the names, &c. of the guardians and truſtees, is to be given to all parties; the notice to be afterwards ſent to one of the maſters, who is to report thereon to the Court, which will nominate the moſt eligible guardian, taking ſecurity for his behaviour, obliging him to render an annual account of his conduct relative to the truſt repoſed in him, and directing him to depoſit all ſurplus ſums of money in the hands of the Court's accountant general.

The ſecond is a rule reſpecting the time for defendants to put in their anſwers to bills of complaint, which as it relates entirely to points of practice, we conſider as altogether out of our province.

And the third is a rule reſpecting the ſheriff's office. The Chief Juſtice obſerved, it had hitherto been a cuſtom to ſerve the ſheriff with notices claiming property ſeized by him and remaining in his hands on the very day, nay, the hour, the property was actually ſelling—to obviate this, the Court ordered that two clear days' notice of any ſuch claim ſhould be ſerved on the ſheriff in future.

On Monday the 14th inſt. came on a cauſe wherein one Monick Roy was plaintiff, and Charles Fuller Martyn, Eſq. one of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace for this ſettlement, was the defendant. The action was brought to recover compenſation in damages from Mr. Martyn, for an aſſault alledged by the plaintiff to have been committed on him in the month of July laſt, by the defendant, in his magiſterial capacity. The caſe was ſtated by Mr. Strettell; but the advocate general took a legal objection to the notice required (by the ſtatute of the 24th of the late king) to be given to magiſtrates, prior to actions being commenced againſt them, for acts done in the execution of their official duties.

In this caſe, though it was very true that notice of an action had been given to the defendant, yet it ſhould go farther; namely, ſtating as well notice of the intended action as the actual writ intended to be ſerved out, as by the ſtatute particularly directed; but which, in this inſtance, had not been complied with. Some doubts were ſuggeſted as to the extent of the ſtatute; but the Court were unanimouſly of opinion, that it did extend to this country; that the objection was ſubſtantial, and tenable; and conſequently the plaintiff was nonſuited.

Counſel for the plaintiff, Meſſrs. Strettell and Macnaghten; attorney, Mr. Jones. The Company's law officers defended Mr. Martyn.

There have been no other cauſes of any conſequence tried during the term.

Loſs of the Schooner GANGES.

It is with much concern we ſtate the loſs of the Honourable Company's armed ſchooner the Ganges, commanded by Captain Wade, the particulars of which are as follow:—The Ganges came to an anchor on the evening of the 11th inſt.

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inſt. in about ſix fathoms water, to the eaſtward of Lacam's channel. The Laurel was then about four leagues diſtant farther in the offing, in a ſouth eaſterly direction. About eight o'clock at night, while Captain Wade and his officers were on deck, a diſagreeable ſmell of burning oil and ſmoke came from the cabin. On going below, the ſmoke appeared to be coming from aft. The gun room was immediately cleared, the ſmoke ruſhed out with great violence, and plainly indicated that to be the quarter where the miſchief lay. Captain Wade prudently directed all the cartridge powder that was in the gun-room and cabin to be quickly removed, and carried forward, while himſelf, his officers, and the moſt active of his people, were employed in throwing buckets of water in the after gun-room. Their efforts were greatly impeded by the ſuffocating vapour that aſſailed them, which increaſed ſo much as ſoon to render it wholly impoſſible to continue below, and compelled Captain Wade, and thoſe who were with him in the gun-room, to make their way upon deck. The fire had now kindled into flame, and was burſting forth from the cabin windows; but Capt. Wade ſtill indulged the hope of being able to get it under, and continued to employ every poſſible exertion for that purpoſe; but at the ſame time, as a meaſure of prudence, he directed his officers to get the boat out, and to keep her clear a little a-head of the ſchooner. The boat was no ſooner got over the ſide, than thirty or forty people impetuouſly leaped on board, and the officers found it indiſpenſably neceſſary to put off, in order to prevent the boat from being ſurcharged, for it was not without great danger that ſhe carried the number by which ſhe was already overcrowded. Captain Wade, and thoſe who had remained with the ſchooner, perſevered in the moſt ſpirited exertions to extinguiſh the fire; but it gained ground in ſpite of all their efforts, and was rapidly extending from aft forwards. The people, every moment in dread of the veſſel blowing up, crowded forward upon her bows, bowſprit, jib-boom, &c. In this alarming ſituation, Captain Wade, with great compoſure and preſence of mind, proceeded to prepare rafts. He exhorted his people not to deſpair, reminding them that their ſafety depended on their own exertions, and encouraging them to aſſiſt in the eſſential duty of making rafts. He, his two boatſwains, and ſome others, were ſtepping aft to cut away the main-maſt, that it might ſerve as a ſpar; at this inſtant, the fire communicated to the magazine, which exploded with great violence, tearing up the deck from the tafferel to ſeveral feet before the main-maſt. By this accident eight men were killed; the ſecond boatſwain had his leg broken, and Captain Wade was thrown ſeveral feet forwards upon deck, where he lay for ſome time inſenſible, and ſeverely bruiſed.—At length recovering himſelf, he found that the flames had nearly ceaſed, moſt of the parts that were on fire having been blown up with the magazine; he was encouraged therefore to renew his efforts to ſave the remains of the ſchooner; but unfortunately a part of the burning materials had been carried up by the exploſion of the magazine in the main-top, and this communicating to the rigging, ſet the whole on fire, which falling down from time to time, rekindled the flame in various parts of the hull, and moſt of the water buckets and other implements

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implements having been blown over-board, the exertions of the people became leſs effectual, and no hope was now left of being able to ſave any part of the wreck that might ſerve as a raft for thoſe who remained. The flames extending nearly over the whole of the wreck, left no time to deliberate, and but little for a laſt exertion. A ſheep pen, pieces of plank, ſpars, or whatever could be met with to anſwer the purpoſe, were haſtily laſhed together, and put overboard as a raft, to which all the men on board, amounting to fifty-nine, were obliged to commit their ſafety. The poor boatſwain, who from his broken leg was unable to move, was aſſiſted to the raft, and all hands having got hold, it was puſhed from alongſide; but immediately before leaving the ſchooner, Captain Wade had very judiciouſly ordered the cable to be cut, that as it was ebb tide, the wreck of the ſchooner and the raft might drift together towards the Laurel, and that the light from the burning wreck might guide the boats from that ſhip in the track to find them; for, as they had fired guns of diſtreſs on the breaking out of the fire, and as they knew the light muſt be ſeen from the Laurel, they confided in her coming to their aſſiſtance.—The raft and wreck continued drifting with the ebb tide, within piſtol ſhot of each other, for about two hours, when the wreck ſuddenly went down: a circumſtance that rendered their ſituation more diſmal, as the diſappearance of the light leſſened the chance of the expected boats falling in with them. Capt. Wade propoſed that they ſhould now and then raiſe a general ſhout, as the boats might perhaps be within hearing, though they might not be able to diſcern them. This expedient was readily adopted. After a lapſe of ſix hours in the water, paſſed under an awful anxiety, the ſound of the pulling of oars inſpired them with unſpeakable joy, and in the courſe of half an hour they were taken up by the Laurel's boat, and ſafely carried on board, where they were received with the kindneſs due to their misfortunes. The cauſe of the fire on board the Ganges is aſcribed to the ſpontaneous combuſtion of a ſmall quantity of wood-oil, contained in a dubber, or leathern jar, which was ſtowed in the after gun-room. A fire, originating from a like cauſe, occurred in the arſenal of Fort William, about five years ago. The Ganges, ſchooner, on the firſt day of her late cruiſe in the roads, ſaw two veſſels, a ſhip and a ſnow, which there is every reaſon to believe were the Enterprize privateer, and her conſort the Hay (Pichegru). Captain Wade endeavoured, by ſeveral ſkilful manœuvres, to draw the ſnow into ſhallow water, ſo as to take her out of the protection of the ſhip; but ſhe cautiouſly avoided coming into ſhoal water, or approaching the Ganges. The ſtrange ſail kept a ſignal for a pilot at the maſt-head all day; and once or twice ſtood out to ſpeak her conſort.

MURDER.

On the 13th inſtant, a ſoldier of the 76th regiment, in Fort William, having a violent altercation with a native woman, with whom he cohabited, ſhe became ſo furiouſly enraged, that ſeizing a large dagger-pointed knife, ſhe plunged it in an inſtant into the ſoldier's breaſt. The inſtrument paſſing between two of the ribs, entered the thorax with ſuch fatal execution, that the man expired in a few

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few minutes. A coroner's inquest, held on the body, returned a verdict of wilful murder. The unfortunate woman was committed to jail.

To the above, we have to add another instance of murder, still more heinous, because deliberately perpetrated. A Hindû, suspecting the fidelity of his wife, a girl not more than ten or twelve years of age, told her he was resolved she should die. It was in vain the girl attempted to plead her innocence. The inhuman husband gave her a blow on the head with a brass lootie, or water-pot, that struck her senseless to the ground, and repeating the blows till she appeared dead, he left her in that state, in order to take vengeance on the supposed paramour, to whose house he proceeded with a weapon concealed under his clothes, fully determined to put the man to death. Having obtained what he conceived a favourable opportunity for the purpose, he aimed his blow, in which however he failed. He was then secured and sent to jail. The girl was carried to the native hospital, where, after lingering several days, she died on the 14th instant.

The murderer, far from being impressed with any just sense of the enormity of his crime, declares, that were he placed again in a similar situation, he would again do as he has done: conformably to this sentiment, he regrets that his attempt to destroy the other party, the direct object of his vengeance, proved ineffectual.

An account of the late horrid Massacre at Benares.

[The following relation of this atrocious proceeding is taken from the *Asiatic Mirror*, and is the most circumstantial of any we have yet been able to procure.]

On Sunday the 20th instant, a sensation of horror and astonishment was diffused throughout Calcutta, by the receipt of advices from Benares, announcing the occurrence of a most extraordinary and unprecedented transaction, on the 14th curt. The particulars of the melancholy affair to which we allude, are as under-mentioned:

The lately deposed nabob of Oude, Vizier Ally, had resided at Benares since the period that he was deposed, on a munificent allowance from government. It was lately deemed expedient to change the place of his highness's residence from Benares to Calcutta; a measure which, from motives not difficult to be developed, he strongly deprecated, and earnestly endeavoured to prevent. The orders of government respecting his highness, were generally transmitted through Mr. Cherry, with whom the prince was on an intimate footing, and for whom it was conceived he entertained a friendly partiality. The intentions of government relative to the removal of his highness from Benares to Calcutta, had been communicated through Mr. Cherry some weeks ago, and the time had nearly approached at which the prince was to set out for Calcutta.

On the morning of the 14th curt. his highness, accompanied by his suite and usual attendants, paid a visit, by appointment, to Mr. Cherry, at Secrole, distant about three miles from Benares. His highness, immediately after the usual compliments, enlarged on the hardships of his situation, in being compelled to leave Benares: he appeared much agitated, and expressed himself with intemperance. Mr. Cherry

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Cherry gently remonſtrated, and endeavoured to reply to the expreſſions of perſonal reſentment that had eſcaped his highneſs, by repreſenting the predicament in which he ſtood, as being merely the medium of conveyance for the orders of government. But theſe repreſentations were entirely without effect; the prince, ſtarting from his ſeat, gave Mr. Cherry a blow with his ſword, which ſeemed the ſignal of attack to his attendants, for in an inſtant their ſwords were unſheathed. Mr. Cherry, perceiving what was intended, endeavoured to eſcape through a window; but in this attempt he was intercepted. Wallaſs Ally plunged his poignard into his boſom: the inſtrument entered the ſhoulder, and penetrated nearly to the bottom of the breaſt; under this wound, which probably proved mortal on the inſtant, Mr. Cherry fell motionleſs on the floor.

By this time the other attendants of Vizier Ally had diſpatched Capt. Conway and Mr. Evans, a native of Bengal, who, with Mr. Cherry, were the only gentlemen that had been preſent. Quitting this ſcene of blood, the party, headed by Vizier Ally, mounted their horſes, and proceeded towards the houſe of Mr. Davis. On the way thither, they met Mr. Graham and Mr. Hill, both of whom were murdered without reſiſtance. On reaching the gate of Mr. Davis's houſe, the ſepoy centinel attempting ſome reſiſtance, was immediately ſhot; this communicated the alarm to Mr. Davis, who, armed with a hogſpear, hurried with his wife and children to the top of the houſe: the aſſailants followed them quickly; but the ſtair-caſe leading to the top of the houſe being very narrow, preſented a favourable poſition for defence, of which Mr. Davis, with much preſence of mind, fortunately availed himſelf. Some of the party ruſhed on impetuouſly; but as the ſtair-caſe denied acceſs to more than one at a time, Mr. Davis received them coolly and with great effect. Two or three were killed on the ſpot, and ſome others were deſperately wounded. Upwards of an hour and twenty minutes were exhauſted in endeavouring to force the ſtair-caſe, and happily without ſucceſs. On the alarm of a troop of cavalry approaching, the party precipitately fled.

Mr. Davis maintained this unequal conteſt with the moſt determined ſpirit and perſeverance, and on his ſucceſsful defence depended the preſervation of his wife and family, ſpectators of the ſcene. The long continued and unſucceſsful attack on Mr. Davis, had probably alſo ſaved the lives of many of the European gentlemen of Benares, moſt of whom were doomed for deſtruction. While the party was fully employed in the attack on Mr. Davis, the alarm was generally ſpread; and Mr. Treves, who had rode off to Beatabur, in order to call in a party of cavalry, fortunately met two or three troops returning from exerciſe, with whom he haſtened to Benares; and on their appearance the band of aſſaſſins immediately took to flight.

Some parts of the foregoing detail differ from others that are in town; but complete accuracy is not here perhaps to be attained. At this the reader will not be ſurpriſed, when it is recollected, that a part of the facts recited depend on the evidence of natives, who are the only ſurviving ſpectators of a part of the tranſaction.

Vizier Ally, attended by three or

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or four hundred adherents, is said to have effected his escape to Azimghur, where the number of his followers is represented to be increased to upwards of six hundred.

Mr. Davis's house, and some others of Benares, were stripped of all their portable property of value, during the above scene of confusion.

Mr. Scott's house at Secrole, near that gentleman's indigo manufactory, was set on fire, and nearly destroyed.

Fire on Board the Ship SCALEBY CASTLE.

On the 19th inst. in the morning, a signal of distress was observed flying on board the Scaleby Castle, in Bombay harbour; two guns were soon afterwards fired from the Melville Castle, to make the signal noticed; assistance was immediately sent from the shore and the ships in the harbour, when it was discovered, that the Scaleby Castle was on fire amongst the cotton in the main-hold. Too much praise cannot be given to the exertions of Captain Malcolm, and a part of the crew of the Suffolk; Captain Malcolm's first care and attention on getting on board, was to have the powder got out of the ship, and soon after the fire was happily extinguished, though not without damaging many bales of cotton. It is with regret we have so frequently had to notice similar circumstances in Bombay harbour; and that regret is heightened by a certain conviction, that they have in general proceeded from design, and not accidents, as in the present instance; several pieces of firewood half burnt, and some hands full of charcoal, were found at a considerable depth in the hold, stowed away amongst the bales of cotton; and which, no doubt, were placed there by some villains, for the purpose of destroying the ship. We have sincerely to lament, that no measures have hitherto been found, to discover the daring perpetrators of such infamous attempts, and bring them to that punishment they so richly merit.

On Tuesday the 22d instant the eye was saluted with a very unpleasing sight, that of five dead bodies exposed opposite to the western gate of the council-house, where they remained for some hours. These unfortunate men, we understand, were part of twenty-five who were killed by a party of sepoys, in the neighbourhood of Tumlook, where opposition, it is said, had been forcibly attempted against the execution of some measures relative to the collection of the revenue. The relations of the deceased had the bodies brought to Calcutta, and thus displayed, with a view of giving weight and notoriety to the complaints they prefer.

On an inspection of the bodies of the deceased, they appeared to have been killed by musquetry; each had the appearance of a musquet-ball having entered the breast, and to have been discharged at a very inconsiderable distance.

ASIATIC SOCIETY.

On Thursday evening, the 24th instant, the Asiatic Society met at the court house, for the election of a president, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the departure of Sir Robert Chambers to Europe; when the Right Hon. Sir John Anstruther, Bart. was unanimously chosen. The following gentlemen were at the same time elected members of the committee of papers:

Lieut.

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Lieut. Col. W. Kirkpatrick,
Capt. R. H. Colebrooke,
F. Gladwin, Esq.
J Gilchrist, Esq.
H. P. Forster, Esq.

The public officers of the Society at present are as follow:

Committee of Papers.

The Rt. H. Sir J. Anstruther, Bart. Pres.
J. Fleming, Esq. 1st Vice Pres.
J. H. Harrington, Esq. 2d Vice Pres.
The Hon. Mr. Justice Royds,
W. Roxburgh, M. D.
James Dinwiddie, L. L. D.
R. Home, Esq.
Lieutenant Col. W. Kirkpatrick,
Captain R. H. Colebrooke,
F. Gladwin, Esq.
J. Gilchrist, Esq.
H. P Forster, Esq.
W. Hunter, Esq. Secretary,
H. Trail, Esq. Treasurer.

Accounts from Bombay, of the 26th ultimo, contain the melancholy information, that on the 25th in the morning, one of the graining houses at the powder works blew up, and communicated the explosion to another; whereby a number of people, supposed about fifteen, lost their lives, and several others were severely wounded—about 100 barrels of powder, mostly broken and in cakes, were destroyed in this explosion.

Loss of the Ship CHARLOTTE.

About four o'clock in the morning of the 28th instant, the ship *Charlotte*, Capt. Carnegie, was discovered to be on fire while laying at anchor in Saugur Roads. Every effort was consequently made to keep it under, but without effect: as soon as the cables were cut asunder, the vessel drifted up and down the river, with the tide; and as she proceeded in a direction, which threatened the *Gabriel* and *Berrington*, these vessels were obliged to cut away from their cables, to get out of danger. The *Charlotte* continued burning till six *p. m.* and then blew up. Fortunately the officers were all saved, but we are sorry to state that twenty-five of the crew perished.

It is supposed some Chinese lascars employed on board, or the Malay seaconnies, set fire to the ship; for one of the latter description of persons was taken on a raft by a boat belonging to the Duke of Montrose, soon after the fire was discovered; and as he had secured his chest and little property in the most regular manner, it gave rise to the suspicion, that he must have been concerned in the plot, particularly as he was extremely averse to go on board the boat, and made several efforts to escape. We understand this man has been taken into custody, and is coming to Calcutta, in order to undergo a strict examination.

The Charlotte was a new ship, bound to Europe, with 1100 tons of cargo on board; and insured to the amount of between three and four lacks of rupees.

SUPREME COURT, CALCUTTA.

On Wednesday, the 30th ultimo, the Chief Justice, at the sitting of the court, delivered to the prothonotary, an order, which is in future to be attended to, with respect to the admission of barristers and attornies, who may hereafter apply to the court for that purpose. The purport of which we understand to be as follows;—That no admission of a barrister or attorney shall in future take place, until it shall appear to the court, from a review of the business, that an augmentation to its number of practitioners shall appear necessary.

That every person coming from England, for the purpose of admission as advocate, shall, at the time of application, produce a licence from the Hon. the East India Com-

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Company, to proceed to India, for the purpoſe of practiſing the law, and an atteſtation of his character, ſigned by two Judges, of the Engliſh or Iriſh bar, and a certificate of his being a barriſter of England or Ireland.

With reſpect to the attornies, a ſimilar order has been made, with this addition, that all perſons, who in future may be articled to any attorney of the ſupreme court, ſhall, previous to their entering into ſuch articles, give notice of their intention, to the ſecretary of the government, and obtain the licence of the Governor General in Council, to reſide here for that purpoſe; and unleſs this be actually obtained, he ſhall be precluded from admiſſion.

This latter rule reſpecting the admiſſion of gentlemen, who may be articled, is not by any means, we underſtand, to effect thoſe now reſident in Calcutta, and who are qualified for admiſſion, provided they do, on application, produce a licence to reſide here, from government, as before mentioned.

A Subſcription is propoſed for the relief of the widows and children of the ſeamen and marines, who fell in the action of the 1ſt of Aug. at Aboukir.—Books are opened for this purpoſe at the treaſury, and the ſums ſubſcribed will be remitted to the Honourable the Court of Directors, to be by them applied to the uſe of the objects of the ſubſcription.

Liſt of Subſcriptions already received.

Lord Mornington,	—	*Rupees* 1000
Sir Alured Clarke,	—	— 800
Mr. Speke,	—	— 800
Mr. Cowper,	—	— 800
Colonel Cliffe,	—	— 100
Mr. Myers,	—	— 160
Mr. Thomas Brooke,	—	— 100
Mr. Stonehouſe,	—	— 200
Mr. Burroughs,	—	— 100
Mr. B. Boſwell,	—	*Rupees* 100
Mr. Thomas Graham,	—	— 300
Mr. George Purling,	—	— 100
Mr. G. H. Barlow	—	— 300
Mr John Bebb,	—	— 160
Mr. Richard Anſter,	—	— 92
Mr. L. Ball,	—	— 100
Mr. Alexander Colvin,	—	— 100
Mr. James Colvin,	—	— 100
Mr. S. Bayard.	—	— 200

BOMBAY.

The Governor in Council, the more effectually to guard againſt certain abuſes ariſing from miſappropriation of the guns and ammunition which the owners of trading veſſels are occaſionally ſupplied with from the honourable Company's ſtores, has been pleaſed to add to the regulations already in force, the following articles, viz.

1ſt. That no guns or ammunition ſhall be in future iſſued to the owners of trading veſſels, of whatever deſcription, who do not produce the Company's paſs, and the teſtimonies of two creditable perſons, in writing, to vouch for their being actually reſident, under the Company's protection, either at the preſidency or any of its ſubordinates, and *bona fide* owners of the veſſel or veſſels for which they require this defence.

2d. That no guns or ammunition will be ſupplied to any broker or agent reſiding under the Company's protection, on account of veſſels (though poſſeſſing the Company's paſs) whoſe owners are reſident at foreign ports and the ſubjects of foreign powers.

3d. That all veſſels importing at this preſidency ſhall be ſubject to the inſpection of the officers of the cuſtom-houſe, who will report any deficiency or alteration they may obſerve in the warlike equipment of ſuch veſſels as may have ſailed from this port, with a ſupply of guns and ammunition purchaſed from the Company's ſtores.

4th. That,

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4th. That, for the aſcertainment of this point, the cuſtom maſter will take an account of the guns and ammunition with which ſuch veſſels may depart from this port, ſpecifying the quantity and deſcription of the latter, and the calibre, weight, and mark of the former.

5th, That no ſupplies of the above nature will be repeated to the ſame boat or veſſel, until his owner or commander ſhall have ſatisfactorily accounted for the expenditure of what they may before have been ſupplied with.

6th. That for the more effectual obſervance of the foregoing precaution, all applications for ſtores are to be transferred through the cuſtom maſter, who will thereon annex his certificate, to the purport of the preceding article—or otherwiſe, according to circumſtances.

On Monday the 31ſt inſt. arrived at Madras, the Right Hon. the Governor-General from Bengal, on the *Sybille* frigate, accompanied by the Hon. Mr. Welleſley, and his lordſhip's ſuite.

FEBRUARY.

MAHRATTA POLITICS.

Extract of a letter, dated camp before Walwa, Feb. 9, 1799.

"I concluded my laſt letter with a ſtatement of the aſpect of affairs at Poonah, which, at that period, aſſumed a very awful appearance, being the theatre of military operations, private cabal, and univerſal terror, anxiety, and diſtruſt.

"The troubles in Scindeah's camp and family, occaſioned by the revolt of the princeſſes, ſupported by the entire cavalry of his army, had unfortunately drawn the Peſhwa into the quarrel; and the malcontents having taken up their quarters near the city, carried with them all thoſe evils, which a licentious ſoldiery are capable of inflicting on an unprotected country and defenceleſs capital. Negotiations were opened for the adjuſtment of their common differences; but theſe, like the military operations, were remarkable only for their weakneſs, indeciſion, and debility. Scindeah, whoſe immenſe army keeps him eternally in diſtreſs, being at this time driven almoſt to deſperation by the clamours of his troops, to whom he was deeply in arrears, threatened to plunder Poonah, unleſs money was immediately furniſhed; but the city long before this, had been emptied of every thing valuable by its inhabitants, who, together with their property, had removed to the neighbouring forts. All the ſhops were ſhut up, and every appearance demonſtrated the general conſternation. As another means of retrieving his affairs, Scindeah determined on releaſing Nana, at that time priſoner in the fort of Ahmednagur; and a ſtrong detachment was ordered to eſcort him to camp.

"In the mean time a circumſtance took place, which, though totally unlooked for, promiſed a more ſpeedy reſtoration of tranquillity than any other meaſure. This was the ſeizure of Surgerow Golka, the miniſter and father-in-law of Dowlut Row, the baſe inſtrument of his vileſt appetites, and the chief cauſe of all the diſſentions which then exiſted. This ruffian was ſeized in the prince's durbar, by a ſmall party of ſepoys, to whom he had given ſome offence, and dragged priſoner to the camp, together with his colleague in office, Takergee Gorwa: Dowlet Row ſent immediately to command their releaſe,

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leaſe, but the troops were inexorable; and the general ſatisfaction expreſſed at his fall, was ſufficiently demonſtrative of his unpopularity. Moſt fortunate was it for the empire in general, that his impriſonment was ſo timely; for could he have raiſed money for the payment of the army, it is unknown to what a ruinous length his plans extended: Dowlut Row paid the moſt blind ſubmiſſion to his will, and he had driven from the prince's counſels, every man of character and principle; nothing ruined him but an inability to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies; but this, one way or other, is always ſure to diſplace a miniſter.

"Nana, in conſequence of Dowlut Row's orders, was releaſed from priſon, and advancing, by ſlow marches, towards Poonah. His return was regarded by all the contending parties, with a degree of ſolicitude that fully evinced the importance of the event. Ambut Row, who, jointly with Scindeah, had contrived his ſeizure, in December, 1797, and who ſince that period had adminiſtered public affairs, propoſed diſpatching a party to intercept his return. He juſtly dreaded the releaſe of a formidable enemy, quickened by a ſenſe of recent injury, and whoſe exiſtence he conſidered as the chief bar to his authority and ambition. His propoſal, however, was by no means reliſhed by the other parties; and ſo little did it accord with the Peſhwa's ideas, that he had previouſly diſmiſſed a Brahman of diſtinction to compliment the old miniſter on his releaſe. In this ſtate of general anxiety, every eye was turned on this great and venerable ſtateſman; and his return to the capital was hailed as the precurſer of tranquillity.

"If the arrival of Nana did not effect a peace, it at leaſt produced a ceſſation of hoſtilities. The different factions, however oppoſite in other particulars, agreed in the one determination of making him the common arbiter of their diſputes. His good offices, however, failed; being unable to reaſon either Scindeah or the Princeſſes into terms of moderation. The Peſhwa, who for ſome time had laid aſide the character of partiſan, and had negotiated between the adverſe parties, took this opportunity of withdrawing his countenance and protection from the malcontents, and very wiſely diſengaged himſelf from a connexion in which his political exiſtence was imminently endangered, and in which, it muſt be confeſſed, he had originally no manner of concern. In conſequence of the Peſhwa's ſeceding from their party, the Princeſſes marched from the vicinity of Poonah. Holkar was ordered to his former encampment, and Ambut Row was obliged to diſmiſs his army, and retire to the city. In a few days a general interview took place between Scindeah and Nana, on the one ſide, and the Peſhwa, Ambut Row, and Holkar on the other. Here all differences were apparently reconciled, and mutual profeſſions of friendſhip were exchanged, in which it is needleſs to obſerve, there was at leaſt as much diſſimulation as ſincerity.

"In contemplating this tranſaction, there is one circumſtance which muſt ſtrike every reflecting mind. In the inſtance of Nana, we behold the powerful ſuperiority of talent and virtue, extorting even from avowed enemies, the involuntary homage of reſpect and confidence. We ſee this great man releaſed from confinement by his chief rival and opponent: and

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without a faction, without an army, without poſt or political ſituation, but merely by the pre-eminence of his aſtoniſhing abilities and acknowledged integrity, dictating to armed multitudes, the proper limits of their demands; equally repreſſing faction on the one hand, and ambition on the other, giving confidence and tranquillity to an affrighted capital, and reſtoring to a diſtracted government, the bleſſings of order, ſecurity, and peace. There are certain characters only formed for pre-eminent ſituations: the Coloſſian genius of Nana was created only for commands. He was accordingly called to the adminiſtration of the empire by the united ſuffrage of both prince and people. In adjuſting the final terms of releaſe between him and Scindeah, the unbroken firmneſs of his mind ſtrongly diſplayed itſelf. Not a ſingle rupee was paid on this occaſion more than had been agreed on previous to his impriſonment. The articles of releaſe between him and Scindeah were ratified in the moſt ſolemn manner, and guaranteed by all the vakeels and moſt of the public functionaries at Poonah. Theſe important matters being ſettled, Nana took up his reſidence in the city, and entered, with apparent reluctance, on his official duties. All the former adminiſtration were diſmiſſed from their appointments, and ſome of the moſt obnoxious were ſent priſoners to different forts. Ambut Row, the Peſhwa's adopted brother, who for the laſt twelve months had acted as miniſter and commander in chief, was ſtripped of all his offices, and received a jaghire of eight lacks from the ſircar, and with much diſguſt retired from his employment. Theſe meaſures were by the Peſhwa's order, but it may be conjectured, by the ſuggeſtions of Nana, between whom and the prince the greateſt confidence appears to ſubſiſt: the miniſter's authority ſeems as permanent as before, and every thing, at this time, is at the devotion of him and his party.

"Ambut Row, whom we may call the ex-miniſter, is the ſon of a Brahman of high caſt, but of obſcure circumſtances: very early in life he was adopted by the late Ragobah, much againſt the wiſhes of the then Peſhwa and the government, and it muſt be confeſſed that on ſome occaſions he has proved himſelf not unworthy of this ſingular honour and good fortune; for, during the troubles which cloſed the life of his adopted parent, when the Poonah ſircar were tranſporting him to a certain fort, contrary to previous ſtipulation, Ambut Row, at the head of a ſmall party, flew to his aſſiſtance, and having diſperſed a very ſtrong eſcort, reſtored him to temporary liberty. He afterwards partook of the misfortunes of the family; remained in priſon many years; and ſuch was his reputation, both as a ſoldier and a politician, that when Bajarow was firſt releaſed, Nana, who dreaded a rival in him, was particularly careful that he ſhould continue in confinement; ſubſequent events brought him into ſituations of importance, and from the moment of his arrival at Poonah, the old adherents of the family rallied round him, and by their joint intrigues, aided by the power of Scindeah, Nana was ſeized and confined; and Ambut Row ſucceeded him as miniſter; and it muſt be acknowledged, that had he been ſupported by the Peſhwa, he would, during the ſhort period of his adminiſtration, have

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have rendered him more reſpectable and independent than ever he has been ſince he aſcended the muſnud: but Bajarow, who was jealous of his abilities, and dreaded his ambition, either ſecretly or openly fruſtrated all his plans, and latterly withdrew all confidence from him; a circumſtance that conſiderably forwarded the views of Nana. Ambut Row, like all Brahmans, is exceedingly polite, and having been much in the ſettlements, he has acquired an inſight into the European character, and a peculiar urbanity of manners, which is highly agreeable to ſtrangers: he ſpeaks of the Britiſh nation in the warmeſt ſtrain of gratitude and reſpect, and takes every opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to them. Intriguing, ſubtle, and ambitious, he ſecretly aſpires to the muſnud, to which he conceives he has claims by right of primogeniture, in which idea he is encouraged by the obſcure and contemptible paraſites that ſurround him; Bajarow is by no means ignorant of his deſigns, and therefore never truſts him; like all Brahmans, he is avaricious even to the moſt degrading meanneſs; for in matters where money is concerned, he is deſtitute of every ſentiment of feeling and juſtice; he is generally conſidered as a man of no principle, and his enemies think they can diſcern in his conduct all the primeval baſeneſs of his extraction.

"Since the Peſhwa has withdrawn his countenance from the princeſſes, their faction have maintained themſelves by rapine, and are now mouldered into nothing; ſome of the diſaffected ſirdars have returned to their duty, and Scindeah having appointed a man of talents and reſpectability as his miniſter, things have aſſumed an appearance of conſiſtency and order, which promiſes a ſpeedy reſtoration of his affairs. In Poonah, as far as externals can warrant, the greateſt unanimity ſubſiſts between Nana and the Peſhwa; how long this may laſt is impoſſible to foreſee; for political ſpeculations in this empire ſhould be received with a great degree of latitude, and the events of to-morrow may give the lie to the conjecture of to-day: however there is one opinion to which all parties readily ſubſcribe—that Nana is the only perſon capable of managing the affairs of the empire; for, independent of great experience in public buſineſs, and the ſupport of friends whoſe fidelity and importance is acknowledged, he poſſeſſes in his own hands that moſt powerful of all engines, whether in peace or war—the entire treaſures of the ſtate.

"MILES."

The Bombay Armed Aſſociation, in the purſuit of meaſures neceſſary to acquire a knowledge of their new profeſſion, diſplay an alacrity and ſupport becoming the magnitude of the object for which they are embodied.

Their appearance under arms, on Monday morning, the 10th inſtant, before the Honourable the Governor as their colonel, attracted the attention of a large concourſe of ladies and gentlemen of the ſettlement, who were highly pleaſed with the novel ſight.

From the ſhort period, which has elapſed, it cannot of courſe be expected, that the gentlemen are perfect in military diſcipline; but from the punctuality and attention, which they have hitherto paid to the daily drills, this corps will doubtleſs prove a ſeaſonable

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auxiliary to the military ſtrength of this iſland, ſhould their ſervices ever be required.

The uniform worn on the above occaſion, was green with black velvet and gold embroidery, and the motto of the corps is, "*Pro Rege et Patria.*"

The formation of the native militia was alſo in great forwardneſs. Already, four complete companies for the infantry, and two for the artillery, each conſiſting of one captain, two lieutenants, four ſerjeants, four corporals, and 96 privates, were formed of the native Portugueze inhabitants. The Parſees had formed ſix ſtrong companies, officered by the moſt reſpectable of their own caſt, ready to be employed in any ſituation that circumſtances might render expedient. Numerous bodies were alſo forming of Hindûs and Muſſulmans, who preſſed forward to evince their attachment to a government which reſpects their perſonal freedom, the ſecurity of their property, and the undiſturbed exerciſe of their religious rites.

In addition to the efforts already made by this ſettlement in the public cauſe, a plan has been lately adopted, for increaſing the ſtrength of the garriſon, which redounds highly to the honour of its patrons, and furniſhes another inſtance of loyalty and regard to the intereſt and dignity of the Britiſh name, which thoſe who are informed of the comparatively ſmall number of inhabitants, and the correſponding diſproportionate extent of wealth in Bombay, will perhaps allow has been ſeldom exceeded. It is propoſed to raiſe a regiment for the defence of Bombay, to ſerve during the war, or as long as their ſervices may be required, to conſiſt of two battalions of 750 men each, and to be called the Bombay Fencible Regiment; it is to be officered from the Bombay Volunteer Aſſociation, with Adjutants from the Hon. Company's regular corps, and ſuch native officers as may be found neceſſary; the whole expence to be defrayed by the voluntary contributions, for that purpoſe, of the Honourable Company's civil ſervants and the Britiſh free merchants: the native merchants have alſo been invited to come forward on the occaſion, all of whom, as far as the plan has hitherto been made known, have cheerfully acceded to the propoſal; it has only been in circulation a very few days; but we have the pleaſure to find that the different quotas, which the reſpective ſubſcribers have engaged to maintain, already amount to 1010 men.

The following letter from Ramoo, dated the 15th of February, deſcribes the march of the detachment from Iſlaamabad, to that place.

"We began our march on the 7th, and without any thing of conſequence tranſpiring, arrived at Ramoo the 13th inſtant.

"The latter part of our march was very hilly, but we found the country in a high ſtate of cultivation, and I have not ſeen any land in India, appear ſo luxuriant; the inhabitants are, I believe, a happy people; inſtead of the poor peaſantry, we meet with in many of the Company's provinces, here we find a rich and inſolent yeomanry.

"I cannot ſpeak accurately as to the number of Burmah troops already arrived; there are, however, it is ſaid, 3000 about fourteen miles to the ſouthward of this, but they are watched very narrowly by an advanced poſt of ours, which keeps them in complete check; a

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ſlight ſkirmiſh took place a few days ſince, in which a few of their people fell a ſacrifice to their temerity; this rencontre by proving to them the difference between the celerity of movement, and concentrated effect of diſciplined troops, oppoſed to an irregular, diſorderly attack, appears to have operated very powerfully upon them, for they have kept at a reſpectable diſtance ever ſince, and it is hoped they will retire to the other ſide of the Noaf, and conſequently give us no farther trouble.

"We met the Mugs (the people in ſearch of whom the Burmahs appear to have been diſpatched) in great abundance; the whole country, for the laſt three days march, was over-run with them; they give a dreadful account of the ſituation of Arracan, and the cruelties practiſed by the Burmah government to extort money."

The corpſe of the brave and much regretted Captain Davis, was not committed to the deep, after the engagement in which he fell; but was preſerved in ſpirits, and brought up to Diamond Harbour; where his body was interred with the military honours ſo juſtly due to the remains of that gallant officer.

The detachment of volunteers, who acted under his command, on board the Sybille, compoſed the funeral party; and were attended by all the officers and ſeamen of the ſhips at Diamond Harbour, that could be ſpared from the duties of their reſpective ſtations, to do the laſt melancholy honours to the deceaſed.

Captain Davis a ſhort time before he fell, told the people of the Sybille, that if they ſucceeded in the capture of the enemy, he would preſent them with his ſhare of the prize money.

We are credibly informed that a letter, without ſignature, was found on board La Sybille, containing a very accurate account of the names, cargoes, number of guns and men, and deſtinations of every ſhip that has been fitted out from this port for ſome months paſt, as well as of ſeveral ſtill in harbour; as ſuch information could only be furniſhed from this or ſome of the neighbouring ſettlements, we doubt not that government will make every poſſible inquiry to find out the authors, as well as to take ſuch precautions as may effectually prevent ſuch communications in future.

Loſs of the Hon. Company's Ship EARL FITZWILLIAM

Extract of a Letter dated Saugur, February 23, 1799.

"At half paſt eleven o'clock we were alarmed with the cry of the gun-room being on fire, upon which every one came on deck; the ſteerage was full of ſmoke, which appeared to come from the gun-room ſcuttle. Every exertion was made to extinguiſh the fire, which in the ſhort ſpace of five minutes, was univerſal; by the flames coming up the companion and ſetting fire to the ſplinter netting.

"Finding at this time, nothing could be done to ſave the ſhip, every one tried to ſave himſelf; the ſpars, gratings, &c. were thrown overboard; upon which the laſcars immediately jumped. The ſhip was riding flood, and the wind from the ſouthward. All the officers and Europeans went forward; about eighteen went on the ſpritſail yard, endeavoured to

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cut it away, but luckily only on one ſide the braces were cut, ſo that one yard-arm was in the water, and the other in the air; by the time we were on the yard, about five minutes, the mainmaſt went with a horrible craſh, over the ſtarboard gangway, but in the fall, one end of it was entangled with the gun, ſo that it remained by the ſhip. The fire at this time was very violent. The guns, which that afternoon were double ſhotted, were going off in dreadful peals.

"We remained in this ſituation, upon the yard, about one hour and a half, expecting the ſhip to blow up every inſtant. From the ſituation of the ſpritſail yards the people at the lower end were very much haraſſed and fatigued, one poor fellow, let go his hold and ſunk inſtantly. Mr. Fraſer, was at the lower end, and ſeeing Mr. Franklin, who he had agreed to keep company with upon a hen coop, bid us farewell, and endeavoured to ſwim for it. He got there, but was ſo exhauſted, that he pulled Mr. Franklin three times off the coop, and then ſunk under his feet. By this time the *Nonſuch's* boats came within two hundred yards of the ſhip, and there remained. The people when ſeeing the boats, called to them in the moſt pathetic manner to ſave them. The *Thetis's* boat, with the fifth officer, now came within an oar's length, which they gave into our hands, and hauled on board as many as the boat could take, and then pulled off for the ſhip; too much credit cannot be given to this gentleman, who meeting with another of their boats, left us, and again went to the ſhip—the conduct of a young lad, a midſhipman of the *Thetis*, who in a ſloop's boat, with two hands in her, went cloſe to the ſhip, and picked the men off the wreck, and gave them to the large boats, who at this time kept at a diſtance. This he did till they were all taken off.

"The ſhip ſtruck on Saugur Sand, about four o'clock, and continued burning till the morning. The late Mr. Fraſer was a very worthy young man, univerſally eſteemed by thoſe who had the pleaſure of his acquaintance: he and five Europeans were loſt; the number of laſcars are not aſcertained, but it is ſuppoſed to be ſmall.

"The quantity of Company's cargo was conſiderable; 4500 bags of ſaltpetre, and 600 bales of raw ſilk. Moſt of the captain's and officers private trade were on board. With reſpect to the accident, or how it happened, there is no certainty in any of the reports."

We are happy to ſtate, that the commanders and owners of the ſhip *Earl Fitzwilliam*, have been fully acquitted from all imputation of neglect, or miſconduct, in reſpect to the loſs of that ſhip by fire.

Extract of a Letter dated from on board the Active, the 26th of February, 1799.

"At four o'clock *p. m.* Sooſa Point bearing north, we obſerved a ſmall veſſel bearing N. half W. ſtanding out of the roads: at about five o'clock ſhe began to near us; and, ſuppoſing her to be a ſmall veſſel belonging to Penang, we hauled up our courſes to ſpeak her. At half paſt five, being cloſe alongſide, we obſerved ſhe had Engliſh colours flying, and eight Laſcars and one European on her deck; at the moment, however, we were about to hail her, we obſerved her decks covered with armed

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ed Europeans, and ſhe hauled down her Engliſh, and hoiſted French colours, and put her helm a-weather, for the purpoſe of boarding us.

"We now put our helm a-weather, and wore before the wind; the jib-boom of the enemy juſt cleared our taffrel, when they diſcharged their two bow-guns and their ſmall arms, which, fortunately for us, only damaged our ſails.

"The Active had now moſt of her ſails ſet, and our people were employed loading and firing into the enemy, with ſmall arms; our great guns, eight in number, were loaded; but unfortunately we could not bring them to bear on her, ſhe being a-ſtern of us, and our ſtern-chaſe ports being too ſmall for the guns.

"Night now coming on, we judged it prudent to put to ſea, fearful of calms, and at about ſeven o'clock we loſt ſight of the enemy.

"At ſun-riſe the next morning, the extremes of Sumatra, E. by S. half S. to N. N. W. diſtance about eight or nine leagues, we obſerved the privateer in chaſe of a ſhip, which, from having previouſly ſpoken, we knew to be the Montgomery, to whom we were determined to render every aſſiſtance.

"About two *p. m.* we bore down to ſpeak the Montgomery, when the privateer gave over the chaſe. The Montgomery had ſailed from Bencoolen, on the 18th of January, and had a Company's packet on board.

"To the ſpirited and judicious conduct of the commander of the Active, the owners of that veſſel, and the Montgomery, would appear to be indebted for their ſafety."

The following official letter was received by General Sir Aluted Clarke, from Lieutenant Hardyman, of *La Sybille*:

"*His Majeſty's ſhip La Sybille,—Balaſore Roads, 2d March*, 1799.

"SIR,

"I beg leave to inform you, that in conſequence of a report that the French frigate, *La Forte*, was in the bay, his Majeſty's frigate, *La Sybille*, ſailed from Madras on the 19th February, to cruize for her, and had the good fortune to fall in with her in the roads on the 28th; when, after an action of one hour and forty minutes, during which ſhe was totally diſmaſted, with very little comparative damage to his Majeſty's ſhip, I have the ſatisfaction to acquaint you that ſhe ſtruck.

"I much lament that, to this intelligence, I muſt add that of the death of Captain Davis, of the ſtaff, who came a volunteer on this occaſion, and who unfortunately fell early in the action; and with great regret I muſt alſo acquaint you that Captain Cook is wounded.

"The number of killed and wounded on board *La Forte* is not yet correctly known, but it is ſtated to be very conſiderable; on board *La Sybille*, three killed and nineteen wounded.

"In addition to the ſhips captured by *La Forte*, we are ſorry to ſtate that the ſhips *Mornington*, Captain Cook, and *Endeavour*, Captain Eaſtwick, were taken on the day *La Sybille* fell in with her.

"The *Mornington* is a very valuable prize, having property on board to the amount of nearly five lacks of rupees.

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Particulars of the Action between his Majeſty's Frigate, La Sybille, and the French Frigate, La Forte.

On the 28th of February, at ten at night, four ſail of ſhips were diſcovered from the *Sybille*, to windward, who immediately chaſed, and at twelve gained the wind of them. It was then perceived that one was a very large ſhip, with two ſtern lights. For this ſhip, which proved to be *La Forte*, the *Sybille* bore down, and at a quarter paſt twelve, being at the diſtance of about three cables length, the enemy preſented his broadſide, fired, and bore up before the wind. In about ten minutes, the *Sybille* having approached within about two cables length of her antagoniſt, luffed to the wind on the ſtarboard tack and raked her, edging down, after this diſcharge, before the wind, until fairly along ſide; both ſhips keeping up a heavy fire, at a diſtance, that varied occaſionally, from within piſtol ſhot to a cable's length. It was ſoon diſcovered that, although the enemy's ſhip appeared well diſpoſed to the conflict, the *Sybille's* fire was ſo ſuperior, as to render it probable it would ſoon be brought to an iſſue. About half paſt one, the enemy's fire had conſiderably diminiſhed; the *Sybille's*, on the contrary, had become rather quicker. About twenty minutes before, *La Forte* ceaſed firing, but upon being hailed, ſhe recommenced. About ten minutes before two, ſhe manned her ſhrouds, as it was concluded, with an intent to board, put all her lights out, and diſcontinued her fire again. The *Sybille* then ceaſed firing, and hailed, but receiving no anſwer, again opened her guns, at which time her antagoniſt's three maſts and bowſprit went by the board. The *Sybille* then cheered, came to an anchor to prevent ſeparating, and at day light got out a boat and took poſſeſſion of her prize. The *Sybille's* ſtanding and running rigging was completely cut to pieces, not a rope was left ſtanding upon the main-maſt, which, with main top-maſt, main top-ſail and main-yard, were ſhot in various directions. The ſcene that preſented itſelf upon *La Forte's* decks was truly ſhocking, her loſs is computed at one hundred and fifty killed, and ſeventy or eighty wounded. Her captain and moſt of her officers fell early in the action. The loſs on the part of the *Sybille* was comparatively very inconſiderable, being four killed and nineteen wounded.

The *La Forte* is a frigate of moſt unuſual magnitude, being one hundred and ſeventy feet long upon the gun deck, and five and forty beam: ſhe carries thirty twenty-four pounders upon the main deck; fourteen twelves, and eight thirty-ſix pound carronades upon the quarter deck and forecaſtle, beſides braſs ſwivels mounted between her guns on the quarter deck; and had on board when the action commenced, about four hundred and ſeventy men.

The *Sybille* is one hundred and fifty-ſeven feet on the gun deck, and forty feet beam: ſhe mounts twenty-eight eighteen pounders on the gun deck, ten twelves, and ten thirty-two pound carronades on the quarter-deck and forecaſtle. Her complement of men when ſhe entered into action, was three hundred and forty, including a company of the Scotch brigade who joined as marines.

Captain Cook's promptitude in going in queſt of this formidable enemy, his vigilance in the ſearch, the

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the judgment, coolneſs, and ſpirit he diſplayed in coming into action, and throughout the whole conduct of it, have juſtly acquired him the higheſt honour, which receives additional luſtre from the important ſervice his ſucceſs has rendered to the trade of India in general. The miſchief which has been prevented by the deſtruction of ſo powerful a foe, may be imagined from the depredations this ſhip has made, before the *Sybille* had an opportunity to ſtop her career, and it is natural to ſuppoſe, that this reflection is the only index that will be needed to direct a benevolence, which has never been ſlack on any worthy occaſion, to the relief of thoſe brave fellows or their families, who have laid down their lives or ſhed their blood to ſtrengthen and ſecure the commercial intereſts of their fellow ſubjects.

Narrative of Tranſactions on Board the Honourable Company's Extra Ship *Oſterley*, from the 6th February, to the 2d March, including the Particulars of her Capture by *La Forte*.

The *Oſterley* ſailed from Madras on Wedneſday, the 6th February, with a detachment of 107 men of the 28th regiment of light dragoons on board. The Oſterley's crew, including captain and officers, amounting in all to 63. On the 7th anchored at Tranquebar; ſailed the ſame afternoon to the ſouthward and eaſtward. On the 9th ſpoke the Druid, Captain Holmes, bound to Bengal. On the 12th ſpoke his Majeſty's frigate Carysfort, in company with the honourable Company's cruizers, Cornwallis and Triton, the latter bound to Europe with French priſoners. On the 13th anchored at Tranquebar; ſailed thence on the following day for Bengal. On the 23d fell in with the Nabob's ſhip Surprize galley. At 8, *p. m.* being very near, and there being little wind, ſent a boat with an officer on board to inquire whether the pilot ſchooners lay in the roads or off the ſand heads, at this ſeaſon of the year. The Surprize ſteered N. E. and by E. during the night; the Oſterley followed on the ſame courſe. At day light next morning, ſaw a ſhip to the eaſtward working up. The Oſterley ſtood on over the reefs, in 7 and ¼ leſs 7 fathoms; and at half paſt 9, *a. m.* anchored in 7 fathoms in company with the Surprize, a buoy in ſight, bearing N. W. and by N. diſtance about three miles. At 11, obſerving the ſtrange ſail ſtanding towards us with her yards braced up, cleared ſhip for action, as a meaſure of precaution, as it was not ſuppoſed the ſtranger was an enemy, from her coming in over the reef with every ſail ſet.

At five minutes paſt noon, being within muſket ſhot, ſhe hoiſted French colours and fired a gun, which the Oſterley returned with a broad ſide, and immediately received a whole broadſide from the enemy. This was on the larboard ſide; the frigate then ſtood under the Oſterley's ſtern, luffed upon the ſtarboard ſide, and commenced a cloſe action, which the Oſterley maintained with ſpirit till 52 minutes paſt 12; when her main and mizen maſts and main top-maſt being ſhot through, her rigging cut to pieces, and her hull much injured, and no chance of eſcaping, it being then the top of high water, the Oſterley ſtruck her colours to La Forte frigate, of 460 men, thirty French 24 pounders on the main deck, eight 6 pound carronades, and fourteen long nines on the

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the quarter deck, and waiſt with 12 ſwivels.

The priſoners were ſhifted from the Oſterley to the La Forte in the evening. On the following day the 25th February, the enemy were employed in getting out the ſalt and dry proviſions from their prize, and propoſed ſending her off to the Mauritius, and to land the priſoners in the two launches. On Tueſday the 26th all the priſoners were ſent on board the Oſterley; and in the evening Monſ. La Foree, the officer in command of the Oſterley, received his orders from the frigate to proceed to Bengal as a cartel for an exchange of priſoners. On Wedneſday 27th at 7, *a. m.* in a heavy ſquall, the frigate cut and ran to ſea: and after the ſquall ſhe was out of ſight. Soon afterwards a ſhip was ſeen ſtanding towards the Oſterley, which proved to be the Nonſuch, Captain Grey, who ſent a boat on board; Monſ. La Foree and two other gentlemen from the Oſterley, went on board the Nonſuch, and produced the papers to Captain Grey, who, after examining them, offered to conduct the ſhip to a pilot, if ſhe were in a condition to follow him. About ſeven in the evening the Nonſuch weighed, and the Oſterley followed. No pilot ſchooner appearing next day, Captain Grey ſent his maſter on board to take the ſhip into Saugur Roads, where ſhe anchored on the 1ſt of March.

It muſt not be omitted to mention the treatment, the priſoners received from their captors, Captain Beaulieu La Loup entertained Captain Piercy and the officers of the 28th regiment, and Mrs. Dean, the lady of one of theſe gentlemen, at his own table. He gave up his ſtate room to Mr. and Mrs. Dean, and his cabin to Captain Piercy. The officers of the Oſterley meſſed with thoſe of La Forte, and had the free uſe of their cabins. The midſhipmen and other petty officers, and the ſeamen of the Oſterley, fared exactly as their correſponding ranks on board the frigate. On the priſoners' returning to the Oſterley, M. La Foree requeſted that Captain Piercy would take the management of his table, &c. &c. as formerly.

The Oſterley's loſs in the action with La Forte, was 4 men killed and 13 wounded. The ſurpriſe is that her loſs was not much greater, and that ſhe could have maintained ſo unequal a conteſt for ſuch a length of time. During the engagement with the Oſterley, the Surprize had time to cut and make ſail, by which ſhe ſafely effected her eſcape over the ſands.

The Hope, Captain Roſs, from Madras, arrived in Balaſore roads on Thurſday the 21ſt inſt. took her pilot on board on Saturday. On the following day ſhe ſaw two large ſhips to the eaſtward at anchor, with the ſignals flying for a pilot; at the ſame time, a large ſhip with the ſame ſignal for a pilot was ſtanding inward; and after getting in a proper poſition for attacking the two ſhips lying at anchor, ſhe hauled down her Engliſh jack, hoiſted French colours, and began to cannonade the two ſhips at anchor. Both of theſe returned the fire with ſpirit and evident effect. After continuing the action for upwards of an hour, one of the two ſhips cut from her anchor, and ran over to the eaſtward, on which ſhe was cloſely followed by the enemy; but after a ſhort chace, he abandoned the purſuit, and returned

to

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to the other ſhip, of which he made a prize.

The gentlemen on board the Hope, who were ſpectators of the action with the French frigate, ſpeak highly of the alacrity and good conduct diſplayed by the two Engliſh ſhips, that thus diſputed with the greatly ſuperior force of the frigate. She is repreſented as a cut down 80 gun ſhip, carrying thirty twenty-four pounders on her lower deck, and full of men.

Accounts from Madras ſtate, that the palankeen bearers, employed by individuals, being required for the public ſervice, they had been collected to the number of ſix thouſand, and were marched off to join the grand army, in order to facilitate the conveyance of proviſions and ſtores.

The news of the Benares maſſacre excited much alarm at Lucknow. It was at firſt apprehended that it was the ſignal of exploſion of a deep, premeditated plot to diſpoſſeſs Saadut Ally of the government. His Highneſs is ſtated to have been conſiderably alarmed, and, under that impreſſion, to have ſuggeſted to the Engliſh Reſident his earneſt wiſh that the troops at Cawnpore might march to Lucknow, to overawe any plot or inſurrection which, though unforeſeen, might be contemplated in that capital. His Highneſs's requeſt was complied with; and orders to this effect being communicated to Col. Ruſſell, all the troops that could be ſpared from Cawnpore marched from thence on the 17th, and reached Lucknow on the 20th ultimo. It does not appear however, from the beſt information we have been able to obtain, that there has been any deſign to diſturb the government or public tranquillity at Lucknow.

A letter from a correſpondent at Benares, in mentioning the late maſſacre, obſerves, "that if that act was not the impulſe of the moment in which it occurred, it certainly had not been in agitation longer than the preceding day; no preparation had preceded it; and Vizier Ally left behind him whatever property he poſſeſſed, his zenanah furniture, elephants, and about fifteen horſes. On the preceding day, he had arranged the preliminaries of his departure for Calcutta, and had ſettled with Mr. Cherry as to the ſums he was to receive on his journey; viz. 25,000 rupees previous to his leaving Benares, one lack on his arrival at Patna, and 75,000 on his departure from that place. He had received the 25,000 rupees before the maſſacre took place, and had employed a conſiderable part of the money in collecting the banditti that aſſiſted him in that atrocious proceeding. The nabob has offered a reward of half a lack of rupees for the apprehenſion of the Vizier Ally.

Letters from Benares ſay, that Vizier Ally has fled to the Betole country, the rajah of which is at preſent a priſoner in Napaul. An application was made by Saadut Ally, to have the fugitive delivered up, but without ſucceſs.

The letters add, that it has been fully aſcertained, that Vizier Ally, after having imbrued his hands in the blood of Mr. Cherry, had reſolved to aſſaſſinate every European in Benares. The reſult of inquiries, lately ſet on foot, tend to criminate ſome native inhabitants of having been acceſſaries in the plot.

Our lateſt accounts announce Vizier

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Vizier Ally to be at Bhotwul, where he had been received with cordiality, and, under the protection of the rajahs of Bhotwul and Napaul, was levying troops with the utmoſt celerity; his declared intention was to attack the Nabob Vizier's provinces.

He had written to all the neighbouring rajahs for aſſiſtance and ſupport; Waris Ally continued with him.

A letter from Bhaugulpoor, dated the 2d inſtant, deſcribes the cold as unuſually intenſe, the thermometer being at 34°. It had deſtroyed the crops, and the ryots, in every quarter, were bitterly lamenting their loſſes. This cold weather ſet in on Sunday the 27th ultimo, after a ſmart ſhock of an earthquake, about ten o'clock in the morning.

Accounts from Bombay mention that the Sevendroog pirates had captured, and carried into that port, two boats freighted with horſes, on account of the Hon. Company.

Letters from the camp of the grand army, aſſembled at Vellore, mention that they were to commence their march towards Tippoo's territories on the 27th ult.

Colonel Roberts's detachment, from Hydrabad, deſcended through the Badwall Paſs, on the 24th ult. and joined the grand army ſoon afterwards.

We underſtand there never was a better equipped or ſo formidable an army aſſembled at the beginning of any campaign in India, as that now under the command of Gen. Harris; it conſiſts of upwards of 20,000 of the beſt diſciplined troops, a very large proportion of which are Europeans.

It is ſaid that a Swediſh ſhip had arrived at China from Manilla, having on board 800,000 dollars, the Captain of which ſtated that the Spaniſh Admiral, with three ſhips of the line, and two frigates, was on the point of putting to ſea.

At the entrance of Manilla harbour, the Swede was boarded by the Prenuſe French frigate, accompanied by the Brule Guelle corvette, from whom they learnt that the frigate La Forte was aſtern, and, with them, bound to Manilla: they added that Admiral Sercey had proceeded to France from Batavia.

In conſequence of the great influx of treaſure, money is abundant at Canton, and transfer at par.

We learn with much pleaſure, that the patriotic ſubſcription intended for the relief of the families of thoſe gallant tars, who have loſt their lives in the late memorable naval action in the bay of Aboukir, has met with unanimous ſupport from the gentlemen at Surat, who have already added the ſum of rupees 2,175, to the amount ſubſcribed at the preſidency.

MARCH.

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MARCH.

Vizier Ally.

On the 3d inſtant, accounts were received of a plan formed by Vizier Ally, for cutting off the 8th regiment, which was encamped along with the Candahar horſe, commanded by Captain Lumſden, with one flank within about ſix hundred yards of the town of Gorukpoor. Vizier Ally and the rebel Jagernaut, whoſe united force amounted to about 600 men, had concealed themſelves in a jungle, at a little diſtance from the camp. The town's people, and a conſiderable party among the Candahar horſe, having been gained over to his cauſe, the night of the 27th ult. was fixed on for the execution of his project. The party in ambuſcade were to commence the attack in front, while the town's people ſhould fall on one flank, and the treacherous Candaharees on the other. The ſcheme was happily diſcovered by an hircarrah of Mr. Lumſden's, which enabled Colonel Vanas to take precautions to render the whole abortive. The leaders of the diſaffected among the Candaharees were ſeized, and ſent off to Lucknow, under a guard commanded by Captain Hodgſon.

The commencement of Vizier Ally's career affords evidence ſufficient, that neither aſſaſſination, nor any other means, the moſt nefarious, of accompliſhing his deſigns, will be left untried. Two fakeers were ſeized, one evening, concealed under Colonel Ruſſel's bed. On the evening of the 7th, an attempt was made upon the life of the miniſter Huſſein Reza Khan at Lucknow, by ſome villains, who threw a ſpear into his palankeen, as he was returning from the palace. Fortunately the ſpear miſſed him, and ſtruck in the roof of the palankeen. The aſſaſſins were immediately purſued, and four or five of them were taken. It is to be hoped, that from their examination, a clue will be found to unravel the deſigns of their employers and aſſociates; and that their exemplary puniſhment will deter others from attempting the perpetration of ſuch atrocities.

Other accounts ſtate the adherents, who have deſcended with Vizier Ally into the plains near Gorukpoor, to be much more numerous; amounting to about 9000 armed men, though irregular and undiſciplined; and that he is determined to try his fortune in the field. The preparations making againſt him, indicate his force not to be contemptible.

Letters from the grand army of the 5th inſtant, ſtate, that it was on the frontiers of Tippoo's country, and had ſummoned two ſmall forts which ſurrendered without reſiſtance. That Tippoo's army was at the diſtance of about twenty miles; ſaid to conſiſt chiefly of new raiſed troops. Conſcious of his inability to cope with our forces in the field, he appeared ſo averſe from hoſtility, that he allowed abundant ſupplies of grain to paſs unmoleſted to our camp. He had ſent fifty horſemen to eſcort Major Doveton, and had declared his readineſs to accede to any conditions that ſhould leave him in the ſituation of an independent prince. That the inhabitants of his country were coming into the Company's territory, to avoid being compelled to ſerve in the army.

ORPHAN

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ORPHAN SOCIETY.

Fort William Orphan Society Office, March 6, 1799.

At a Meeting of the General Management of the Bengal Military Orphan Society, on Wednesday the 6th of March, 1799.

Resolved, That in the present dispersed state of the Bengal army, the following substance of a minute, laid before the General Management by the Deputy Governor, with two resolutions founded thereon by the meeting, be published in the Calcutta Gazette, for the information of the General Management, that such resolutions be annexed to the printed regulations, and do take effect from the first day of August, 1799.

The Deputy Governor's Minute.

The Deputy Governor begs leave to call the attention of the Management to the subject of subscribers to this charity, proceeding to Europe on the full pay of their rank. Formerly, when officers proceeding to Europe did so, without receiving any allowances during their absence from Bengal, the Management, in consideration of that circumstance, were under the necessity of leaving it to the option of the gentlemen who occasionally embarked for Europe, to continue their subscriptions, or not: and there has been one case in which it was thought equitable to admit the daughter of an officer to the benefits of the institution, in consequence of the former subscriptions of her father, although his contributions had ceased for near six years previous to his decease in England. The late army regulations having put matters on a different footing, and the interest of the society at large calling for every exertion on the part of the Management, to prevent, not only a diminution of the receipt, but also to exclude those children from a participation of the benefits of the institution, whose parents, proceeding to Europe, either on account of health, or any other cause, and on the full pay of their rank, and who shall be so culpably neglectful of the just claims of the society, and of the welfare of their offspring, as not to provide (to the satisfaction of the Management) for the continuation of the monthly subscriptions of their rank, during the time they shall be so absent on full pay, and continued on the effective list of the army; the deputy Governor, therefore, begs leave to submit the following resolutions to the members of the Management, and to add, if it meets their approbation, that it be immediately published in the Calcutta Gazette, for the information of those likely to be affected by it.

(Signed) WILLIAM JACKSON.

March the 6th, 1799.

First.—Resolved, That it is incumbent on every subscriber to this charity, proceeding to Europe on furlough on the full pay of his rank, to provide (previous to his going on board of ship) for the continuance of his monthly subscriptions to the fund, so long as he shall be on full pay, or continues on the effective list of the Bengal army, in order to secure to his child, or children, the benefits of the institution.

Second.—Resolved, That a subscriber neglecting to comply with this regulation, does hereby exclude his child, or children, from the benefits of the charity.

The General Management are desirous, in this place, publicly to state, that it is indispensibly necessary

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ſary to put an immediate ſtop to this evil, which has been the cauſe of great loſs to the funds of the inſtitution, in the year 1796. The General Management were called upon to admit the daughter of an officer to the benefits of the fund; and they deemed it equitable ſo to do, as he was on furlough without pay, although he had not contributed one anna, for near ſix years previous to his death in England: a ſimilar application has juſt arrived for a daughter of an aſſiſtant ſurgeon, deceaſed, in England, whoſe ſubſcriptions have alſo been diſcontinued, from the 31ſt of October, 1793.

By order of the General Management,
GEORGE BRIETZCKE, *Sec.*

Extract of a Letter from Lucknow, 7th March, 1798.

"Vizier Ally, it ſeems, has killed, with his own hand, Affeer Ally, on whoſe head was laid 20,000 rupees. This man, it is ſaid, has been his adviſer in the whole of this dreadful buſineſs, but, finding his life in danger, he wrote to the Nabob, ſaying, if he would grant him pardon, he would deliver up Vizier Ally. This letter fell into Vizier Ally's hands, who, thinking there was no ſecurity for him whilſt the other exiſted, immediately aſſaſſinated him."

Extract of a Letter from Captain Reay, of the ſhip Dublin, to the Secretary to the Government at Fort St. George, dated ſhip Dublin, 20th March, 1799.

"I have the pleaſure to inform you, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, &c. of the arrival of the Honourable Company's ſhip *Dublin*, under my command, in company with the *Soliman*, Capt. Hamed Pelley, mounting eight guns, which ſhip we captured on the 19th inſtant, in latitude 11 deg. 34 min. N. after a chace of five hours.

"She proves to be the ſame veſſel that was cut out of Nagore roads, by the French privateer, *L'Heureux*, on the 4th inſtant, and was bound to the Mauritius, laden with ſundry articles, with ſeven Frenchmen and one Swede on board; the Laſcars (except four who eſcaped at Nagore) are likewiſe in the ſhip."

SUPREME COURT.

On Wedneſday the 20th inſtant, a cauſe was tried wherein Premchund Bonajee was plaintiff, and Meſſrs. Fruſhard and Laprimaudaye, were the defendants. The action was brought to recover a ſum of 12,000 rupees, under an agreement entered into between the plaintiff and the defendants, to allow the plaintiff the above ſum of money, in lieu of all profits, made on purchaſe of merchandiſe, in their dealings, &c. for one year.

The counſel for the defendants admitted the agreement, but urged in their defence, that the court could not take any notice of ſuch a demand; and that if ſuch ſhould be allowed, and their caſe was made out, that it was very fully laid down in the charter, and which ſhould have been the rule in this caſe, that no native ſhall be entitled to receive any fee, or ſalary, except he be firſt duly regiſtered, in the diſtrict wherein his employer ſhall, at the time of his entering into ſuch ſervice, be reſident, and which in this inſtance had not been complied with. The court, however, were unanimouſly of opinion, that the defendants muſt be bound by their own agreement,

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ment, and that with reſpect to the regiſtry of the name of the plaintiff, as their banyan, the charter did not ſay by whom ſuch regiſtry was to be made, whether by the employer, or employed; and gave judgment for the plaintiff, damages 12,000 rupees.

Counſel for the plaintiff, the Advocate General and Mr. Strettell; attornies, Meſſrs. Taylor and Lloyd. Counſel for the defendants, Meſſis. J. Shaw, and L. Kerr; attornies, Meſſrs. Hickey and Turner.

FATAL ACCIDENTS.

It is with much concern we ſtate, that Mr. Robert Moſs, the poſtmaſter at Kedgeree, with Mr. Daniel, a writer on this eſtabliſhment, one tindal, and three laſcars, were drowned, by the ſinking of the boat in which they were going on board the Lord Duncan, at Saugur, on the evening of the 20th inſtant.

The following melancholy circumſtance occurred on Thurſday the 21ſt inſt. Three young gentlemen on an excurſion of pleaſure by water, were attracted by the beauty of the night, between eight and nine o'clock, to take their ſeat on the chopper of their paunſhway. They had not long continued there, when, by a ſudden heeling of the boat on one ſide, they were all precipitated into the water. One of them, in the moment of falling, happened fortunately to graſp a rope that providentially hung within his reach, and thus ſaved himſelf from an untimely death, which otherwiſe ſeemed inevitable, being totally ignorant of the art of ſwimming. The two other gentlemen were, in the mean time, hurried by the rapidity of the current, to a conſiderable diſtance from the boat. Every exertion was uſed by the gentleman who was ſo miraculouſly preſerved, to pick up his companions, and he had the good fortune to meet with one of them about half an hour ſubſequent to the accident, quite exhauſted with ſtruggling, in his endeavours to gain the boat, and nearly inſenſible. The moſt diligent ſearch was made for the other gentleman (Mr. Warren Haſtings) but unfortunately without ſucceſs. As he was but an indifferent ſwimmer, it is conjectured he could not have ſurvived long; as they were, at the time this diſaſter took place, in the middle of the river, about a mile below Serampoor, and not a ſingle boat in ſight.

General Orders by the Commander in Chief, March, 22, 1799.

The general Management of the Military Orphan Society, having repreſented to the Commander in Chief, that the general orders of the 23d May 1796, do not ſufficiently provide againſt the payment of the arrears of the Honourable Company's allowance of three rupees per month, to ſoldiers' children, who have not been returned to the Adjutant-general, and conſequently cannot be drawn for, he directs that the Orphan Committee, at the ſeveral ſtations of the army, do not pay arrears on the above account, until it ſhall be ſatisfactorily aſcertained that the children for whom they are claimed, have been duly returned to the adjutant general.

To inſure the regular tranſmiſſion of returns of children of men removed from one corps to another, the adjutants of corps, from which ſuch men are removed, are to furniſh the men with certificates expreſſing the period to which the children have been returned, and the

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the adjutants of the corps, to which the men are transferred, are to make out and tranſmit to the adjutant general, ſeparate returns of the children for the months in which they have not been returned. The Orphan Committees are alſo to furniſh the men with certificates of the period to which the allowance has been paid, which certificates are to be preſented to the Orphan Committees of the ſtation to which the men are removed.

The monthly returns of the children are to be accompanied by liſts of caſualties, which have taken place in the courſe of the month, and adjutants of corps are enjoined to aſcertain the actual occurrence of the caſualty, before they report it, in order to guard againſt parents or guardians of children ſecreting them upon their attaining the preſcribed age for being placed in the lower Orphan Houſe, and thereby defeating the humane intentions, for which the ſchool was eſtabliſhed.

A private ſubſcription has within theſe few days been circulated, in behalf of the crew of the ſhip *Earl Fitzwilliam*.

A letter from Tandah, ſays, the froſt had there been very ſevere for three nights. All the peas, and cotton, are deſtroyed: alſo a great quantity of wheat and barley. Grain has in conſequence riſen very much. Wheat before the froſt was 34 ſeers per rupee, now 25; channah, 40 and 41, now 26; arher 38, now 22; moot 38, now 26, and all other kinds of grain in proportion. A few days previous to the froſt they had a ſmart ſhock of an earthquake, by which ſeveral people were thrown down. The ſky was very clear, not a cloud to be ſeen; nor was there any thing remarkable in the air. It was attended by a rumbling noiſe.

His highneſs Saadut Ally has expreſſed the moſt ſerious apprehenſions for his perſonal ſafety. He has requeſted that an European regiment may be ſtationed at Lucknow, to overawe the plots and treaſons that are ſuppoſed to be hatching in his capital. We underſtand that his palace is conſtantly guarded by a party of ſepoys. It is not without reaſon that theſe precautionary meaſures are purſued; as a ſecret correſpondence has lately been intercepted between the depoſed Vizier Ally and ſome individuals at Lucknow.

Letters from Madras mention that accounts were received there from the grand army, in the Myſore country, dated the 6th inſtant, at which time the right wing, under the command of General Baird, had advanced to Neeldurgum, which had ſurrendered to them: the left wing was encamped near Ryacottah.

Accounts have been received that Monſ. Du Dreneque with 8000 troops, including his own brigade, attacked Juſwunt Row Holcar, who had an army of 14,000 men; totally defeated him, and took his guns and baggage. M. Du Dreneque ſpeaks highly in praiſe of the exertions of Meſſ. Plumet and Da Coſta, two officers under his command, on this occaſion.

BOMBAY.

We are happy to find that government have been pleaſed to intimate to the Inſurance Society, for the information of all thoſe concerned in the trade to and from the Red Sea, that Commodore Blankett has been inſtructed by his Excellency Rear Admiral Rainier, to appoint a proper convoy for that ſervice, which is to give pro-

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tection to all ships, natives as well as Europeans, returning to India, entitled to his protection, as residing in the Hon. Company's settlements, and therefore considered as British subjects; and that, for the more effectual security of that valuable trade, similar directions have been given, by the same authority, to Captain Rainier, of his Majesty's ship Centurion, to be complied with by him, in the event of Commodore Blankett's squadron being otherwise indispensably employed.

On Friday the 25th instant, the Bombay Voluntary Association, commanded by Governor Duncan, who are equally distinguished for their discipline and zeal, received their colours from Mrs. Rivett, after a neat and appropriate speech, which that Lady delivered with her accustomed gracefulness and ease.

APRIL, 1799.

Tuesday noon the 3d instant, the prize frigate *La Forte*, graced the harbour of Calcutta with her presence. On passing the garrison of Fort William, she was saluted with a discharge of artillery, which was returned with three cheers; the guns of *La Forte* having been taken out at Diamond harbour, in order to lessen her draught of water, without which she could not, safely, have been brought to Calcutta.

As soon as she had anchored off the Bankshall, a numerous crowd of visitors went off from the shore, anxious, personally, to recognize this noble achievement of British valour.—The three-coloured flag was displayed from the mizen-gaff, under the English jack. *La Forte*, when repaired, will be one of the finest frigates in the British navy.

Vizier Ally.

[We have been favoured by a Correspondent with the following Narrative of an action between a large body of Vizier Ally's people and the Hindustany cavalry, commanded by Lieut. Col. Bruce.]

On the 3d instant, about three o'clock, P. M. General Stuart, on hearing that an attack was made on the bildars, who were employed at the distance of four miles from the camp, in clearing a road through the banks of a nullah, ordered a party of Col. Bruce's corps to go to their relief. Subsequent accounts of the enemy's force induced the General to detach another troop, in an hour after the first; and lastly, at about the same interval of time, the remainder of the regiment, under Col. Bruce, to support the first detachment.

The first party, about a mile beyond the nullah, came up with the enemy, who, at their approach, retreated into a jungle. The cavalry dashed as far into the wood as it was possible to go, and did not relinquish the pursuit, as long as a man of the enemy could be seen. Forty or fifty of them were killed, and a standard was taken by a young man, who cut down the standard-bearer.

Two prisoners were brought in, by whose information it is ascertained, that the party, thus repulsed by a handful of our people, consisted of 1100 men, commanded by Baudul Khan. They had been detached by Vizier Ally, previous to General Stuart's march from Gorruckpore, to harass his army in its passage through the jungles. Having missed their object, they were on their return to join Vizier Ally, when they fell in with the bildars, whether by design or accident is uncertain.—Several bildars, and two or three clashies, were badly wounded; but hopes

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hopes are entertained of their recovery.

Report ſays that Vizier Ally, on hearing that Baudul Khan's party had been ſo roughly handled, moved off immediately in a weſterly direction. His view is ſuppoſed to be, to eſcape either into the hills, or along the foot of them, towards Sirinagur.

The following honourable teſtimony to the merit of the corps, is contained in the orders of the ſucceeding day:—

"Camp on the Banks of the Rohun Nullah.

"*Orders by Major General Stuart, 4th April*, 1799.

"Major General Stuart has much pleaſure in expreſſing his approbation of the expert gallantry of the officers and men of the independent regiment of cavalry, who were engaged with the enemy yeſterday evening, and requeſts that Lieut. Colonel Bruce will give them his thanks. The horſeman who killed the ſtandard-bearer, and carried off the ſtandard of the enemy, the Major General appoints to carry the ſame as the honorary ſtandard in the corps, till the pleaſure of Sir James Craig and the Commander in Chief is known. The Major General further takes it upon himſelf to direct that ſuch men as broke their ſwords in the action be reimburſed at a fair rate, and Col. Bruce will be pleaſed to give into the paymaſter a regular charge for the ſame."

We learn from Benares, that the young Prince Mirzah Joomah (ſon to the Prince Jehander Shah, and grandſon of Shah Aalum), being proved to have joined Vizier Ally in the oppoſition to our troops at Madhoodah's Gardens, was ſent off, on the 27th ultimo, under an eſcort, towards the vicinity of Delhi, to be delivered to his relations.

A letter from Benares, of the 22d ult. ſtates, that the 3d, 5th, and 6th regiments of native infantry, with three regiments of native cavalry, ſave one troop, remain with Sir James Craig at Lucknow. The 27th dragoons and H. M. 78th regiment return to Cawnpore; and the 1ſt regiment of European infantry goes to Allahabad. General Stuart is preparing for a vigorous purſuit of the aſſaſſins, who are ſaid to be in ſome force, about ſixteen coſs from him, thickly ſurrounded by jungles, but deſerted by the Rajahs of Napaul and Betoul.

Gen. Stuart's detachment conſiſts of one troop from the firſt regiment of native cavalry, the independent regiment of Hinduſtan cavalry, the Nabob's Candahar horſe, the 7th and 8th regiments of native infantry, three twelve pounders, eight ſix pounders, and ſome howitzers.

The firſt regiment of native infantry, commanded by Col. Rayne, took peaceable poſſeſſion of the fort of Pindarrah, the proprietor (who is the principal Tahſeeldar of the diſtrict) having abſconded. Juggut Singh, another leading man, concerned in the late tranſactions with Vizier Ally, having taken refuge in his zenana, was ſeized by means of a party of women ſent in to ſearch. A third ruſhed, ſword in hand, from his houſe in Benares, with only one or two companions, and fell by the muſketry of the party ſent to apprehend him. There ſtill remain a banditti, in the diſtrict of Ghazepoor, againſt whom it is expected a party will ſoon be ſent.

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Letters from Gorruckpore, of the 4th and 5th inſtant, confirm the eſcape of Vizier Ally from that quarter.

It appears that our troops had laboured indefatigably for ſeveral days, in cutting down jungle, and making roads to get at a kind of fort with an intrenchment of paliſadoes where he was ſaid to be; but when they had accompliſhed their taſk, they found the fort evacuated; of which, however, they took poſſeſſion.

Part of our cavalry, and ſome troops, in Vizier Ally's rear, have had a ſmart ſkirmiſh.

The aſſaſſin is ſaid to have behaved ſo very ill to Juggernaut, who is one of his principal adherents, that he and a number of his followers deſerted his cauſe, went over to our camp, and threw themſelves on the mercy of the Britiſh government. It is hoped that Juggernaut and his followers will be of great uſe to us, from the accurate knowledge they poſſeſs of the country.

Juggernaut Singh was not one of thoſe concerned with Vizier Ally in the maſſacre at Benares; but is a refractory zemindar, that has given a great deal of trouble for theſe three or four years paſt; and when Vizier Ally fled towards Gorruckpore, he joined him with all his followers, which were pretty numerous; and for the apprehending of whom, a reward of 10,000 rupees had been offered.

All the head Muſſulmans are mentioned as being concerned, or in ſome manner connected, in the plans of Vizier Ally.

The Rajah of Beerboom had fled, in conſequence of being concerned with thoſe parties, and ſeveral people are coming down in confinement from Moorſhedabad.

Extract of a Letter from Midnapore, dated April 4th, 1799.

"The large and rich village of Aunundpore, formerly plundered by the banditti, has, within theſe few days, been burned to the ground, with all its granaries full of grain. One rich man's granaries are ſaid to extend a quarter of a mile.'

Extract of a Letter from Anjengo dated 4th April, 1799.

"A few days ago a very horrid maſſacre took place at Stoney river, near the foot of the Ghauts, where we have a large depôt of proviſions and ſtores; it is in the Cotiote Rajah's dominions, and conſidering them perfectly ſecure, they were guarded only by one officer, a commiſſary of ſtores, a parvo belonging to the commiſſary, and twenty or thirty ſepoys; theſe were, however, attacked by an armed banditti, who put every one of them to death, and plundered the ſtores. The Rajah lays the blame on ſome marauders who have made off, but it is generally ſuppoſed that they are his own people. It has entirely ſtopped the communication with the army for the preſent."

The gaol of Calcutta is, we underſtand, to be thoroughly repaired, under the ſuperintendance of Mr. Tiretta, who, we do not doubt, will do ample juſtice to the undertaking. Several additional buildings are to be erected; amongſt the reſt, a room to be uſed as a ſolitary cell, for the purpoſe of confining perſons who may create diſturbance in the gaol; and a ward, or room, for the ſick and diſordered. Theſe improvements are made in conſequence of a repreſentation

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ſentation to government by the Sheriff.

On Wedneſday afternoon, the 2d inſtant, about four o'clock, the brother of the Nabob of Dacca arrived in Fort William, under a guard.

We underſtand that the bazar at the end of the Chouringee road will ſhortly be demoliſhed; the whole having, on Thurſday the 18th inſtant, been purchaſed at the auction of Meſſrs. Tulloch and Co. by Neelmuny Holdar, for the ſum of 45,000 ficca rupees.

HINDU MARRIAGES.

Thurſday the 18th inſtant was graced with three marriages of the children of ſome of the moſt reſpectable Hindûs in Calcutta.—The ſon of Rajah Sookmoy Roy, with the daughter of Ramkiſſen Mullic. The ſon of Fakeer Chund Bandergee, with the daughter of Deorga Churn Chuckerbutty. And the ſon of Gopee Mohun Baboo, with the daughter of Geereedur Muckerjee.

Though every one of theſe nuptials was marked with that ſplendour and oſtentation which the natives are ſo particularly fond of diſplaying on a joyous occaſion, yet the cavalcade of the Rajah's ſon was the moſt pompous and attractive.

We are extremely concerned to underſtand, that on the 21ſt inſtant, Mr. Philips, maſter's mate of the *Nonſuch*, and Mr. H. Angel, captain's clerk, were drowned in coming from Diamond harbour to Calcutta.

The Hon. Baſil Cochrane was the proprietor of No. 5576 in the Aſylum Lottery, and drawn on the 3d inſtant a prize of *ten thouſand pagodas*.

The laſt drawn ticket in the Aſylum Lottery, No. 3299, and entitled to *five thouſand pagodas*, was the property of a native inhabitant of Madras.

Several natives of diſtinction, in different parts of the country, have been recently arreſted by order of government, for treaſonable practices. Shemſ-ud-dowlah, brother to the Nabob of Dacca, who, on his arrival at Calcutta, was lodged in the fort, has ſince been removed under a ſtrong guard to the gaol.

A new dock, of very large dimenſions, is building at Calcutta, by Meſſrs. Foreman and Co. a ſhort diſtance above that of Meſſrs. Hudſon and Co.

As Capt. M'Gregor, of the 4th regiment of native cavalry, now encamped near Benares, was reading in his tent, one of his ſervants, in a ſtate of intoxication, entered, ſeized his ſword, which he drew, and made a violent blow at him; and had it not been for the book he had in his hand, Capt. M'Gregor, it is ſuppoſed, would have been murdered: he has, however, loſt ſome of the joints of two or three of his fingers. Our accounts add, that a ſerjeant entered the tent on the inſtant, and cut the ſervant down.

MANILLA.

As the interruption of the trade which the belligerent nations carry on under a neutral flag, for articles, the exchange of which being mutually advantageous, is a matter of ſerious importance; a correſpondent begs leave to ſtate, that by advices from Manilla, the detention of the Daniſh ſhip *Helſingoer*, Captain A. Murray, from Copenhagen, does not appear to have been the wiſh of that government, nor to have been ordered without very fair ſuſpicions that ſhe and her cargo were Britiſh pro-

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perty. The truth is, that ſome unfortunate diſpute on board, between the commander and his officers, led the latter to ſwear to a number of plauſible circumſtances, which, if true, would have legally condemned her; but they added ſo many incredible ones, that the whole was morally diſproved. The governor, though fully convinced of the injuſtice of detaining the veſſel, was yet obliged, by the oppoſition which often attends many of his honeſt and ſalutary meaſures, to refer the deciſion to the Court of Madrid.

It remains to add, that this unfortunate affair may be miſrepreſented, and cauſe a temporary ſtagnation of a trade, which is ſurely both profitable and innocent; and our correſpondent, therefore, ſtates, that the fulleſt credit is given to the paſſports of neutral ſhips; that the perſonal freedom and convenience of the ſubjects of all nations arriving in them at Manilla, are well protected by the governor (to whom the adminiſtration of juſtice to foreigners is reſerved, and which peculiar function of his high office he exercites with jealouſy, and an encroachment on which he would warmly reſent by any other branch of the government), and that in the cuſtom-houſe department, the merchant is treated with all lenity and politeneſs. No favour need be ſought, by either bribe, adulation, or intrigue; no long eſtabliſhed connexions, no deep ſkill in calculation, are neceſſary for the ſafe and profitable management of buſineſs; common prudence, moderate talents, and, if added to them, a ſlight knowledge of the Spaniſh or French languages, are all the requiſites needful.

MILITARY

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MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

BENGAL.

The Right Honourable RICHARD, *Marquis* WELLESLEY, *K. P. Governor-General. His Excellency the Honourable Lieutenant-General Sir* ALURED CLARKE, *K. B. Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces.*

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-Quarters, Calcutta, Sept. 29, 1798.

HIS Majesty has been pleased to direct that all Officers, of whatever rank they may be, returning from foreign service, shall, immediately on their arrival in Great Britain, report themselves, either personally, or by letter to the Adjutant-General. It is also required that each Officer shall assign in the report he makes of his arrival, the cause of his return from abroad, and if by leave of absence, he must mention by whom such permission is granted, and for what term.—The Commander in Chief notices these His Majesty's orders to the army under his command, and directs their being strictly complied with.

MINUTES OF COUNCIL.

October 16, 1798.

A draft is to be made out from the 1st European regiment, of a sufficient number of men to fill up the vacancies of matrosses in the four companies of artillery at the field stations, and that of Allahabad, including the vacancies which will be occasioned by the transfer of men, recommended for the invalid establishment.

The establishment of Golandauz, ordered by the minutes of Council of the 15th instant, is to be completed as expeditiously as possible, with a scrupulous attention to the choice of the men. In selecting men from the Lascar companies, particular care must be taken, that none, but such as from age, size, and from good behaviour, are fit for Golandauz, be admitted on that establishment; Mahommedans are be preferred for the Golandauz establishment; and no man is to be received upon it, who does not engage to embark on board of ship, whenever the service shall require his proceeding by sea; this is to be an express stipulation on oath, previous to being enrolled. An opportunity will be offered of rewarding deserving men in the Lascar companies, by promotion to the rank of jemidars, havildars, and naiks, if there shall be in them men qualified for these situations; in which case, the selection is to be made with due attention to length of service and merit.

The dress of the Golandauz is to conform as much as possible to that

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of the European artillery-men; after the commander in chief ſhall have approved of a pattern coat, bounty cloathing will be prepared; they are to be armed and accoutred in the ſame manner as the European artillery.

The importance of the Golandauz eſtabliſhment is ſo obvious, and the utility to be derived from it ſo much depending on the proper choice of men, and their ſubſequent training and inſtruction, that the Commander in Chief cannot too ſeriouſly enjoin the utmoſt vigilance and exertion, in theſe points, on the part of the Officers commanding companies, of the Commandant of artillery, of the Officers commanding battalions and detachments, and of the Major-Generals in command of ſtations.

Reſolved, That the proportion of one ſyce for each horſe in his Majeſty's 27th regiment of dragoons, which was allowed by the minutes of Council of the 20th of March laſt, till the 1ſt of November, be continued for ſix months longer.

Minutes of Council.

October 22, 1798.

Reſolved, That a magazine eſtabliſhment be fixed for Allahabad, and that it ſhall conſiſt of a Deputy Commiſſary, and a Conductor of Ordnance, with the ſame number of artificers and magazine men as are allowed for the magazine at Monghier.

October 29, 1798.

Reſolved, That the Sepoy volunteers aſſembling at Barrackpore, be formed into three battalions, of ten companies each, to be denominated the 1ſt, 2d, and 3d Volunteer Battalions.

Reſolved, That theſe battalions be, for the preſent, commanded by Captains, and that the following Officers be appointed to the command of them, till further orders, viz.

Capain J. Malcolm, 1ſt battalion.
——— J. Tetley, 2d ditto.
——— L. Burrel, 3d ditto.

Reſolved, That an European Adjutant be allowed to each battalion, and the uſual proportion of Laſcars, and other deſcriptions of workmen; alſo a Serjeant-Major and Quarter-Maſter-Serjeant, for each battalion.

Council Chamber, Oct. 29, 1798.

Statement of the ſhares of the under-mentioned Officers of the proportion of the reſerved fifth of the Rohilla donation of 1774. which do not appear to have been paid on the 30th of April, 1798.

CAPTAINS.					
J. Akerman	557	0	3		
H. Bevan -	557	0	3		
J. Conway -	557	0	3		
C. Hay -	557	0	3		
J. Scott -	557	0	3		
				2785	1 3
SUBALTERNS.					
R. Ramſay -	278	8	2		
R. Frith -	278	8	2		
W. Watſon -	278	8	2		
J. Falls -	278	8	2		
P. Conollin -	278	8	2		
T. T. Metcalf	278	8	2		
W. Sands -	278	8	2		
T. Sparks -	278	8	2		
A. Murray -	278	8	2		
L. Doxart -	278	8	2		
H. Ferguſon, aſſurgeon -	278	8	2		
R. Gilleſpie -	278	8	2		
E. Seymour -	378	8	2		
H. Ewins -	278	8	2		
				3899	8 4
CADETS.					
T. M'Larkin -	81	5	1		
T. Bourke -	81	5	1		
J. Sinclair -	81	5	1		
C. Hamilton -	81	5	1		
J. Grant -	81	5	1		
D. Parton -	81	5	1		
				478	14 6
Sonaut Rupees				7172	2 1

By order of the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council.

L. Hook, *Sub. Sec.*

For

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Fort William, Oct. 31, 1798.

PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the security and defence of this presidency require that the corps of Militia, composed of the inhabitants of the town of Calcutta, should be re-established and embodied under such regulations as the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council shall order and direct:

His Lordship in Council, relying on the loyalty and public spirit of the inhabitants of the town of Calcutta, hereby orders and directs all the European, Armenian, and Portugueze inhabitants of the said town, to assemble on the walk between Chandpaul Gaut and Fort William, to be there duly mustered and enrolled.

The Europeans to assemble at the aforesaid place on Wednesday the 7th, the Armenians on Thursday the 8th, and the Portugueze on Friday the 9th of November, at day-break; and the proper officers are hereby commanded to attend, for the purpose of mustering and enrolling such persons as shall appear, and tender their services, according to the tenor of this proclamation.

Published by order of the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council.

G. H. BARLOW, *Sec. to Gov.*

As it will greatly facilitate the business of mustering and enrolling the European, Armenian, and Portugueze inhabitants, who are directed to assemble on the 7th, 8th, and 9th instant, each person is requested to bring with him, to the parade, a paper, according to the annexed form, containing his name, place of abode, and occupation, where tents will be pitched, and proper persons in readiness to receive and insert them in the rolls prepared for that purpose.

W. GRIFFITH, *Reg. Capt. Calcutta Militia.*

Calcutta, Nov. 2, 1798.

Name.	Place of Abode.	Occupation.

Such persons as are willing to serve as cavalry, furnishing a horse and the necessary equipments at their own charge, are requested to signify their intention, at the time of entering their names on the muster-roll.

W. GRIFFITH.

Calcutta, Nov. 5, 1798.

Fort William, Saturday, 3d Nov. 1798.

P. O. *By the Governor General.*

Minutes of Council, 2d Nov. 1798.

Resolved, That the following extracts of a general letter from the Hon. Court of Directors, dated the 23d of May last, be published in orders:—

Par. 5. We have permitted the following military officers to return to their rank on your establishment, viz. Captain Rob. Turton, James Davidson, Joseph Gascoigne; T. Wagstaff, George Abercrombie Robinson, Robert Campbell, and John Drummond by brevet, and Lieut. George Mason.

6. We have permitted Mr. W. Allison to return to his rank of assistant surgeon, on your establishment.

85. We have permitted brevet Capt. Henry William Hicks to remain in England till next season.

86. In consideration of the length of brevet Colonel George Mences' voyage from India, occasioned by the Exeter extra ship being dismasted off the Cape, which obliged her to proceed to Bombay to refit, where she was detained by Governor Duncan, and afterwards ordered to Columbo; we have permitted him to remain in England until

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until the departure of the firſt ſhips of the ſeaſon 1799-1800.

87. The following military officers have retired from our ſervice, viz. Lieutenant Colonel R. Limond, Lieutenant Colonel John Witherſtone, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Dawes:

Lieutenant Peter Tolfrey, on Lord Clive's penſion: head ſurgeon Hugh Mair, head ſurgeon Andrew Hunter:

You will therefore diſcontinue their names in the liſt of our army on your eſtabliſhment.

Captain G. A. Robinſon, being returned to this preſidency, by permiſſion of the Hon. Court of Directors, without prejudice to his rank, reſolved, that he be admitted accordingly.

G. O. *Nov.* 5.—In conformity to the reſolution of council of the 29th October 1798, the volunteers collected from the ſeveral native regiments, are to be formed into 30 companies, and the companies into three battalions of ten companies each. The ſtrength of each company to be,

1 ſubidar	90 privates,
1 jemidar,	1 puckallie,
5 havildars,	1 hand-bhiſty,
5 naicks,	(when marching only.)
2 drummers and fifers,	

The 1ſt battalion is to be compoſed of the volunteers of the 1ſt, 4th, 7th, 11th and 14th regiments.

The 2d battalion of the volunteers from the 2d, 5th, 8th, and 12th regiments.

The 3d battalion of the volunteers from the 3d, 6th, 9th, and 13th regiments.

The volunteers from each regiment (after men for the two grenadier companies ſhall be ſelected) are, as far as may be practicable, to be placed together in companies, and the companies to be placed in battalions, according to the ſeniority of the regiments they came from.

Where the companies have not been formed, and a proviſion not already been made for native Commiſſioned and Non-Commiſſioned Officers, the neceſſary promotions are to be made from men belonging to thoſe companies, in order that the volunteers of each regiment may have an equitable ſhare of promotion. The promotions are to be made on this principle, jemidars to ſubidars, havildars to jemidars, naicks to havildars, and ſepoys to naicks.

The promotions which have already been made are confirmed; and ſhould there (upon the above principle) be a ſurplus of jemidars, havildars and naicks, who held that rank in the regiments from which they came, or who have been promoted and cannot be provided for in the volunteer battalions, liſts of their names (ſpecifying the regiments they belong to, and the rank they held in thoſe regiments) are to be ſent to the Adjutant General.

Liſts (from each battalion) of jemidars promoted to the rank of ſubidars, and of havildars to the rank of jemidars, are to be ſent to the Adjutant General, in order that their promotions may be confirmed in general orders, and commiſſions be prepared for them.

The ſame eſtabliſhment of native ſtaff, as is fixed for a regular battalion, is allowed to the battalions of Bengal volunteers; and the ſame allowance for repairs of arms and ſtationary, to the officers commanding companies. The medical allowance is to be alſo the ſame; that is, half the ſame granted for a regiment.

The following is to be the eſtabliſhment of Quarter-Maſters' people, and to be drawn for by the

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the Adjutant of each battalion, viz.

1 tindal,	2 hammermen,
10 lascars,	1 carpenter,
1 smith,	5 bildars.
1 fireman,	

The Adjutant is also to draw the allowance of 30 rupees per month, for repairing the public camp equipage, and for supplying straw, pins, mallets, camp lines, and camp colours.

The pay of the companies is to be drawn and issued in the manner prescribed by the regulations.

Extract of a letter from the Right Hon. the Governor General, to the Resident at Hyderabad, dated Fort William, 9th Nov. 1798.

"I desire you will signify to Lieut. Col. Roberts, and to the officers and men under his command, the high sense which I entertain of the important service which they have rendered to the British interests, and the Hon. East India Company, by the prompt execution of your instructions.

"To Lieut. Col. Roberts, the greatest degree of public gratitude and applause is due, by his skilful and judicious disposition of the troops under his command, and for the temper and humanity of his conduct towards the French officers in his custody."

M. C. *Nov.* 12, 1798.—Resolved, That two regiments of native infantry (to be numbered the 16th and 17th) according to the present establishment, be raised; and that the Commander in Chief be requested to issue the necessary orders for that purpose, drafting from the old regiments such a proportion of native officers and privates as he may think proper, as a foundation for the new regiments.

Fort William, 17th Nov. 1798.

Minutes of Council, 16th Nov. 1798.

Resolved, That the post of Adjutant to the Calcutta European Militia be re-established, to continue during the time the corps shall be embodied.

Resolved, That the Adjutant of the Militia be permitted to draw as such the following monthly allowances, from the date of his appointment:

Staff allowances	*Sonaut Rupees*	124
Allowance for a horse		30
A writer		20
Stationary		20
		194

Resolved, That the Militia be formed into companies of the following strength: 4 serjeants, 4 corporals, 1 drummer, 1 fifer, 80 privates.

There being ten drummers already under the regulating officer, the number necessary to complete the deficiency is to be enlisted, and to receive eleven rupees each per month, without any deduction for off-reckonings, as they will receive cloathing.

Resolved, That in addition to the serjeants at present under the regulating officer, four drill serjeants, (if they can be spared) either from the corps in garrison, or the supernumeraries under the Town Major, with an allowance of fourteen sonaut rupees per month (in addition to their present pay and batta), be attached to the Militia.

Several persons who have enrolled themselves in the corps, not having the means of providing themselves with uniforms, cloathing is to be provided for them according to orders which will be given to Lieutenant Colonel Graham.

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The Right Hon. the Governor General directs, that the following extract from a minute, seconded by the late Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, in the military department, on the 15th July 1799, be published in the Militia orderly books:—

Extract from the Commander in Chief's Minute, 15th July 1799.

European Militia of the Presidency of Fort William.

"The good behaviour and service performed by this honourable and spirited corps last war, makes it unnecessary to say any thing farther on the advantages which may be reaped from the institution; every attention should therefore be given towards perfecting them in their exercises and evolutions, that their conduct in the day of action may be answerable to the patriotic spirit which has enabled the gentlemen of this corps voluntarily to embrace the hardships of the soldier's life, and from a just sense of military duty, submit to the subordination requisite on service."

Indents for arms and accoutrements for the Militia to be sent to the military board, and to be countersigned by Lieut. Col. Graham.

Resolved, That Lieut. Shawe, of his Majesty 76th regiment, be appointed Adjutant to the Calcutta European Militia.

NEW ARRANGEMENTS

FOR THE ARMY.

P. O. M. C. *Nov.* 26, 1798.

Resolved, That the following alteration in the European establishment of corps, as directed in a letter from the Hon. Court of Directors, dated the 6th of June 1796, be published to the army, and carried into effect.

EUROPEAN ARTILLERY.

Each battalion of five companies to consist of 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 5 captains, 5 captain-lieutenants, 10 lieutenants, 15 lieutenant fireworkers, 26 serjeants, 25 corporals, 50 gunners, 350 matrosses, 10 drummers, with the staff as at present.

EUROPEAN INFANTRY.

To consist of two regiments of 12 companies each. Each regiment to consist of 1 colonel, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, (each to have a company), 7 captains, 1 captain-lieutenant, 25 lieutenants, 10 ensigns, 48 serjeants, 60 corporals, 26 drums and fifes, 1140 privates, with the staff as at present.

Resolved, That the 1st European regiment be formed into 12 companies, and denominated the 1st European regiment; and that the 3d European regiment be incorporated into the 2d; and that for this purpose the 2d European regiment do proceed to Berhampore, on the arrival of the 76th regiment at the presidency, from Dinapore.

NATIVE CAVALRY.

Each regiment of six troops to consist of 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 2 captains, 1 captain-lieutenant, 6 lieutenants, 6 cornets, 2 serjeants, 6 subidars, 12 jemidars, 24 havildars, 24 naicks, 6 trumpeters, 420 privates, 1 surgeon and 1 assistant surgeon, with the staff, &c. as at present; the whole corps to be commanded by a colonel-commandant.

The Hon. Court having also directed, that promotion in the army shall proceed upon the principles laid down in their dispatch, 8th January 1796, with the following qualifications; that in the infantry, the officers be promoted by

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by ſeniority, in their own reſpective regiments, to the rank of major, and afterwards to the higher ranks by ſeniority, in the whole corps; and in the cavalry, promotions will likewiſe proceed by ſeniority, in their reſpective regiments, to the rank of major, and afterwards to the higher ranks, by ſeniority in the whole corps.

Reſolved, That this arrangement be carried into effect in the following manner:

In the cavalry, with firſt major be ranged the firſt captain, the firſt captain-lieutenant, the firſt lieutenant, and the firſt cornet, the fifth captain, the fifth lieutenant, and the ninth cornet; and the ſecond major be ranged the ſecond captain, the ſecond captain-lieutenant, the ſecond lieutenant, the ſecond cornet, the ſixth lieutenant, the ſixth cornet, and the tenth lieutenant, the tenth cornet, and ſo on; and that in the infantry the arrangement be made in the ſame ſyſtematic order, viz. the nineteen ſenior majors be placed in the different regiments, and to the firſt major be added the twentieth major, the firſt captain, the firſt captain-lieutenant, the firſt lieutenant, the firſt enſign, alſo the twentieth captain, the twentieth lieutenant, and twentieth enſign; with the ſecond major be ranged the twenty-firſt major, the ſecond captain, the ſecond captain-lieutenant, the ſecond lieutenant, and the ſecond enſign, and alſo the twenty-firſt lieutenant, and twenty-firſt enſign, and ſo on.

Reſolved, That the ſenior major of cavalry, and the officers regimentally ranged with him, be poſted to the ſenior regiment; and the ſecond major and the officers regularly connected with him, to the ſecond regiment, and ſo on; and that in the infantry, the ſenior major, and the officers regimentally connected with him, be poſted to the firſt European regiment, as the ſenior corps of infantry; the ſecond major, with the officers regimentally connected with him, to the ſecond European regiment, as the next ſenior corps; and the third major, with the officers in regimental connection with him, to the firſt European regiment, and ſo on, in arithmetical progreſſion.

Reſolved, That previous to the regimental arrangement, the army liſt be completed; that promotion be made in the ſeveral ranks, to complete the new eſtabliſhment of the cavalry, to fill up vacancies, ariſing from retirement of officers, and to complete the two new regiments of native infantry; and that officers who have been ſtruck off, without the authority of the Court of Directors, be reſtored to their proper places.

Reſolved, That the ſeveral promotions requiſite for the above purpoſes, do take place from the 1ſt November 1798.

As the rank of cadets, of the ſeaſons 1796-7, is not yet adjuſted, reſolved, That thoſe of the former year, whoſe names appear on the imperfect liſt, received from the Honourable Court of Directors, be placed in the order in which they ſtand on that liſt; that thoſe whoſe certificates declared them to be for the year 1796, be placed at the bottom of the above-mentioned liſt, and the cadets of 1797 be placed in the order in which their reſpective arrivals have been notified in minutes of council; but that the relative rank of thoſe placed in the ſame regiment be hereafter adjuſted, in conformity to their ſtanding on the Court of Directors' liſt.

Reſolved, That the arrangements, when ſettled upon the above principles, be final and concluſive.

Reſolved,

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Resolved, That the exchange of officers, which must necessarily be occasioned by this arrangement, be gradually effected, as regiments happen to meet at or near the same station; and that until the Commander in Chief shall issue orders to join their regiments, which they may be posted in the regimental arrangement, they continue to do duty with the regiment in which they are now serving; but that their regimental promotion be regulated by casualties in the regiments to which they actually belong.

Resolved, That officers below the rank of major, of the same remove of promotion, be permitted to exchange with each other, for the limited period of four months; but that after the expiration of that time, officers exchanging must go into regiments, the youngest of their rank.

Resolved, That from and after the 1st of January next, the Vizier's allowance be in no case drawn for, but according to regimental rank.

Resolved, That from and after the ensuing month, no officer be entitled to draw batta, according to any brevet rank he may obtain prior to the notification of it, in general orders, in India.

Resolved, That the following letter, from the honourable Court of Directors, dated 6th June 1798, be published in general orders:

Par. 31 —In order to guard against the possibility of clandestine sales of commissions, we think proper to direct, that any officer who shall apply for leave to retire from the service, on the pay of his rank, shall declare, upon oath, that neither he himself, or any other person for him, to his knowledge, has received, or will in future receive, directly or indirectly, any compensation or gratification, pecuniary or otherwise, from any person whatsoever, for such his retirement; and if, notwithstanding this restriction, any such practice shall be discovered, the officer receiving, or permitting it to be received, any compensation for his retiring, shall not hereafter be entitled to his pay, on his retirement; but shall, nevertheless, be considered as entirely out of the service; and the officer or officers, who shall be found to have offered, or granted, any compensation or gratification, to them of higher rank, for retiring, shall not be allowed the benefit of promotion, thereby acquired; but it shall be competent for the government, under which the parties concerned served, to promote another officer to their rank, held in regiment or battalion, by the officer retiring.

We approve of the restrictions under which you promoted Colonel Martine to the rank of major general.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

79. And having taken into consideration the 11th, 12th, and 13th paragraphs of your military letter, of the 8th December 1796, we hereby confirm your resolutions, founded on the recommendation of the hospital board, that the whole medical corps shall continue to rise in one general list, subject as heretofore, to all civil and military duties, under the existing regulations; and that the surgeons attached to civil stations shall be considered as equally liable with those serving in the army, to be recalled upon military service; also that they shall on this footing be admitted to the indulgence of furlough and retiring.

80. The exclusion, however, from these indulgences, of those who,

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who, under the option of the regulations of the 24th of October 1788, had previouſly reſigned all claim to future promotion, is ſtrictly proper, as it was not our intention that medical gentlemen, who, under thoſe regulations, had for ſo great a length of time been, on their own option, releaſed from attending to the military duties of their profeſſion, ſhould now claim, or be allowed, the benefit held out by the new arrangement; it would operate as a ſerious hardſhip upon thoſe who have hitherto been attached to military ſtations; on the former ſyſtem, were gentlemen of the above deſcription permitted to aſſume the functions of thoſe ſtations, which they had formerly declined, as they will thereby ſupercede thoſe whoſe conſtant attention to military duties entitled them to the advantages now aſſigned them, but probably, for a conſiderable period, might keep them out of the ſituations and conſequent rewards they have ſo juſtly deſerved.

We therefore direct, that the regulations of October 1788 be adhered to, in reſpect to any ſurgeon or aſſiſtant-ſurgeon, who may hereafter decline taking upon him the duties of the military line of the profeſſion, when called on for that purpoſe.

82. You have already been adviſed of our reſolution, as to the pay on furlough granted to head ſurgeons, which is conformable to what you have ſuggeſted in the 27th paragraph; and with reſpect to your recommendation, for allowing the pay of lieutenant-colonel to the members of the medical board, when on furlough, we ſhall not object to it; the other points relative to theſe two deſcriptions of our medical ſervants, recommended in the ſame paragraph, have alſo our approbation.

FURLOUGH.

88. We cannot give our conſent to the extenſion of indulgence, of retiring from the ſervice, with the pay of the ſonaut rupees fifty per month, to conductors of ordnance, as adviſed in the 128th and 129th paragraphs of your military letter of the 28th Auguſt 1797.

90. Having conſidered the applications of the chaplains at your preſidency (referred to in your letters of the 30th July and 31ſt Dec. 1796,) to be allowed the benefit of pay on furlough, and retirement from the ſervice, we have come to the following reſolutions thereon.

91. That chaplains attached to the army, or military ſtations, be allowed to come home on furlough, for three years, with the full pay of their correſponding rank on the military eſtabliſhment, viz. that of captain, as fixed on by your reſolutions in the caſe of the Rev. Mr. Löftie.

92. That no military chaplain ſhall be permitted to come home on furlough, who has not been reſident in India ſeven years, unleſs in caſes of certified ill health.

93. The proportion of military chaplains, to be permitted to come home on furlough, to be left to the diſcuſſion of the reſpective governments of India.

RETIRING FROM THE SERVICE.

94. The military chaplains, after eighteen years ſervice in India, three years on furlough incluſive, be allowed to retire from the ſervice.

95. That the pay to military chaplains retiring, be the ſame as that allowed them when on furlough, viz. captains pay, or ten ſhillings per day.

96. That

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96. That no chaplain be allowed to retire on such pay, who has not served ten years at a military station.

97. That no chaplain be allowed to retire on such pay, who does not produce ample testimony of his having discharged his duty as a clergyman, faithfully and diligently, and also of his good conduct and behaviour in general; these testimonials to be transmitted through the government, under which the chaplains were serving, with the opinion of such government thereon.

99. The great benefit to the service, by the indulgence granted to officers, of returning after a certain number of years on their pay, must be a sufficient proof of the attention we have shewn to their comfort and happiness; and in order still farther to impress this sentiment, and to afford every assistance to officers who, from ill health, may not be able to continue in India, the time prescribed in the regulations on this head, we have consented to an extension of the indulgence, in the following manner, viz. that without requiring any specified period of service, every officer who has, by regular promotion, attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, major, captain or captain-lieutenant, and whose ill state of health renders it impossible for him to continue to serve in India, be allowed to retire from the service, on the half pay of his rank.

100. And as cases may occur, where the constitution of some of our officers may not be able to support the climate of India, for a period sufficient to their obtaining promotion above the rank of a subaltern, we have agreed to permit a lieutenant, in this predicament, after having served thirteen years, to retire on the half pay of their respective ranks.

101. If any officer of the rank of lieutenant, whose constitution may be impaired so as to prevent the possibility of his continuing in India, has not served the period prescribed above, he may be permitted to retire from the service, on the half pay of ensign.

102. Provided in every instance of officers retiring, under the conditions above specified, the government in India, and the Court of Directors, shall be satisfied that such officer's intention of retiring from the service is founded upon a real inability, from ill health, of his longer continuing in the service, and does not arise from caprice, or any other cause, which might render the provision to be made for him, by the foregoing regulations, unnecessary.

103. For this purpose, it will be indispensably necessary that the most ample certificates should be required from every officer wishing to avail himself of the indulgence now proposed to be granted.

104. In every instance of officers wishing to avail themselves of these indulgencies, the rules laid down in the former part of this letter, relative to the payments, or offers of payment from officers, next in succession, in order to induce their superiors to retire, must be applied.

105. And in all cases of officers retiring, their pay or half pay is to be the same as that of officers of infantry, as prescribed in our separate letter, of the 8th January 1796, under this head.

107. And as we have been informed that general officers or colonels, in command of regiments, battalions or corps, do not consider themselves called upon, under the regulations respecting furlough or retirement, to make such declaration within that period, we think

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think it neceſſary to ſtate explicitly, that all officers, of whatever rank or deſcription, are to abide by the rules preſcribed on this ſubject.

RATES OF PASSAGE MONEY.

108. You have already been informed of the regulations on this ſubject, eſtabliſhed by our order of the 27th July 1796, ſince which we have thought it proper to direct the ſum allowed to be taken by the commanders of our ſhips, for the paſſage and accommodation of their tables, homeward bound, of ſuch ſubaltern officers, aſſiſtant ſurgeons, and cadets, as may return to Europe by order of government, expreſsly for the recovery of their health, ſhall be reduced to 1000 ſicca rupees.

ALLOWANCE OF PASSAGE MONEY TO SUBALTERN OFFICERS.

109. We approve of the regulations you have adopted on the 29th July 1796, relative to the allowance of paſſage money to ſubaltern officers returning to Europe, for the benefit of their health, upon the certificate preſcribed, as far as regards the ſtate of their health, including ſuch as held only the brevet rank of captain, and of your reſolution of extending this allowance to ſubaltern officers of his Majeſty's regiments ſerving in India, who may be under the neceſſity of coming home, on account of ſickneſs.

110. But we do not think it neceſſary to inſert on the declaration, reſpecting their property, by your regulations of the ſame date.

111. We have reſolved, That no ſubaltern officer, who left India prior to the 1ſt June 1796, from which the operation of the new arrangements, as to pay, took effect, ſhall be allowed this indulgence of paſſage money.

112. We have fixed the ſum to be allowed to ſubaltern officers, coming home for ill health, from your eſtabliſhment, ſubſequent to the above period, at ſicca rupees 1000.

114. We ſhall conclude with ſome remarks, on the very extraordinary conduct of ſeveral of our officers, in their addreſs to you, on the new arrangement of the 8th January 1796.

115. When we conſider the liberal principles of that arrangement, formed as it was, in concert with his Majeſty's miniſters, and who united with us in endeavouring to remove every reaſonable cauſe of complaint; when we recollected, that in many inſtances indulgences were granted by it, which had not been aſked, and which could not have been expected; when we advert to the pecuniary ſacrifices made by the Company to promote the comfort and happineſs, of the whole of our Indian army; we muſt repeat in the terms of the concluding part, of our ſeparate letter of the 8th January 1796, that we had the moſt ſanguine expectations that all diſcontent would be done away, that our military ſervants would feel duly impreſſed with a ſenſe of the protection extended to them, and the great regard ſhewn to their intereſt, and that they would conſider with candour, the important duration made in the ſervice in general, in credit, emoluments, and reſpectability, however ſome few individuals might not feel their perfect ſituation exactly what they wiſhed.

116. To theſe ſentiments, on the moſt mature deliberation, we adhered, and we are convinced, every ingenuous, every reaſonable

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mind, will concur in them. What therefore muſt have been our ſurpriſe and indignation, to find theſe our well-founded expectations diſappointed, to learn, that ſome of our officers, inſtead of receiving the material benefits and advantage held out to them by the new army regulations, with gratitude and reſpect, had preſumed to arraign thoſe regulations, in a ſtyle of diſpatch and intemperance highly unbecoming the ſituation in which they ſtand, to thoſe who had preſcribed them; that ſome had even dared to inſinuate, that we had been actuated by unworthy motives, in forming ſome part of the regulations, and that other parts, the moſt beneficial to their happineſs and intereſt, had been treated with contempt or indifference; in ſhort in their unfounded animadverſions, they have totally loſt ſight of ſubordination and ſubmiſſion, and even betrayed ſymptoms of diſaffection to our ſervice.

117. When we examine the ſituation of thoſe who thus, forgetful of their duty, have annexed their ſignature to addreſſes of this complexion, we are concerned to find amongſt them, ſeveral whoſe immediate advantage muſt follow the carrying into effect the arrangement determined; and while, on the other hand, young men who had juſt entered the ſervice have preſumed to call in queſtion the principles of regulations, which it was ſcarcely poſſible they could comprehend.

118. It is, nevertheleſs, ſome conſolation to us to obſerve, that the number of officers, to whom theſe remarks immediately apply, is comparatively ſmall; and we are ſtill willing to perſuade ourſelves, that on more mature reflection, expreſſed with a conviction of the ſubſtantial benefits of the new arrangements, thoſe few will ſee the impropriety of their conduct, and return to a juſt ſenſe of their duty, ſo to adopt the language of the Governor-General, in his minute of council of the 25th June 1796. We doubt not, that experience will prove to the officers of the Bengal army, that their collective intereſts have been more conſulted in the arrangements, than they appear at preſent to underſtand.

119. From theſe conſiderations, we are induced to draw a veil over the paſt conduct of thoſe officers, whoſe addreſſes are the ſubject of the foregoing animadverſions, which is ſo much our due from them in every view; and to deter our military ſervants from ſuch proceedings in future, we hereby direct, that if any of our officers hereafter preſume to addreſs themſelves to our government, in an offenſive, intemperate, or diſreſpectful ſtyle, upon the ſubject of orders received from us, ſuch officers, whatever be their rank and ſervice, be immediately diſmiſſed from our employ, and ſent to England.

It being the deſire of the Commander in Chief to preſerve to regimental and battalion ſtaff officers, ſituations correſponding with thoſe they now hold, he thinks it neceſſary to announce the principle which is intended to be followed.

In regiments where there is only the requiſite number of the ſeveral deſcriptions of ſtaff officers, if their rank will admit of it, will be confirmed in their preſent rank and ſtaff ſituations; and when there is an exceſs of any deſcription, the preference will be given to the officers who have held the ſtaff ſituation for the longeſt period, not acting, but fully appointed;

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ed; and the permanent nomination of ſtaff officers will be deferred until the period ſhall have elapſed, in which exchanges were allowed.

Officers deſirous of exchanging with one another, upon the principle laid down in the minutes of council, are to tranſmit their application to the Adjutant-General, to be laid before the Commander in Chief, the conſent of both parties, declared under their reſpective ſignatures. The period for the receipt of ſuch applications will cloſe on the 1ſt April 1799.

G. O. *Dec.* 6, 1798. The 16th and 17th regiments are to be raiſed in the following places:

The 1ſt battalion of the 16th regiment, at Juanpore; 2d battalion of the 16th regiment, at Burragong; 1ſt battalion of the 17th regiment, at Gahyah; 2d battalion of the 17th regiment, at Dinapore.

The 16th regiment is to be dependent on Chunar, and the 17th on Dinapore. The facings of the 16th regiments, will be white, and the 17th, yellow.

December 15, 1798.

G. O. The Commander in Chief contemplated with peculiar ſatisfaction the ſpirit and alacrity with which the native officers and ſepoys compoſing the three battalions of Bengal volunteers, ſo fully and freely meet the wiſhes of government, in coming forward to proceed by ſea, when the ſtate had occaſion for their ſervices; and he has obſerved with additional pleaſure, the ſteadineſs with which they have waited the time of embarkation; thoſe high praiſeworthy proofs of their affection and attachment to the Britiſh government, and the Eaſt India Company, he conſiders as an earneſt of their ſpirited and zealous exertions on every occaſion which may be afforded them of diſplaying their conſtancy and courage.

He deſires that theſe his ſentiments may be explained to the volunteers, previous to their embarkation.

G. O. M. C. 21ſt *Dec.* 1798. The managers of the Military Orphan Inſtitution having repreſented to the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, that the contributions for the ſupport of the inſtitution from ſurgeons and aſſiſtant-ſurgeons who may occaſionally be appointed to civil ſtations, have hitherto been diſcontinued from the time ſuch appointments took place, by which means very conſiderable arrears have accumulated; his Lordſhip in Council thinks it proper to notify in public orders, that all ſurgeons, or aſſiſtant-ſurgeons, included under the orders of the Honourable the Court of Directors, contained in the 54th paragraph of their general letter, dated 14th March 1796, are bound, without any option, to contribute to the fund, notwithſtanding the temporary ſervice of any of them in the civil department.

With a view therefore to facilitate the payment of the monthly contributions of ſurgeons, or aſſiſtant-ſurgeons, occaſionally on duty at civil ſtations, into the treaſury of the Orphan Inſtitution;

The Governor-General in Council directs all public officers, from whom the ſurgeons, or aſſiſtant-ſurgeons, attached to civil ſtations, receive their ſalaries and allowances, to make the authorized ſtoppages from the monthly allowances, viz. ſix ſonaut rupees from a full ſurgeon; and three ſonaut rupees from an aſſiſtant-ſurgeon; and all ſuch public officers making the aforeſaid ſtoppages, are direct-

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ed to bring the amount to credit in their respective monthly cash accounts.

His Lordship in Council farther directs the Accountant-General to report to government, the amount so brought to credit quarterly: and that upon the receipt of such report, an order be issued on the general treasury, in favour of the treasurer of the Orphan Society, for the sum received in each quarter.

By the Right Honourable the Governor-General.

Fort William, Dec. 21, 1798.

The Governor General has observed, with the utmost satisfaction, the zeal and alacrity with which all ranks of the European, Armenian, and Portugueze inhabitants of the town of Calcutta, have applied themselves to learn the use of arms, since the re-establishment of the corps of European militia.

The regular and assiduous attention of the infantry and cavalry comprising this respectable corps, will soon render it an important addition to the military force of this presidency, and will contribute essentially to the security of the seat of the supreme government of the British possessions in India.

The Governor-General, being on the eve of his departure for Fort St. George, takes this opportunity of declaring his public approbation of exertions so honourable to the character of this settlement, and so conformable to that spirit which now secures the British empire in Europe against the combined efforts of all its enemies.

All the officers, bearing commissions in the militia, having, without exception, manifested every possible degree of activity and diligence in the formation and discipline of their respective companies and troops, the Governor-General will not attempt to discriminate the merits of individuals belonging to the corps; but it is his duty to express a particular sense of the service rendered by Lieutenant-Colonel Welsh, of the 2d regiment of native cavalry, in forming the corps of militia cavalry, which has derived great advantage from the valuable instructions of that respectable officer.

The Governor-General is persuaded, that no incitement is necessary to sustain the zeal which now animates the whole settlement; but he cannot withhold, from the gentlemen who have exerted themselves on this occasion, the accompanying testimony of the value of their services, contained in a letter from the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, which did not reach Fort William until some weeks after the re-establishment of the Calcutta European Militia had taken place.

Extract from a Letter from the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, to the Right Hon. the Governor-General, dated the 16th June 1798.

"In consequence of the menaces and arrogant language of our enemy, threatening, by an invasion of our own island, at once to strike at the whole vitals of our strength and power, a spirit of zeal, ardent loyalty, and national pride, has been excited, to a degree unequalled at any period of our history; and the consequence of it is, that all ranks and degrees of men are coming forward, to be trained in arms, determined to repel every attempt to insult our coasts, or to disturb the internal peace and prosperity of the country. We are, in truth, become an armed nation; and, in addition to all our other advantages, have formed a bulwark of internal

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internal ſecurity, founded upon the voluntary zeal, loyalty and valour of the country. I wiſh earneſtly to urge your Lordſhip to take this ſtatement under your conſideration, as applicable to the ſituation of India. If it be true that a ſucceſsful invaſion of this country would prove fatal to us, in every one intereſt worthy to beſtow a thought upon, it is ſtill more peculiarly true, with regard to his Majeſty's ſubjects ſettled in India. A ſucceſsful attack upon our poſſeſſions in India, and the overthrow of the Britiſh intereſts there, would be a death's wound to every proſpect which any civil ſervant of the Company can entertain. Why then are not they, ſo far as is conſiſtent with their other avocations and duties, to devote ſome leiſure hours in each week, in order to learn the uſe of arms, and to form themſelves into corps, under the authority of the government, for the purpoſe of adding to your European ſtrength in India, and preparing themſelves, in caſe of the laſt extremity, to ſacrifice their lives, in defence of thoſe intereſts, upon which every thing eſſential in life muſt depend. This is an advantage which, in the day of difficulty, no other European nation, but ourſelves, have the means of reſorting to."

Head Quarters, Calcutta, Jan. 16, 1799.

The Commander in Chief, thinking it neceſſary to define the nature of the reports that are to be made by the ſurgeons of his Majeſty's regiments ſerving under the ſeveral preſidencies in India, to Dr. Ewart, phyſician to the forces and inſpector-general of hoſpitals on the Iſland of Ceylon, is pleaſed to order, that the inſtructions from the army medical board to the regimental and aſſiſtant-ſurgeons, which are referred to in his Majeſty's warrant of the 30th of November 1796, be their guide, as far as thoſe inſtructions can be applied to the ſervice in India; and it is particularly directed that, agreeably to theſe inſtructions, a book be kept at every regimental hoſpital, for the admiſſion and diſcharge, and for the caſes of patients, in which the names, age, diſeaſe and treatment, ſhould be fully inſerted in all ſituations, where the nature of the ſervice on which the regiment may be employed will admit of it.

A report is to be made on the 1ſt of every month to Dr. Ewart, of the ſtate of the ſick under the care of the regimental ſurgeons reſpectively, according to the form which has been already communicated to them, together with any obſervations upon particular caſes; and eſpecially if a contagious or epidemic fever prevails, it is required that the ſurgeon, or aſſiſtant, ſhall give his opinion fully, of the probable cauſe, and whether ſuch cauſe is removeable, and alſo an account of the treatment.

On Thurſday morning, the 24th inſtant, for the firſt time, the Calcutta European Militia was drawn up in line under arms; and to do but juſtice to the corps, we muſt add, it exhibited a very martial and ſteady appearance.

In conſequence of the departure of Lieutenant Colonel Welſh, for Europe; and in gratitude for the aſſiſtance the militia cavalry have received from that gentleman's inſtructions, the corps was early on Thurſday morning, the 24th inſt. on the parade, and moſt of the gentlemen dreſſed in their full uniform; a diſtinction intended, it would appear, to enhance, if any circumſtance could, the value of a

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token of esteem, offered by the body at large, to Colonel Welsh, for his polite and unremitting attention; and as a proof of the high consideration they have of the value of his services.

After an appropriate address, Captain Farquharson presented an elegant gold-mounted sword to Colonel Welsh, who declared, upon receiving it, that he felt particular pleasure in having been at all instrumental in promoting the acquisition of that discipline the corps had attained, by their diligent unremitting attention; and concluded by observing the satisfaction he experienced, in receiving so honourable a pledge of esteem from the gentlemen of the Calcutta cavalry.

Field Army After-Orders.

By Major General Sir J. Craig, K. B.

Camp Anoopsher, Jan. 24, 1799.

The army being on the point of separating, Major General Sir James Craig, feels infinite pleasure in bearing testimony to the uniform spirit of obedience, regularity and good conduct, by which it has been actuated during the period that it has been together under his command.

Lamenting as he does, that the retreat of the Prince, whose menaced invasion of these provinces called the army into the field, has deprived him of the honour of directing their exertions in a more active scene of hostility, it will, however, be with peculiar satisfaction, that he shall report to government, that his confidence in the gallantry that those exertions would have evinced, had they been called for, rests upon the certain foundation of the next best qualities of a soldier; it is amongst the licentious, the profligate, and the insolent alone, that cowardice is ever found to lurk.

This acknowledgement applies to all the officers in general, whose good conduct will ever be found to regulate that of their men. But Major General Sir James Craig wishes, in a particular manner, to explain his sense of the unremitting attention which has been shewn by Lieutenant Colonel Grueber, to the business of the command with which he has been charged, and to offer him his best thanks for it.

G. O. *Feb.* 11, 1799. Resolved, That the following paragraphs, of the Hon. Court of Directors' general letters, dated the 2d and 14th March 1798, be published for the information of the army.

General Letter, dated the 2d March, 1798.

Par. 9th. We have resolved, That promotion, in our military service, in consequence of officers who are in Europe retiring from the service, shall take place from the date of the general orders to be issued at our several presidencies, in consequence of our advising the retirement of officers in Europe, and that the pay and allowances of the advanced rank, shall commence from the same period.

General Letter, dated 14th March 1798.

Par. 3d. We now direct that all officers, in the predicament above-mentioned, who have had our permission to return to their duty, be posted to their proper stations in your army, on their arrival, according to their rank, conformably to our orders of the 27th July 1796, and all those who have been promoted to their prejudice, can only receive the pay and allowances of every kind, to which they

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they were entitled by the rank they held previous to ſuch their promotion, from the date of arrival of the officers who have been ſtruck off.

General Orders, by the Commander in Chief, Feb. 12, 1799.

The Commander in Chief is ſenſible that the 76th regiment was reviewed by him this morning under ſome diſadvantages, from the recent incorporation of a large number of drafts and the junction of many recruits, but he had not the leſs reaſon to be ſatisfied with its dreſs, its exerciſe, and its movements, which prove the great attention that had been paid to its diſcipline, and merits his thanks. He has great pleaſure in availing himſelf of this opportunity, previous to its embarkation for the coaſt, of expreſſing his fulleſt approbation of Major Muſgrave's management of the regiment, and of the good conduct of the corps ſince it has been in Bengal: and he aſſures himſelf, that that regiment will be conſidered a valuable acquiſition to any army, and that wherever it may be employed, the moſt uſeful ſervices will be derived from its ſpirit and diſcipline.

Fort William, Saturday, 16th Feb. 1799.

Extra General Orders by the Commander in Chief, Feb. 16, 1799.

The review of the artillery this morning at Dum Dum, was highly to the ſatisfaction of the Commander in Chief.

The appearance of the corps was ſoldier like, the men were quick and expert in the exerciſe of the guns, and the practice at the batteries was uncommonly correct. But the Commander in Chief obſerved, with peculiar pleaſure, the forward ſtate of the golundauz: the manner in which they are ſet up, together with the progreſs they have made in acquiring a knowledge of their duty as artillery-men, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, whilſt it manifeſts the unremitting and zealous attention of Colonel Green, and the other officers, affords the well grounded confidence, that the expectation formed of the utility of the eſtabliſhment will, with the ſame exertions at other ſtations as have been ſhewn at the head-quarters of the corps, be ultimately realized to the fulleſt extent.

The report made by the commanding officer, of the aſſiſtance which he has received from Adjutant Johnſton, in training the golundauz, does great credit to the abilities and aſſiduity of that officer.

General Orders by the Commander in Chief, 10th April, 1799.

The Commander in Chief having recently had occaſion to expreſs his ſatisfaction at the ſoldier-like appearance and proficiency in the duty of the European artillery at Dum Dum, does not think it neceſſary to go into a repetition of thoſe ſentiments; but he cannot, in juſtice to Colonel Greene, and the officers of artillery at Dum Dum, paſs over in ſilence the extraordinary improvement and rapid progreſs towards proficiency in every branch of their duty as artillery-men, which he witneſſed in the golundauz this morning.

The regularity and quickneſs of their firing, their expertneſs at the curtain practice, and their limbering and unlimbering the guns, are acquirements which, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, can only have been attained through the unremitting diligence of Colonel Greene, and the officers under him, and do infinite credit to their profeſſional

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ſkill and zeal for the public ſervice.

The artillery to ceaſe practice on the 14th inſtant, and march from Dum Dum, whenever the Hon. the Deputy Governor ſhall be pleaſed to give orders for their admiſſion into Fort William.

MADRAS.

The Right Honourable EDWARD *Lord* CLIVE, *Governor of Fort St. George.*
Lieutenant General GEORGE HARRIS, *Commander in Chief.*

General Orders, 24th April, 1798.—Monthly returns of the artillery, and of the field and garriſon ordnance, at the different ſtations, to be made to Major General Sydenham, until farther orders.

G. O. *May* 4.—Major Gen. Floyd deſires to expreſs to Col. Aſton, his officers and men, the ſatisfaction he this day received, on inſpecting the eight companies of his Majeſty's 12th regiment, at this ſtation. In the maſterly hands of their commanding officer, there is every reaſon to expect, that his Majeſty's 12th infantry will, whenever they are called upon, be ready and diſpoſed to renew, in the eaſt, the glories of Minden and Gibraltar.

May 5.—Major General Floyd, having this day inſpected the Hon. Company's 36th batt. N. I. commanded by Major Innes, extremely approves the remarkably good appearance and ſmartneſs of the batt. as well as the general good performance in field exerciſe, notwithſtanding the duties it has performed while raiſing and forming: he finds, on perſonal inquiry, that every man receives his full pay, and all that he is entitled to.

The General is ſatisfied with the appearance of the detachment of the Hon. Company's 1ſt batt. of artillery, and laſcars, attached at this ſtation. Whatever claims of cloathing or half-mounting they may have, ſhall be duly allowed them, upon their explaining them clearly to their commanding officer, who will ſtate them to the General.

The General finds the ſtore department, under the deputy commiſſary, in excellent order, and well kept.

G. O. *May* 17.—Major General Bridges was highly gratified with the ſoldier-like appearance of the troops aſſembled under arms for review this morning, and is equally well pleaſed at the ſteady and prompt performance of what was exclu ively demanded of the ſeveral details. A teſtimony ſo convincing of the diligence of every officer in command, and of attention in the ſubordinate ranks, muſt be ever deſerving of the warmeſt applauſe; an acknowledgment which the General begs leave to accompany with his beſt thanks. Uniting the ſeveral detachments, and ſo ſpeedily reducing them to one principle of diſcipline ſuitable to the occaſion for which the whole were likely to be required, is very evidently the effect of great and zealous exertion; which, the General is happy to obſerve, has ariſen from the ſolicitude of Lieut. Colonel Muat, for the future operations of the troops now aſſembled for ſervice, which could only have been

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been expected to follow a timely preparation.

May 22.—The Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to direct, that the new rates of pay to serjeants of European infantry, shall be drawn as subsistence for the serjeants attached to the battalions of native infantry in the abstracts of the companies in which they are returned, and that the staff pay to the serjeant-major of a native infantry batt. shall be 4 pagodas per month, and to the quarter-master serjeants 3 pagodas per month, to be drawn in the abstracts of the adjutants, and to commence from the 1st of March 1798, from which period the new rates of subsistence to the Hon. Company's effective troops were ordered to take place.

G. O. *Madras*, *Aug.* 15, 1798.—Effective native non-commissioned officers are allowed for the Madras battalion, in the room of those at present with the corps drawn from the non-effective establishment.

The Governor in Council is also pleased to allow five sepoy recruits to be attached to each company of the Madras battalion.

G. O. *Aug.* 17.—Lieut. Colonel George Hart, having returned to India, is to resume his office and situation as Deputy Paymaster General to his Majesty's troops serving for this presidency.

Fort St. George, Oct. 14, 1798.

GENERAL ORDERS, BY GOVERNMENT.

The remainder of his Majesty's 36th regiment to embark from the North Glacis, at six o'clock tomorrow morning, for Europe, on the ships under dispatch, according to the distribution they have received from the Deputy Adjutant General.

This occasion cannot fail to recal the memory of those glorious and important services which have been rendered by this gallant corps to the British Empire in India—services for which the Right Hon. the Governor in Council offers the warmest thanks of this government to Lieutenant-Colonel Burne, the officers and men of the regiment. The Governor and Council, impressed with a just sense of the discipline and hardiness of the men, and of the experience and gallantry of the officers, cannot but feel sincere regret at the loss which the army under this government is about to sustain, in the departure of this efficient and distinguished corps.

By Order of the Right Hon. the President in Council,

J. WEBBE, *Sec. to Gov.*

Head-quarters, Choultry Plain, Sept. 24, 1798.

GENERAL ORDERS.

In taking leave of Lieutenant-Colonel Burne, the officers and men of his Majesty's 36th regiment, the Commander in Chief cannot refrain from expressing his sincere regret at losing from under his command a corps so eminently distinguished for important services in the field, and for discipline, order, and regularity in every situation. Of a regiment whose merits are so well known, it is unnecessary to say much; their gallant exertions will receive their best reward in the applause and gratitude of their country.

The Commander in Chief cannot more strongly evince his high opinion of this corps, than by exhorting the men, wheresoever their King and Country may hereafter require their services, to make it their first care to preserve unblemished the name and reputation they

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they have acquired in the 36th regiment.

(Signed) KEITH YOUNG, A. D.
Adjutant General.

[In publiſhing the above Orders reſpecting the 36th regiment, we hope it will not be deemed preſumptuous in us to add our own humble tribute of heartfelt applauſe to a corps whoſe eminent ſervices have been ſo honourably atteſted.]

The 36th, during ſixteen years of hard ſervice in the Carnatic and Myſore, was no leſs diſtinguiſhed for the ſtrict diſcipline and intrepid bravery of the privates, than for the gallant ſpirit and proud honour of the officers. The glories they gained in war were never ſullied by any of thoſe exceſſes which conqueſt too frequently gives riſe to; the good order they preſerved in peace was never diſturbed by any of thoſe acts which idleneſs is apt to engender. In all ſituations, they ſtedfaſtly maintained the uniformity of veteran ſoldiers, and the generous ardour of Engliſhmen.

Fort St. George, Dec. 11, 1798.

Whereas it has been deemed expedient, that the corps of Militia, compoſed of the Honourable Company's civil ſervants, and other inhabitants of the Fort and Black Town, &c. ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed and embodied, under ſuch regulations as the Right Hon. the Governor in Council ſhall direct, his Lordſhip in Council, relying on the loyalty and public ſpirit of the inhabitants in general, hereby requires all the European, Armenian, and Portugueze inhabitants of the Fort, Black Town, &c. to aſſemble for the purpoſe of being duly muſtered and enrolled, at the following times and places.

The Company's civil ſervants, free merchants, and gentlemen of the recorder's court, on the nabob's baſtion, on Monday next the 17th inſtant, at ſeven o'clock in the morning:

The European inhabitants not comprized in the foregoing claſſes, and the Armenian inhabitants, on the north glacis, on Tueſday the 18th inſtant, at ſix o'clock in the morning; and

The Portugueze inhabitants, on Wedneſday morning, the 19th inſtant, at the ſame time and place.

The proper officers will attend on the above occaſions, for the purpoſe of muſtering and enrolling the ſeveral perſons aſſembled, in conſequence of this proclamation.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.

J. WEBBE, *Sec. to Gov.*

January 29, 1799.—The 2d battalion, 3d regiment native infantry, was reviewed by Major General Floyd; after the review, a very elegant breakfaſt was given by Col. Oliver at his garden-houſe, at which General Floyd and all the officers of the garriſon were preſent. The following is a copy of the general orders of the 29th.

"Major General Floyd deſires to expreſs to Lieutenant Colonel Oliver, his officers, and men, that he is extremely ſatisfied with the appearance and performance of the 2d battalion, 3d regiment, at the review this day: the General conſiders the corps as very fit to be preſented, either to friend or foe, and will report to head quarters accordingly."

In the afternoon a very ſplendid entertainment was given by General Floyd to the officers of the 2d battalion and ſeveral other gentlemen, and the evening paſt with that harmony and conviviality, which General Floyd knows ſo well the art of diffuſing among his gueſts.

On the 1ſt, the battalion marched

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ed for Wallajabad; and from the camp at Seringham the officers sent the following letter:

"*To Major General* FLOYD, *&c.*

"SIR,

"We the Officers of the 2d battalion, 3d native regiment, impressed with a due sense of your polite conduct in a private capacity, and feeling ourselves further gratified by the flattering terms in which the corps was mentioned in G. O. beg leave to return you our sincere thanks. Should it ever be our good fortune to be placed again under your command, we hope to merit a continuance of that approbation.

"We have the honour to remain,

"Sir,

"With respect and attachment,

"Your faithful humble Servants, &c."

General Floyd immediately returned the following polite answer:

"Tritchinopoly, Dec. 2.

"*To Lieut. Colonel* OLIVER, *and Officers of the 2d batt. 3d regiment.*

"GENTLEMEN,

"Your letter of yesterday's date is extremely gratifying; my attentions to you in private were the consequences of your amiable manners; and my public opinion of the corps is founded entirely on the good order, zeal, and alacrity, observable through all ranks; and I shall be proud to serve with the 2d battalion, 3d regiment, on any occation.

"I have the honour to be,

"Gentlemen,

"Your faithful humble Servant,

"J. FLOYD."

"*To Major General* BRIDGES,

"*Commanding the Northern Division of the Army.*

"SIR,

"We the Officers in the garrison at Masulipatam, hearing of your being ordered to join the army assembling in the Carnatic, cannot allow you to depart, without wishing you all manner of happiness and success, and without expressing our sincere regret, at parting with a commanding officer, who knows so well to blend the necessary authority of military discipline with the feelings and manners of the gentleman.

"We have the honour to be,

"With respect,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient and most

"humble Servants, &c."

"Masulipatam, Dec. 29, 1798."

To Lieut. Colonel HAMILTON,

And the Officers in the Garrison of Masulipatam.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I have been honoured with pour polite address, and though I cannot dissemble that in leaving this place I am gratified with a more anxious desire, yet I can with truth assert, that my regret is sincere in taking leave of those who have, by their exertions, rendered my employment less difficult in the execution, by the prompt and cheerful discharge of their respective duties.

"Where it has been found consistent with the principles of my duty, I have always made accommodation a part in the regulation of my conduct, and I have infinite pleasure in this opportunity of declaring, that if that part of my deportment has met with your approbation, it has been merely the effect of your own merits.

"I have the honour to be,

"With sincere regard,

"Gentlemen,

"Your most obedient and faithful

"humble Servant,

"T. BRIDGES.

"Masulipatam, 30th Dec. 1798."

To

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To Captain ROMAINE,

Commanding the Honourable Company's ship Cornwallis.

" SIR,

" The Officers of the 2d diviſion, 2d regiment, European infantry, being ſenſible of your attention to them during their paſſage from Maſulipatam to Madras, requeſt the favour of your acceptance of the accompanying plate, ſuch only as can be immediately procured, as a memorial of their ſenſe of your politeneſs to them, and of your care of the men under their charge, and beg leave to apologize that the ſuddenneſs of your departure will not admit of beſpeaking any thing more agreeable to their wiſhes.

" We remain, Sir,

" Your moſt obliged and obedient

" Servants,

" Roſs Lang, *Major.*
" T. Green, *Captain.*
" R. Robinet, *Captain.*
" W. Hawes, *Lieutenant.*
" J. Stonard, *Lieutenant.*
" F. James, *Lieutenant.*
" J. Young, *Lieutenant.*
" T. Coſmo Gordon, *Lieut.*

" Fort St. George, 24th Jan. 1799."

To Major Ross LANG,

And the Officers commanding the 2d diviſion, 2d regiment, European infantry.

" GENTLEMEN,

" I am at a loſs for words to acknowledge the diſtinguiſhed favour you have done me, by your very polite letter of yeſterday's date, accompanied with a very handſome preſent of plate, wherein you are pleaſed to expreſs your approbation of my conduct to you, and the troops under your charge, during the paſſage from Maſulipatam to Madras, on board the Honourable Company's armed ſhip Cornwallis, under my command. I have to beg you will accept of my moſt ſincere and grateful acknowledgment for ſo high a mark of approbation, which will leave a laſting impreſſion on my memory of the favour done me, and ever afford me the pleaſing recollection of the pleaſure I received during the time I was honoured with your company on board the Cornwallis.

" I have the honour to be,

" Gentlemen,

" Your moſt obliged and obedient

" Servant,

" G. ROMAINE.

" Fort St. George, 25th Jan. 1799."

G. O. *Jan.* 29, 1799.—The Governor General, with particular ſatisfaction, expreſſes his public approbation of the diſtinguiſhed appearance of the body guard, at the review of yeſterday.

The admirable diſcipline of this troop, the correctneſs of its manœuvres, and its perfection in the new ſword exerciſe, exceed the expectations which its long eſtabliſhed reputation had induced the Governor General to form, before he had ſeen the troop.

The Governor General thinks it his duty to declare that the utmoſt degree of credit is due to Captain Grant, for having produced ſo ſtriking an example of the perfection to which the native cavalry in the Honourable Company's ſervice may be brought, by the diligence and attention of their officers.

BOMBAY.

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BOMBAY.

The Honourable JONATHAN DUNCAN, *Governor. Lieutenant-General* JAMES STUART, *Commander in Chief.*

MINUTES OF COUNCIL.

March 30, 1798.

The Commander in Chief delivers in the following extract of a minute of his, laid before the committee of government in Malabar, in Auguſt laſt, as involving a ſubject ſtill requiring the deciſion of the board.

Reſolved, That in conformity to the propoſition contained in the above minute, the four companies of Locals, at preſent entertained under the Reſident at Fort Victoria, be diſbanded, and an independent company of one ſubidar, one jemidar, five havildars, one drum, one five, and 100 rank and file, be formed in their ſtead, under the command of an European officer.

April 6.—Reſolved, at the recommendation of the Commander in Chief, that Capt. J. W. Morris be appointed to the command of this company, and that it be regularly muſtered at Fort Victoria by the Reſident.

April 6.—The ſoldier-like appearance, ſteadineſs, and diſcipline of his Majeſty's 75th regiment, at the review this morning, afforded the Commander in Chief great ſatisfaction: the correct manner in which they went through their manœuvres, ſhewed at the ſame time the diligence of the officers, and the attention and diſcipline of the men. From theſe circumſtances, and the good order of the whole, the Commander in Chief has every reaſon to be pleaſed with the 75th regiment, and requeſts Major Cumine, the officers and ſoldiers of that corps, to accept his particular thanks. The Commander in Chief has likewiſe great pleaſure in expreſſing his ſatisfaction at the appearance of his Majeſty's 33d regiment, commanded by Lieut. Matthews, which does that officer much credit.

Extracts from the Hon. Company's Commands, in their Military Letter, dated May 23, 1798.

Par. 6th.—Under the very peculiar circumſtances mentioned in Col. Balfour's letter of the 30th Sept. 1796, we confirm the appointment of Mr. R. Cadman on your military eſtabliſhment, with the rank you have aſſigned him.

24th.—In the military letter from your preſidency, of the 15th Jan. 1796, a claim of the cadets of 1791, to rank above the country cadets of that year, was ſubmitted to our deciſion; but we obſerve, that ſhortly after, the queſtion was decided at Bombay in favour of the claim, without waiting the iſſue of the reference. But as this deciſion militates againſt a former determination of your Board, of the 6th Oct. 1795, of which, in the 18th par. of our letter of the 17th Feb. 1797, we ſignified our approbation, as being agreeable to the ſpirit of our orders of the 15th April, 1795; we hereby revoke the determination of the 25th Jan. 1796, and confirm the former deciſion of the 6th Oct. 1795.

65th.—Lieut. Col. B. Boles, Capt. J. Baird, and brevet Capt. Grant, have our permiſſion to return

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turn to their respective ranks this season.

66th.—We have resolved, That Mr. A. Aitcheson, who was appointed a cadet on your establishment, and whose rank was to be settled at a future period, do take rank in your army, according to the date of his commission, as an ensign.

G. O. *Dec.* 10, 1798. The Commander in Chief has much satisfaction in publishing in orders the copy of a letter from his Excellency the Governor of Ceylon, conveying a very honourable testimony of the conduct of the grenadier battalion, during their service on that island; and he is happy to embrace this opportunity of expressing his own high sense of the merits of that distinguished corps.

"*To the Hon.* J. DUNCAN, *Esq.*
"President and Governor in Council, Bombay.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to inform you, that the detachment of grenadiers from your presidency, which has been stationed on Ceylon since the capture of Columbo, embarked yesterday on the Hon. Company's ship Belvidere, for Bombay; Captain Christie having then reported his ship ready to receive the troops.

"The reports which I have received from the officer commanding on this island, prior to my arrival, lead me to regret the departure of this valuable corps from my government; and I have particular pleasure, Sir, in stating to you, that the conduct of the Bombay grenadiers, on active service here, has been uniformly zealous and spirited, and that in the common course of duty, have been remarkable for the regularity of their behaviour.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient and faithful humble Servant,

(Signed) "F. NORTH."

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CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

BENGAL.

MR. Charles Lloyd to be Affiſtant to the Secretary to Government, in the Judicial and Revenue Departments.

Mr. Thomas Frederick Bevan to be Regiſter of the Dewanny Adawlut, and Affiſtant to the Magiſtrate of Berbhoom.

Mr. James Bell to be Affiſtant to the Regiſter of the Dewanny Adawlut, and Second Affiſtant to the Magiſtrate of the Zillah of Sylhet.

Mr. Thomas Palmer to be Regiſter of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Court of Circuit for the Diviſion of Benares.

Mr. James Pattle to be Regiſter of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Court of Circuit for the Diviſion of Moorſhedabad.

Mr. Edward Cuthbert to be Affiſtant to ditto.

Mr. James Law to be Regiſter of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Court of Circuit for the Diviſion of Calcutta.

Meindeh Ally Khan to be the Company's Reſident at Buſhire.

Mr. E. P. Middleton to be Commercial Reſident at Commercooley.

Mr. C. M. Ricketts to be Head Affiſtant to the Commercial Reſident at Dacca.

Mr. H. Parry to be Affiſtant to the Collector of Tipperah.

Mr. J. W. Grant to be Affiſtant to the Judge and Magiſtrate of the Zillah of Juanpore.

Mr. William Lockhart to be Affiſtant to the Collector of Jeſſore.

Mr Edmund Parker to be Regiſter of the Dewanny Adawlut, and Affiſtant to the Magiſtrate of the Zillah of Backergunge.

Captain James Achilles Kirkpatrick to be Reſident at Hyderabad.

Captain J. Malcolm to be Affiſtant to the Reſident and Poſtmaſter at ditto.

Mr. George Thompſon to be Judge and Magiſtrate of the Zillah of Burdwan.

Mr. Francis Hawkins to be Judge and Magiſtrate of the Zillah of Purneah.

Mr. Chriſtopher Oldfield to be Judge of the Dewanny Adawlut, and Magiſtrate of the Zillah of Nuddeah.

Mr. Thomas Palmer to officiate as Judge of the Dewanny Adawlut, and Magiſtrate of the Zillah of Mirzapore, during the abſence of Mr. H. T. Colebrooke.

Mr. Thomas Thornhill to officiate as Regiſter to the Provincial Court of Appeal and Court of Circuit for the Diviſion of Benares, during the abſence of Mr. T. Palmer.

Mr. Hugh Wilkinſon to be Regiſter of the Dewanny Adawlut of Tirhoot.

Mr Leyceſter to be Collector of the Zillah of Behar.

Mr. Henry Strachey to be Tranſlator to the Sudder Dewanny and to the Nizamut Adawluts.

Mr. Courtney Smith to be Aſſiſtant to ditto.

Mr. T. Haves to be Collector of the Zillah of Moorſhedabad.

Mr. J. B. Laing to be Regiſter to the Dewanny Adawlut of the Zillah of Chittegong.

Mr. Robert Vanſittart to be Affiſtant to ditto.

Mr. James Donnithorne to be Regiſter to the Dewanny Adawlut of the Zillah of Jeſſore.

Mr. C. S. Maling to be Regiſter to the Dewanny Adawlut of the Zillah of Boglepore.

Mr. R. O. Wynne to be Affiſtant to the Regiſter of the Dewanny Adawlut of Rajeſhapy.

Mr. W. Watts to be Affiſtant to the Regiſter of the Dewanny Adawlut of the Zillah of Dacca Jelalpore.

Mr. J. Monckton to be Second Aſſiſtant to the Regiſter of the Provincial Court of

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of Appeal and Court of Circuit for the Division of Dacca.
Mr. C Doyley to be Second Assistant to the Register of the Provincial Court of Appeal and the Court of Circuit for the Division of Calcutta.
Mr. Sands to be Assistant to the Register of the Zillah of Gazypore.
Mr. Francis Morgan to be Assistant to the Register of the Zillah of Momensing.
Mr. T. Powney to be Assistant to the Collector of Chittegong.
Mr. R. Thackeray to be Assistant to the Collector of the Zillah of Midnapore.
Mr. Thomas Halket to be Assistant to the Collector of the Zillah of Sircar Sarun.
Mr. Arthur H. Vansittart to be Sub-Secretary to the Board of Trade.
Mr. Robert Scott to be Head Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Trade.
Mr. W. P. Potts to be Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Trade.
Mr. G. Hartwell ditto.
Mr. C. Chester to be Assistant to the Commercial Resident at Commercolly.
Mr. C. Elliot to be Assistant to the Commercial Resident at Cossimbazar
Mr. C. Bailey to be Assistant to the Commercial Resident at Keerpoy.
Mr. J. O. Oldham to be Assistant to the Commercial Resident at Rungpore.
Mr. G. Monckton to be Assistant to the Commercial Resident at Hurripaul.
Mr. E. Strachey to be Head Assistant in the Office of the Secretary to the Government, in the Secret Department.
Mr. W. Scott to be Assistant in ditto.
Mr. T. Fortescue ditto, ditto.
Mr. C. Patterson to be Supernumerary Assistant in ditto.
Mr. C. Wyatt ditto, ditto.
Mr. W. Hodgson ditto, ditto.
Mr. J. P. Larkins to be Assistant to the Agent for the Provision of Opium in Behar.
Mr. L. W. H. Scott to be Supernumerary Assistant in the Office of the Secretary to the Government in the Public Department.
Mr. W. H. Sealey ditto, ditto.
Mr. E. W. Blunt ditto, ditto.
Mr. J. W. Shearer to be an Assistant in the Office of the Accountant-General.
Mr. H. Russel to be an Assistant to the the Persian Translator to Government.
Mr. John Bateman to be one of the Junior Council to the Hon. Company.
Mr. George Points Ricketts to be Collector of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs.
Mr. W. P. Potts, from the Office of Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Trade, and to be Assistant to the Collector of Boglepore.
Mr. J. Monckton, from the Office of the Second Assistant to the Register of the Provincial Court of Appeal at Dacca, to be an Assistant to the Persian Translator.
Mr. George Cumming to be Register.
Ralph Uvedale, Esq. to be Prothonotary of the Supreme Court, in the room of John Hyde, Esq. resigned.
Mr. John Adam to be Register to the Dewanny Adawlut, and Assistant to the Magistrate of the Zillah of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs.
Mr. D. Vanderheyden to be Senior Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal, and of the Court of Circuit for the Division of Benares, and Agent for the Right Hon. the Governor-General at Benares.
Mr. Joseph Haywood to be an Assistant to the Governor-General.

MADRAS.

Mr. Robert Fullarton to be Deputy Commercial Register at Imager.
Mr. H. D. Ogilvie to be Deputy Commercial Register at Ganjam.
Mr. George Thompson to be an Assistant in the Revenue Department at Nagore.
Mr. R. Kinchant to be Commercial Resident at Cuddalore.
Mr. G. G. Keeble to be Head Assistant to the Superintendant of the Export Warehouse.
Mr. R. H. Latham to be Head Assistant to the Accountant-General.
Mr. Henry Hall to be Deputy Commercial Resident at Banda.
Mr. A. C. Craig to be Deputy Resident at ditto.
Mr. Robert Farquhar to be Commercial Resident at Amboyna and Banda.

Mr.

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Mr. Samuel Boutflower to be an Affiſtant to the Collector at Vizagapatam.
Mr. Thomas Viſſet to be an Affiſtant to the Commercial Reſident at Vizagapatam.
Mr. T. Robinſon to be an Affiſtant to the Accountant-General.
Mr. W. Garrow to be an Affiſtant to the Secretary to the Military, Political, and Secret Departments of Government.
Mr. J. H. Peile ditto, ditto.
Mr. J. Watts ditto, ditto.
Mr. P. Bruce ditto, ditto.
Mr. A. Barclay ditto, ditto.
Mr. E. Coxe ditto, ditto, and Acting Dutch Tranſlator.
Mr. J. B. Travers to be Secretary to the Board of Revenue.
Mr. W. E. Wright to be Acting Deputy Secretary to ditto.
Mr. A. G. Blake to be an Affiſtant to the Secretary to ditto.
Mr. F. V. B. Darrell ditto, ditto.
Mr. Thompſon Clubley ditto, ditto.
Mr. J. A. Rice ditto, ditto.
Mr. J. Taylor to be Secretary to the Board of Trade.
Mr. H. P. Smith to be Deputy Secretary to ditto.
Mr. E. P. Blake to be an Affiſtant to the Secretary to ditto.
Mr. H. Taylor ditto, ditto.
Mr. George Pariſh to be an Affiſtant to the Secretary to the Public, Commercial, and Revenue Departments of Government.
Mr. Cecil Smith to be Accountant-General to the Court of the Recorder.
Mr. Robert Williams to be the Company's Attorney in ditto.
Mr. James Hodgſon to be Collector in the Jaghire.
Mr. S. R. Luſhington to be Collector of Ramnad and Polygar Peiſhcuſh.
Mr. J. D. Alexander to be Deputy Commercial Reſident at Columbo.
Mr. A. G. Blake to be an Affiſtant to the Government at ditto.
Robert Clerk, Eſq. Member of the Board of Trade.
Mr. John Kenworthy, Commercial Reſident at Tinnevelly.
Mr. E. Coxe, Acting Dutch Interpreter.
Clement Cartwright, Eſq. to be Private Secretary to the Governor.

BOMBAY.

Mr. W. Bowler to be Agent for Buildings and Repairs.
Mr. George Corſellis to be Junior Merchant.
Mr. Alexander Bell, ditto.
Mr. Hay Clephane, ditto.
Mr. John Hope Oliphant to be Factor.
Mr. George Vandeput Drury, ditto.
Mr. James Hallett to be Factor.
Mr. Henry Shepherd Pearſon, ditto.
Mr. John Elphinſtone, ditto.
Mr. Guy Lenox Prendergaſt, ditto.
Mr. James Auguſtus Grant, ditto.
Mr. John Smith, ditto.
Mr. Francis Warden to be Secretary to the Military Board.

MILITARY PROMOTIONS.

BENGAL.

In His MAJESTY'S REGIMENTS.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF, *until His Majeſty's pleaſure be known.*
March 22, 1798.

19*th Light Drag.*—Lieut. J. Cathcart to be captain of a troop, by purchaſe, vice T. Patterſon, promoted. Feb. 1, 1793.

Cornet H. Maſon to be lieutenant by purchaſe, vice Cathcart, promoted. Ditto.

25*th Light Drag*,—Capt. Patterſon to be major, by purchaſe, vice W. G Child, who retires. Ditto.

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12th *Foot*.—Lieut. W. Frith to be lieutenant, vice E. Darby, who exchanges. Jan. 20.

36th *Foot*.—Lieut E. Darby to be lieutenant, vice W. Frith, who exchanges. Ditto.

72d *Foot*.—Lieut. W. Baillie to be lieutenant, vice P. Skelton, who exchanges. Feb. 5.

Surgeon Kerr to be surgeon, vice Anderson, who exchanges. Feb. 7.

73d *Foot*.—S. Orr to be enfign, without purchafe, vice H. Fraſer, promoted. Dec. 7.

75th *Foot*.—Lieut. P. Skelton to be lieutenant, vice W. Baillie, who exchanges. Feb. 5.

Enfign R. Wimbledon to be lieutenant, by purchafe, vice J. Dunſmore, promoted. Feb. 6.

Surgeon C. Anderſon to be ſurgeon, vice C. Kerr, who exchanges. Feb. 7.

76th *Foot*.—Enfign L. Webner to be lieutenant, without purchace, vice J. Macpherſon, deceaſed. Feb. 18.

S. P. Treil to be enfign, without purchaſe, vice L. Webner, promoted. Feb. 18.

78th *Foot*.—W. Baird to be enfign, by purchaſe, vice A. Miller, promoted. March 10.

By His Majesty.

May 21, 1798.

12th *Foot*.—Enfign Bayley to be lieutenant, by purchaſe, vice Riddel, promoted in 35th foot June 1, 1798.

W. L. Hurford to enfign, by purchaſe, vice Langford, promoted. Ditto.

19th *Foot*.—Enfign W. Manſell to be lieutenant, by purchaſe, vice Cox, who retires. June 21.

71ſt *Foot*.—W. Satterthwaite to be enfign, by purchaſe, vice Wauchope, promoted. June 15.

75th *Foot*.—Lieut. R. Harvey, York Fuſileers, to be lieutenant, vice Hill, who retires on half-pay, York Fuſileers. Aug. 9, 1797.

78th *Foot*.—Cornet G. Cormack, from Royal Regt. Horſe Guards, to be lieutenant, by purchaſe, vice Douglas, promoted in 30th foot. Aug. 1, 1797.

Enfign R. Robertſon to be enfign, by purchaſe, vice Macgregor, promoted in 59th foot. Nov. 1, 1797.

James Anderſon, gent. to be enſign, by purchaſe, vice Gregory, promoted in the 24th Dragoons. July 5, 1797.

Henry G. Rooper, gent. to be enſign, by purchaſe, vice Robertſon, promoted. Nov. 1, 1797.

By the Commander *in* Chief, *until His Majeſty's pleaſure be known.*

May 21, 1798.

73d *Foot*.—A Noble, gent. to be enſign, by purchaſe, vice J. Ticket, promoted. May 3, 1798.

75th *Foot*.—Captain-lieutenant C. Macrae to be captain of a company, without purchaſe, vice Geo. M'Kenzie, deceaſed. Feb. 2.

Lieutenant C. Hayes to be captain-lieutenant, without purchaſe, vice C. Macrae, promoted. Feb. 2.

Enſign W. Taylor, from the 19th foot, to be lieutenant, without purchaſe, vice C. Hayes, promoted.

77th *Foot*.—C. Dakers, gent. to be aſſiſtant ſurgeon, without purchaſe, vice W. Grieve, promoted. April 27.

78th *Foot*.—Enſign Alex. Young to be lieutenant, without purchaſe, vice Archibald Chriſtie, promoted in the 82d foot. April 1.

G. R. Munro, gent. to be enſign, without purchaſe, vice Alex. Young, promoted, July 1.

By the Commander *in* Chief, *until His Majeſty's pleaſure be known.*

June 19, 1798.

12th *Foot*.—Thomas Torrens Morgan, gent. to be enſign, by purchaſe, vice T. Talla, promoted. June 4.

By the Commander *in* Chief.

June 23, 1798.

19th *Foot*.—Captain en Second Alex. Steil, to be captain of a company, vice J. Doherty, deceaſed. April 18.

By His Majesty.

July 3, 1798.

19th *Light Drag*.—Brevet Major Maxwell to be major, by purchaſe, vice Sage, who retires. Dec. 17, 1796.

Major C. Bladen, from 25th Light Drag. vice Child, who exchanges. Jan. 12, 1797.

25th *Light Drag*.—Brevet Lieut. Colonel Child, from 19th, to be major, vice Bladen, who exchanges. Ditto.

Staff.—Brevet Lieut. Colonel Cliffe, of Royal Fuſileers, to be Adjutant General to the Forces ſerving in India, vice

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vice Achmutty, resigned. Jan. 18, 1798.

Major H. M. Gordon, of 16th foot, to be quarter-master-general to the said forces, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, vice Hall, resigned. Ditto.

Major G. B. Barbutt, of 73d foot, to be deputy quarter-master-general to the said forces, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, vice Hall, promoted. Jan. 10, 1797.

By His Majesty.

July 5, 1798.

12th Foot.—Lieut. Colonel Dowdeswell, from 1st foot guards, to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Wortley, who exchanges. Dec. 27, 1797.

Lieut. Colonel Taylor, from 61st foot, to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Dowdeswell, removed to the 60th foot. Jan. 18, 1798.

76th Foot.—Hon. Major W. Monson, from 52d foot, to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Maj Gen. Ross, promoted to the command of the 89th foot. Dec. 21, 1797.

By the Commander *in* Chief, *until His Majesty's pleasure be known.*

July 5.

52d Foot.—Brevet Major Henry Conran to be major, without purchase, vice Hon. W. Monson, promoted to 76th foot. Dec. 21, 1797.

Capt. Lieutenant W. Wardrobe to be captain of a company, without purchase, vice Conran, promoted. Ditto.

Lieutenant P. Savage to be captain-lieutenant, without purchase, vice Wardrobe, promoted. Dec. 21, 1798.

Enfign H. Blackmore, from 83d foot, to be lieutenant, by purchase, vice B. Delany, who retires. June 15, 1798.

By His Majesty.

July 9, 1798.

19th Foot.—Lieut. Hon. G. Turner, from 73d foot, to be lieutenant, vice Downing, who exchanges. Auguſt 29, 1796.

Lieut. Hugh Dalrymple, from 76th foot, to be lieutenant, vice Porter, who exchanges. Feb. 1.

Alex. Moore, gent. to be enfign, by purchase, vice Macdonald, promoted. Feb. 17.

James Moore, gent. to be enfign, by purchase, vice King. Feb. 17.

83d Foot.—Enfign Alex. Boyd to be lieutenant, by purchase, vice Turner, who retires. March 25.

John Paul, gent. to be enfign, by purchase, vice Boyd, promoted. Ditto.

86th Foot.—Brevet Major Robert Burne to be major, by purchase, vice Auſtin, who retires. April 15.

Lieut. Allan Maclean to be captain, by purchase, vice Burne, promoted. Ditto.

Enfign Dugald Campbell, from 72d foot, to be lieutenant, by purchase, vice Maclean, promoted. Ditto.

Enfign William Tulloh, from 76th foot, to be lieutenant, vice Harris, removed to 74th foot. Oct. 31.

Sam. A. Wheeler, gent to be enfign, without purchase, vice Ross, promoted in the 52d foot. May 8.

Lieut. Williamson to be adjutant, vice Wallace, deceased. Oct. 30.

52d Foot.—Capt. Lieutenant E. Burke to be captain of a company, vice Irwine, removed to the garrison battalion. Dec. 4, 1795.

Lieut. W. Wardrobe to be captain-lieutenant, vice Burke, promoted. Ditto.

Enfign Laurence O'Hara to be lieutenant, vice Wardrobe, promoted. Jan 1, 1797.

Enfign E. M'Connegal to be lieutenant, vice Mackenzie, deceased. Jan. 2, 1796.

Enfign J. Steeney to be lieutenant, by purchase, vice Brown, promoted in 41st foot. Jan. 6.

Enfign John Ross, from 36th foot, to be lieutenant, without purchase, vice Hicks, who resigns. May 8.

William Frith, gent. to be enfign, by purchase, vice Armstrong, promoted in 71st foot. Aug. 2.

E. W. Manoury, gent. to be enfign, by purchase, vice Stoney, promoted. Aug 3.

Lionel Hook, gent. to be enfign, vice M'Connegal, promoted. Dec. 20.

Enfign J. T. Sattherthwaite, from 76th foot, to be enfign, vice O'Hara, promoted. Jan. 1, 1797.

M. M. Madden, gent. to be enfign, vice Bird, who resigns. Jan. 3.

71st Foot.—Lieut. Hugh Falconer to be adjutant, vice Young. June 12, 1796.

By the Commander *in* Chief, *until His Majesty's pleasure be known.*

July 21, 1798.

36th Foot.—Enfign W. Crosdaile to be

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tenant, vice R. Surger, deceased. June 15.

W. Campbell, gent. to be enfign, without purchafe; vice Crofdaile, promoted.

74th Foot—— —— Armftrong, gent. to be enfign, without purchafe, vice Philip Hay, promoted. Jan. 20.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF, *until His Majefty's pleafure be known.*

July 31, 1798.

19th Light Drag.—Lieut. A. Brabazon to be captain of a troop, by purchafe, vice Patrick Maxwell, promoted. July 2, 1797.

Cornet Edward Darrell to be lieutenant, by purchafe, vice Brabazon, promoted. Ditto.

83d Foot.—John Warren, gent. to be enfign, by purchafe, vice G. Gaff, fen. promoted. July 19, 1798.

By HIS MAJESTY.

Aug. 2, 1798.

Colonel W. Elliot, of the Company's fervice, to be major-general in the army, ferving in the Eaft Indies only. May 3, 1796.

Lieut. Colonel R. Lucas, of the Company's fervice, to be colonel, in the Eaft Indies only. Jan. 26, 1797.

Lieut. Colonel A. Hartle, of ditto, to be ditto.

Captain A. Glafs, of ditto, to be major, ditto.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF.

Aug. 3, 1798.

Mr. O'Neil, affiftant furgeon, is appointed to the General Hofpital at the Prefidency.

Lieut. Lumfden is removed from the 2d batt. 9th regt. to the 1ft batt. of the 12th.

Lieut. Munro, from the 1ft batt. of the 12th to the 2d batt. of the 9th.

Aug. 8, 1798.

Lieut. W. Lambton, of 33d foot, to act as major of brigade to his Majefty's forces on the coaft of Coromandel, in the room of Lieut. G. Cornifh, returning to Europe.

76th Foot.—Serjeant-Major James Gore to be quarter-maffer, without purchafe, vice R. Cameron, refigned. July 25, 1798.

By HIS MAJESTY.

Sept. 11, 1798.

BREVET.

To be Generals in the Army.—Lieut. Generals Charles O'Hara, Hon. William Gordon, and William Pidton. 1ft Jan. 1798.

To be Lieut. Generals.—Major Generals Samuel Hulfe and James Marfh. 1ft Jan. 1798.

To be Major Generals—Colonels Colebrook Nesbitt, John Peche, Thomas Brownrigg, John M'Gowan, Dugald Campbell, Thomas Trent, Thomas Prendergaft, Robert Nicholfon, Alex. Hardy, Richard Tolfon, Stafford W. S. Waddington, and Vere Warner Huffey. 1ft Jan. 1798.

To be Colonels.—Lieut. Colonels George Vaughan Hart, of 75th foot; George Brodie, of 52d foot; William Ramfay, of 80th foot; Stait Park Dalrymple, of 71ft foot; John Cope Sherbroke, of 33d foot. 1ft Jan. 1798.

To be Lieut. Colonels.—Majors Henry Allen, of the 36th foot; Hon. John Lindfay, of 71ft foot: John French, of ditto; George Stewart, of 33d foot; Daniel Paterfon, of 86th foot; Wm. Wallace, of 74th foot; William Cockburn, of 73d foot; and Robert Burn, of the 36th foot. 1ft Jan. 1798.

To be Majors.—Captains William Grant, of 77th foot; James M'Donald, of 73d foot; William Chambers, 86th foot; Brcon Bordes, 73d foot; and Archibald Mofman, of 73d foot. 1ft Jan. 1798.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF, *until His Majefty's pleafure be known.*

19th Foot.—John Gray, gent. to be enfign, without purchafe, vice Charles Hume, deceafed. 18th July, 1798.

73d Regiment.—Major Michael Monypenny, from the 78th regiment, to be lieutenant-colonel, by purchafe, vice James Spens, who retires. 30th Aug. 1798.

75th Regiment.—Capt. Alex. Adams to be major, by purchafe, vice Michael Monypenny, promoted. 30th Aug 1798.

Lieut. T. G. Smollet, to be captain of a company, by purchafe, vice Alex. Adams, promoted. 30th Aug. 1798.

Enfign Angus Macleod, to be lieutenant, by purchafe, vice T. G. Smollet, promoted. 30th Aug. 1798.

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The omiſſion of Lieut.-Colonel John Pater's name in the brevet promotion of colonel, which was granted by his Majeſty on the 1ſt of January 1798, appearing to the Commander in Chief to be evidently a miſtake, he is pleaſed to direct, that Lieut.-Colonel Pater, of the Madras Eſtabliſhment, do rank as colonel by brevet, from the 1ſt January 1798, until his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhall be known.

September 29. 1798.

19*th Light Drag.*—W. Hunter, Gent. to be cornet, by purchaſe, *vice* Darrell, promoted, Sept. 3.

72*d Foot.*—W. Coote Campbell, Gent. to be enſign, by purchaſe, *vice* W. B. Macmillan, who declines, April 5.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF, *until his Majeſty's pleaſure be known.*

November 27, 1798.

78*th Foot.*—Enſign D. Mackenzie to be lieutenant, by purchaſe, *vice* J. Hanſon, removed to the corps of invalids, Oct. 15.

Suetonius H. Todd, Gent. to be enſign, by purchaſe, *vice* D. Mackenzie, promoted, ditto.

January 11, 1799.

76*th Foot.*—R. Coxon, Gent. to be enſign, by purchaſe, *vice* Robert Frith, promoted, Jan. 9.

January 19, 1799.

A ſucceſſor having been appointed by his Majeſty to enſign Andrew Millar of the 78th regiment, the appointment of Mr. William Baird to that vacancy is thereby cancelled, and the Commander in Chief is pleaſed to nominate that gentleman to ſucceed Enſign James Anderſon, promoted by purchaſe, until his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhall be known. 5th May, 1798.

By HIS MAJESTY.

January 22, 1799.

Major-General David Baird to be major-general on the ſtaff, ſerving in the Eaſt Indies.

Major-General Hay Macdowall to be ditto. June 18. 1798.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF, *until his Majeſty's pleaſure be known.*

January 24, 1799.

73*d Foot.*—Enſign Murdock Macleane, to be lieutenant, without purchaſe, *vice* H. Sutherland, promoted in 74th Foot, Dec. 30. 1798.

John Montague Jackſon, Gent. to enſign, without purchaſe, *vice* Macleane, promoted, ditto.

74*th Foot.*—Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel W. Harneſs, from 80th foot to be lieutenant-colonel, without purchaſe, *vice* Robert Shawe, removed to the 12th foot, Dec. 24. 1798.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF, *until his Majeſty's pleaſure be known.*

May 6, 1799.

29*th Lt. Drag.*—W. Thorn, Gent. to be cornet, by purchaſe, *vice* W. T. Gaul, who retires, 17th March 1799.

80*th Foot.*—Capt. en ſecond J. Macrea to be captain of a company, *vice* H. Macpherſon, deceaſed, 30th March.

His Majeſty has been pleaſed to appoint a ſucceſſor to Enſign J. Anderſon of the 78th reg. who has been promoted by purchaſe; the nomination of Mr. W. Baird to that vacancy, as mentioned in the general orders of the 19th of Jan. 1799, is thereby cancelled.

By his MAJESTY.

May 8, 1799.

19*th Light Drag.*—Lieut. P. Anderſon, from 77th foot, to be lieutenant, *vice* Bellaſis, who exchanges, 13th Feb. 1797.

25*th ditto.*—Lieut. J. Conron from 52d foot, to be lieutenant, *vice* Brian, who exchanges, 25th Oct.

27*th ditto.*—Enſign F. Clark from 72d foot, to be cornet, *vice* Lewis, deceaſed, 1ſt July.

Lieut. R. Covell to be adjutant, *vice* J. Covell, who reſigns, 8th Aug.

42*d Foot.*—M. Grace, Gent. to be enſign, *vice* King, promoted in 77th foot, 4th June.

Lieut. W. Langford to be adjutant, *vice* Moore, who reſigns, 14th Aug.

19*th ditto.*—Enſign I. Ogden from 72d foot, to be enſign, *vice* Bullock, promoted in 75th, 1ſt March.

33*d ditto.*—Enſign G. Goff to be lieutenant by purchaſe, *vice* Boyd, who retires, 28th July.

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A. Campbell, Gent. to be enſign by purchaſe, *vice* Byng, promoted, 1ſt June.

86*th ditto*.—Enſign W. Frith from 52d foot, to be lieutenant, by purchaſe, *vice* Hall, promoted in 97th, 1ſt Aug.

J. Short, Gent. to be enſign, by purchaſe, *vice* Swain, promoted, 20th May.

J. Davidſon, Gent. to be enſign, by purchaſe, *vice* Wilſon, removed to the 19th dragoons, 1ſt June

T. Stapleton, Gent. to be enſign, *vice* Wheeler, promoted in 80th, 1ſt July.

52*d ditto*.—Lieut. J. Brown from 25th Dragoons, to be lieutenant, *vice* Conran, who exchanges, 25th Oct.

71*ſt ditto*.—Enſign J. Hall to be lieutenant, *vice* Johnſtone, promoted in 129th reg 1ſt June.

Enſign P. A. Power from the 78th foot, to be lieutenant, *vice* Brown, removed to the 77th foot, 2d June.

R. Wimpleton, Gent. to be enſign, *vice* Hall, promoted, 1ſt June.

May 10, 1799.

72*d Foot*.—Capt. J. M'Innes to be major, *vice* Brathwaite, promoted, 2d March, 1797.

Capt. Lieut. A. Dougal, to be captain of a company, *vice* M'Innes, promoted, ditto.

Capt. Lieut. F. Stuart to be captain of a company, *vice* Drummond, promoted in 81ſt foot, 3d March.

Lieut. F. Stuart to be capt. lieut. *vice* M'Dougal, promoted, 2d March.

Brevet Capt. D. Stuart from 74th foot, to be lieutenant, *vice* Stuart, promoted, 3d March.

Enſign G. Mackay from 78th foot, to be lieutenant, *vice* Fraſer, promoted in 78th foot, 17th March.

Lieut. J. G. P. Tucker from ditto, to be ditto, *vice* Mackay, who exchanges, 4th July.

Enſign P. Skelton to be ditto, *vice* Mackenzie, promoted in 133d foot, 6th March.

Enſign E. Rumley to be lieutenant, *vice* Stuart, promoted, 15th July.

Enſign W. B. Nicolls from 78th foot, to be enſign, *vice* Oyden, removed to the 19th foot, 1ſt March.

F. Hazlewood, Gent. to be ditto, *vice* Clarke, appointed to the 27th Light Dragoons, 1ſt July.

R. Macrea. Gent. to be ditto, *vice* Skelton, 6th July.

W. S. Madden, Gent. to be ditto, *vice* Rumley, promoted, 15th July.

Lieut. R. Campbell to be adjutant, *vice* Stuart, who reſigns, 1ſt Oct.

73*d Foot*.—Enſign W. Fraſer to be lieutenant, *vice* Maxwell, promoted in 1ſt foot, 1ſt May, 1797.

Enſign B. Bradſhaw from 80th reg. to be ditto, *vice* Cooper, promoted in 5th Weſt India reg. 2d May.

Enſign A. Cuppage to be ditto, *vice* Kennedy, promoted in Royal Glaſgow reg. 1ſt June.

J. Fitchel, Gent. to be enſign, *vice* Cuppage, ditto.

74*th ditto*.—Enſign Campbell to be lieutenant, by purchaſe, *vice* Sterling, who retires, 20th Sept. 1797.

W. Mein, Gent. to be enſign, by purchaſe, *vice* Campbell, promoted, ditto.

75*th Foot*.—Enſign T. Bullock from 19th foot, to be lieutenant, *vice* Filmer, promoted in 120th foot, 1ſt March, 1797.

76*th Foot*.—W. Cheyne, Gent. to be enſign, by purchaſe, *vice* Shaw, appointed to the 36th foot, 1ſt July.

77*th Foot*.—Lieut. W. Bellaſis from 19th Light Dragoons, to be lieutenant, *vice* Anderſon, who exchanges, 13th Feb. 1797.

Lieut. Benſon from 71ſt foot, to be lieutenant, *vice* Fancourt, promoted in 56th foot, 2d June.

Enſign C. King from 12th foot, to be lieutenant, *vice* Grant, promoted in 20th foot 4th June.

78*th Foot*.—Lieut. J. Fraſer from 72d foot, to be capt. lieut. *vice* Macpherſon, promoted in 80th reg. 7th May.

Lieut. G. Mackay from 72d foot, to be lieutenant, *vice* Tucker, who exchanges, 4th July.

P. M'Lachlane, Gent. to be enſign, *vice* M'Kay, promoted, 17th May.

A. Clarke, Gent. to be enſign, *vice* Power, promoted in 71ſt foot, 2d June.

Lieut. A. Wiſhart to be adjutant, *vice* Hanſon, who reſigns, 20th Oct.

80*th Foot*.—Capt. Lieut. Macpherſon from 78th foot, to be captain of a company, *vice* J. White deceaſed, 17th May.

Enſign C. M'Carty to be lieutenant, *vice* Jones, deceaſed, 15th May.

Enſign S. A. Wheeler from 36th foot, to be lieutenant, *vice* M'Carty, deceaſed, 1ſt July.

A. C. Campbell, Gent. to be enſign, *vice* Bradſhaw, promoted in 73d foot, 2d May.

C Rowan,

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C. Rowan, Gent. to be ditto, *vice* M'Carty, 15th May.

T. Douglaſs, Gent. to be ditto, 17th May.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF, *until his Majeſty's pleaſure be known.*

May 10, 1799.

76th Foot.—Enſign B. J. Young to be lieutenant, by purchaſe, *vice* Vere L. Ward, removed to 17th Dragoons, 29th April, 1799.

Capt. J. Wilſon of his Majeſty's 12th reg. who has acted as Major of Brigade on the Iſland of Ceylon, ſince the deceaſe of Maj. Gen. Doyle, to whom he was attached, is appointed Maj. of Brigade to his Majeſty's troops, and to do duty on the iſland until further orders.

By his MAJESTY.

May 14, 1799.

25th Light Drag.—Capt. P. Roſs from 19th foot, to be captain-lieutenant, *vice* Smith, who exchanges, 15th March 1798.

29th ditto.—Major J. Blackwell from the 6th Weſt India reg. to be Major, *vice* Payne, who retires on half pay, receiving the difference, 21ſt Feb. 1798.

Lieut. C. Patterſon from 19th foot, to be lieutenant, *vice* Naſh, who exchanges, 5th April.

Enſign F. Halſtead from 12th foot, to be cornet, *vice* Gregory, promoted, 14th April.

W. J. Gaul, Gent. to be ditto, by purchaſe, *vice* Leeky, promoted, 10th May.

Cornet T. Armſtrong from 14th dragoons, to be cornet, *vice* Cooper, who exchanges, 17th May.

Aſſiſtant Surgeon J. Fiſher, from the half pay 1ſt dragoon guards, to be Aſſiſtant Surgeon, 29th March.

12th Foot.—J. Priſt, Gent. to be enſign, by purchaſe, *vice* Bayly, promoted, 21ſt March, 1798.

19th Foot.—Capt. P. Roſs from half pay 91ſt reg. to be captain, *vice* Stracie, who exchanges, 8th March, 1798.

Capt.-Lieut. J. C. Smith from 25th dragoons, to be ditto, *vice* Roſs, who exchanges, 15th March.

R. Stark, Gent. to be enſign by purchaſe, *vice* Marſell, promoted, 20th March.

52d Foot.—Armſtrong, Gent. to be enſign, *vice* Satterthwaite, deceaſed, 8th March, 1798.

Surgeon S. Irving from half pay of 107th reg. to be ſurgeon, *vice* Steele, who exchanges, 22d March.

73d Foot.—Capt. Lieut. Power from 8th Light Dragoons, to be captain, *vice* Robertſon, who exchanges, 25th July, 1797.

74th Foot.—Enſign T. Booth from 16th foot, to be enſign, *vice* Douglaſs, who retires on the Half-pay Independents, 4th May, 1797.

75th Foot.—Enſign J. Hall from 76th foot, to be enſign, *vice* Forbes, who exchanges, 22d March, 1797.

Lieut. T. Grant from 71ſt foot, to be lieutenant, *vice* Kemble, who retires on half-pay Trench's corps, 17th May, 1798.

76th Foot.—Enſign J. Forbes from 75th foot, to be enſign, *vice* Hall, who exchanges, 22d March, 1798.

E. Marſden to be enſign by purchaſe, *vice* Macdowal, promoted in 89th reg. 22d March.

R. Steeman, Gent. to be ditto by purchaſe, *vice* Brown, promoted in 61ſt reg. 5th April.

77th Foot.—Enſign J. Lewis, from 48th reg. to be enſign, *vice* Shaw, who retires on the half-pay Corſican corps, 26th April. 1798.

78th Foot.—Enſign H. Rooper to be lieutenant, *vice* D. Frazer, who retires, 26th April 1798.

A. Meldreim, Gent. to be enſign by purchaſe, *vice* Rooper, promoted, 26th April.

J. Hay, Gent. to be enſign by purchaſe, *vice* Miller, promoted, 4th May.

R. Northcote, Gent. to be ditto by purchaſe, *vice* Anderſon, promoted, 17th April.

80th Foot.—R. Daſhwood, Gent. to be enſign, by purchaſe, 20th June, 1798.

The appointment of Capt. P. Roſs to the 25th reg. of Light Dragoons, being from an arrangement that it was found neceſſary to make at home, of a date ſubſequent to that for which he was recommended by the Commander in Chief, the General is pleaſed to direct that Capt. Roſs do take rank in the 25th reg. of Light Dragoons, from the 16th of Nov. 1797, until his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhall be known, to prevent his being regimentally ſuperceded by Capt. Handyſide, whoſe appointment to the 25th reg. of Light Dragoons was ſubſequent to that of Capt. P. Roſs in India.

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By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF, *until his Majesty's pleasure be known.*

14th May, 1799.

80th Foot.—Enfign J. St. George to be lieutenant, *vice* Edwards, promoted, retaining the date of his former appointment in that corps, viz. 28th April, 1797.

J. Hulfh, Gent. to be enfign, *vice* J. St. George, promoted, retained the date of his former appointment, viz. 16th May.

By his MAJESTY.

May 25, 1799.

Colonel D. Smith to rank as Major General in his Majefty's army in the Eaft Indies only, 18th June, 1798.

Colonel J. Bannatyne to be ditto, ditto.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF, *until his Majefty's pleasure be known.*

25th May, 1799.

19th Light Drag.—Cornet M. T. Harris from the 27th Light Dragoons, to be cornet, *vice* W. Hunter, deceafed, 26th March, 1799.

25th ditto.—E. Griffith, Gent. to be cornet, *vice* J. Sanders, deceafed, 17th Feb. 1799.

27th ditto.—F. Byng, Gent. to be cornet, *vice* M. T. Harris, removed to the 19th Light Dragoons, 12th April, 1799.

12th Foot.—Enfign W. Gahan to be lieutenant, *vice* Thomas Falla, deceafed, 7th April, 1799.

R. W. Shaw, Gent. to be enfign, *vice* W. Gahan, promoted, 7th April.

83d Foot.—Capt.-Lieut. D. Quin to be captain of a company, by purchafe, *vice* E. Macpherfon, who retires, 9th March, 1799.

Lieutenant F. R. Weft to be captain-lieutenant, by purchafe, *vice* D. Quin, promoted, 9th March.

Enfign J. Warren to be lieutenant, by purchafe, *vice* F. R. Weft, promoted, 9th March.

Lieut. G. Gaff to be adjutant, *vice* D. Quin, who refigns, 9th March

80th Foot.—Enfign J Lewis to be lieutenant, *vice* R. Afh, deceafed, 26th April, 1799.

The remaining fecond lieutenant in the 12th reg. is brought on the Eftablifhment, by the death of Lieut. G. Nixon, on the 5th of April, 1799.

The 2d enfign of ditto is likewife brought on the Eftablifhment, by the removal of Enfign F. Halftead to the 29th reg. of Light Dragoons.

The two 2d lieutenants attached to the 19th foot are brought on the Eftablifhment, in the vacancies occafioned by the deaths of Lieutenants Sir J. Colquhoun, Bart. and R. Macdonald.

The two 2d lieutenants attached to the 33d foot are brought on the Eftablifhment, in the vacancies occafioned by the promotion of Lieut. P. Abercromby in the 8th Light Dragoons, and by the death of Lieut. R. Fitzgerald, on the 5th of April, 1799.

One of the fupernumerary enfigns attached to the 80th reg. is brought on the Eftablifhment, by the promotion of Enfign J. Lewis to a Lieutenancy.

27th Light Drag.—Capt. P. Philpot from the 76th foot, to be captain-lieutenant, *vice* J. Covel, who exchanges, receiving the regulated difference, 2d March, 1797.

12th Foot.—Lieut. R. Nixon to be captain of a company, by purchafe, *vice* T. James, who retires, 17th Feb. 1797.

Enfign M. A. Mein from the 74th foot, to be lieutenant, by purchafe, *vice* R. Nixon, promoted, 17th Feb.

Capt. H. Fraſer, from the 74th foot, to be captain of a company, *vice* M. D. Buckeridge, who exchanges, 18th Feb.

74th Foot.—Capt. M. D. Buckeridge from the 12th foot, to be captain of a company, *vice* H. Fraſer, who exchanges, 18th Feb. 1797.

76th Foot.—Capt.-Lieut. J. Covel from the 27th reg. of light dragoons, to be captain of a company, *vice* P. Philpot, who exchanges, paying the regulated difference, 2d March, 1799.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF.

18th April, 1799.

19th Foot.—Lieut. A. B. Vilant to be captain of a company, by purchafe, *vice* G. A. Bygrave, who retires, 22d March 1799.

Enfign J. Nixon to be lieutenant, by purchafe, *vice* A. B. Vilant, promoted, ditto.

75th Foot.—Enfign J. Spalding to be lieutenant, *vice* G. Bowzer, deceafed, 5d March, 1799.

R. S. Gent. to be enfign, *vice* J. Spalding, promoted, ditto.

By General HARRIS.—*April*

Capt. J. Eyles to be adjutant and quarter-maſter to the detachment of artillery, *vice* Macredie, deceafed.

BENGAL.

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BENGAL.

In the Hon. COMPANY'S ARMY.

By the GOVERNOR GENERAL *in* COUNCIL.

March 5, 1798.

Captain Sir G. Leith, Bart. to be regulating officer to the Calcutta European Militia, vice Lieut. G. Cornish, retired.

March 20.

Captain W. Griffiths of his Majesty's 27th Light Dragoons, to be regulating officer to the Calcutta European Militia, vice Sir G. Leith, Bart. resigned.

March 27.

Captain R. Davis to be fort adjutant of Fort William, vice Capt. W. Sandys, resigned.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF.

March 28.

Assistant Surgeons F. Maxwell, W Russel, H. Waring, J. B. White, T. White, and G. N. Wyatt, are appointed to the general hospital at the Presidency.

Assistant Surgeon James Denny, from ditto to the general hospital at Berhampore.

Assistant Surgeons T. Judson and J. Ovington, to the general hospital at Ditto.

Assistant Surgeon R. Davis, to the general hospital at Dinapore.

Assistant Surgeons J. Laing and J. Martin, to the general hospital at Chunar.

Assistant Surgeons W. H. Robertson and R. Staunton, to the general hospital at Cawnpore.

Assistant Surgeon J. Scaly, removed from the Presidency hospital to the 8d batt. of artillery in Fort William.

Assistant Surgeon R. Lowe, from the hospital at Cawnpore to the 2d batt. 1st reg. native infantry.

Assistant Surgeon J. Law, from the hospital at Cawnpore to the 1st European reg.

Ensign Povoleri from the 2d European reg. to the 1st batt. 7th native reg.

By the GOVERNOR GENERAL.

July 5.

Captain R. Davies, 2d batt. 12th native reg. to be Aid-du-Camp to the Governor General.

By the GOVERNOR GENERAL *in* COUNCIL.

June 30.

Ensign Gatley to be lieutenant, vice Dirrah, deceased, May 30. 1798.

Mr. G. Steele to be ensign in the engineer corps, vice M'Gowan deceased.

Mr. S. Nation to be ensign, June 7, 1797.

July 15.

Lieutenant Shawe of his Majesty's 76th reg. to be adjutant to the Calcutta European Militia.

July 26.

Major Hugh Stafford to be lieut.-colonel, from the 11th July 1798, vice Lieut.-Colonel A. Hearsey, deceased.

Brevet Major Thomas Kearnan to be major, from ditto, vice Stafford, promoted.

Captain-Lieut. John Reid, to be captain of a company, from ditto, vice Kearnan, promoted.

Brevet Capt. and Lieut. Thomas Shuldham, to be Capt.-Lieut. from ditto, vice Ried, promoted.

Ensign Joseph Hair to be lieutenant, from ditto, vice Shuldham, promoted.

Lieut. Gale, of artillery, to be deputy commissary, vice Gardiner, retired.

Mr. Conductor H. G. A. Howe, to be deputy commissary, vice Shaw, invalided.

Serjeant-Major James Wilkinson, of the first European reg.—Serjeant-Major Henry Fitzgerald, of the 2d European reg.—Serjeant-Major Robert Howe, of the 1st native reg.—and Serjeant J. Talbot, doing duty with the town guard, to be conductors of the ordnance

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF

27th July, 1798.

Lieutenant-Colonel Vanas is removed from the 1st to the 2d battalion of the 8th regiment, vice Hearsey, deceased

Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer is removed from the 2d battalion of the 9th regiment, to the 1st battalion of the 8th regiment, vice Vanas, removed.

Lieutenant-Colonel Stafford is posted to the 2d battalion of the 9th regiment, vice Palmer, removed.

Major

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Major Kearnan is posted to the 1st battalion of the 14th regiment, vice Stafford, promoted.

Captain Ball is removed from the 1st European regiment to the 1st battalion of the 9th regiment, vice Kearnan, promoted.

Captain John Read is posted to the 1st European regiment, vice Ball, removed.

Captain R. Colbrooke is removed from the 2d battalion of the 12th regiment, to the 1st battalion of the 9th regiment, vice S. Dubois, removed.

Captain S. Dubois is removed from the 1st battalion of the 9th regiment, to the 2d battalion of the 12th regiment, vice Colbrooke, removed.

Captain-Lieut. Shouldham is posted to the 1st European regiment, vice Read, promoted.

Lieutenant John Slade is removed from the 2d European regiment to the 2d battalion of the 2d regiment, vice Sloane, removed.

Lieutenant Joseph Hair is posted to the 2d European regiment.

Lieutenant J. L. Richardson, on furlough, is removed from the 2d battalion of the 2d regiment, to the 2d European regiment, vice Simpson, removed.

Lieutenant C. Simpson is removed from the 2d European regiment to the 2d battalion of the 2d regiment, vice Richardson, removed.

Ensign De Wall is removed from the 1st to the 2d battalion of the 8th reg.

Lieutenant Gale, deputy commissary of ordnance, is appointed to the expence magazine at Fort William.

Mr. Deputy Commissary H. G. A. Howe is appointed to the magazine at Midnapore, vice John Shaw invalided.

Mr. Conductor Wood is removed from the magazine at Monghier to the magazine at Cawnpore, vice Gordon, dismissed.

Mr. Conductor Wilkinson is appointed to the magazine at Futtyghur, vice Howe, appointed a deputy commissary of ordnance.

Mr. Conductor Howe is appointed to the magazine at Monghier, vice Wood, removed.

Mr. Conductor Fitzgerald, and Mr. Conductor Talbot, are appointed to the arsenal in Fort William.

By the GOVERNOR GENERAL *in* COUNCIL.

August 14. 1798.

Brevet Captain W. S Pryor is appointed fort adjutant and barrack-master at Chunar, vice Captain Butler, deceased.

10th September.

In consequence of the death of Captain James Pennington, at Fort Marlbro', on the 19th of May last, the following alterations in the dates of rank of officers promoted since that period, and the further necessary promotions in consequence of the above casualty, are directed to take place.

Captain-Lieut. James Price to be captain of a company, from the 30th May 1798, vice Pennington, deceased.

Captain-Lieut. F. C. Wroughton to be captain of a company, from the 1st of July 1798, vice Wood, promoted.

Captain-Lieut. John Read to be captain of a company, from ditto, vice Haynes, promoted.

Captain-Lieut. Charles Shand to be captain of a company, from the 11th of July 1798, vice Kearnan, promoted.

Captain-Lieut. Richard Mabert to be captain of a company, from the 3d of August 1798, vice Butler, deceased.

Captain-Lieut. T. Magrath, to be captain of a company, from the 9th August 1798, vice M White, deceased.

Brevet Captain and Lieut. Andrew Young, to be captain-lieut. from the 30th of May 1798, vice Price, promoted.

Brevet Captain and Lieut. T. Shouldham to be captain-lieut. from the 1st of July 1798, vice Read, promoted.

Brevet Captain and Lieut. T. Whinyates to be captain-lieut. from the 11th of July 1798, vice Shand, promoted.

Brevet Captain and Lieut. S. Adams to be captain-lieut. from the 3d of August 1798, vice Mabert, promoted.

Brevet Captain and Lieut. John Campbell to be captain-lieut from the 9th of August 1798, vice Magrath, promoted.

Ensign John Grey to be lieutenant, from the 30th of May 1798, vice Young, promoted.

Ensign Joseph Hair to be lieut. from the 1st of July 1798, vice Shouldham, promoted.

Ensign W. Baker to be lieut. from the 11th July 1798, vice Whinyates, promoted.

Ensign W. Logie, to be lieut. from the 3d August 1798, vice S. Adams, promoted.

Ensign James Smith to be lieut. from the 9th August 1798, vice Campbell, promoted.

Ensign John Peregrine Read to be lieut. from the 10th August 1798, vice Hoare, deceased.

Ensign C. S. Hay to be lieut. from the 12th Aug. 1798, vice Daveron, deceased.

To

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To complete the 15th native reg.—

To be Colonel, from the 31ſt Auguſt, 1768.—Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonald.

To be Majors.—Capt. Richard Walker, Thomas Polhill, John Clarkſon, William Sibbald, and Henry White.

To be Captains of Companies—Captain-Lieut. Edward Bird, John Morriſon, G. A. Robinſon, Robert Morris, Littleus Burrell, W. C. Alſton, D. T. Richardſon, George Clancey, Ambroſe Brenan, D. M. Falvey, Hiram Cox, and Andrew Young.

To be Captain-Lieutenants.—John Crockat, John De Courcey, George H. Pine, Henry O'Donnell, John W. Adams, Wm. Snead, Henry Worſley, Richard Adams, Chriſtopher Cleobury, Thomas Alcock, Thomas Salkeld, John Rankin, and Alexander Orme.

To be Lieutenant.—Enſign Alexander Duncan.

To be Lieutenants, their ranks to be hereafter adjuſted—Enſign David Bethune Lindſay, William Henry Mainwaring, Charles W. Povoleri, Robert Pitman, George Bethune Dunkin, Stephen Nation, William Fogo, Felix Vincent, Raper, James Robertſon, Henry Bennet Lloyd, George Crawford Steele, W. Samuel Heathcote, Thomas Ruffell White, Js. Parry, Peter Bearſley Hume, George William Wiggins, John Williams, John Billet Sealy, Henry Tanner, John Staples Harriot, William De Waal, W. P. Anderſon, Wm. Sleſſor, John Pudner, and William Beckfield Cox.

September 18. 1798

Colonels Hardy and Huſſey having attained the regimental rank of Major General, they come under the influence of the minutes of council of the 5th June, 1797.

Lieutenant-Colonel Green, the ſenior officer of artillery under the rank of a general officer, is to conduct the regimental duties and detail until further orders.

September 17. 1798.

Lieutenant-Colonel Grueber promoted to the 1ſt battalion of the 6th regiment, vice Douglas, removed.

Lieutenant-Colonel William Palmer, from the 1ſt of the 8th, to the 1ſt of the 2d, vice Macdonald, promoted.

Lieutenant-Colonel J. Powell promoted to the 1ſt of the 8th, vice Palmer, removed.

Major Thomas Kearnan, from the 1ſt of the 4th, to the 2d of the 9th, vice Gulanders.

Major R. Walker promoted to the 1ſt of the 14th, vice Kearnan, removed.

Major T. Polhill promoted to the 2d European regiment, vice Sir John Murray.

Major J. Clarkſon promoted to the 1ſt of the 8th, vice Powell.

Major W. Sibbald promoted to the 1ſt of the 4th, vice Haynes, removed.

Major H. White promoted to the 1ſt of the 5th, vice Grueber, promoted.

Captain Edward Bird promoted to the 1ſt European regiment, vice Walker, promoted.

Captain F. Kyan, from the 2d of the 13th, to the 3d European regiment, vice Clarkſon.

Captain F. Morriſon promoted to the 2d of the 13th, vice Kyan, removed.

Captain G. Robinſon promoted to the 1ſt of the 4th, vice White, promoted.

Captain I. Humphreys, from the 1ſt of the 14th, to the 1ſt of the 4th, vice Conway, removed.

Captain R. Morris promoted to the 1ſt of the 14th, vice Humphreys, removed.

Captain W. C. Alſton promoted to the 1ſt of the 6th, vice Brietzeke, removed.

Captain D. T. Richardſon promoted to the 1ſt of the 1ſt, vice H. Scott, removed.

Captain A. Brenan to the 1ſt of the 2d, vice Polhill, promoted.

Captain H. Cox, to the 2d of the 4d, vice Pennington, deceaſed.

Captain A. Young to the 2d of the 7th, vice Sibbald, promoted.

Captain-Lieutenant J. Campbell to the 2d European regiment, vice Robinſon, promoted.

Captain-Lieutenant J. Crockatt to the 2d of the 9th, vice Falvey, promoted.

Captain-Lieutenant J. De Courcey, to the 2d of the 13th, vice Morriſon, promoted.

Captain-Lieutenant H. A. O'Donnell to the 1ſt of the 8th, vice H. Cox, promoted.

Captain G. Carpenter, from the 1ſt to the 2d of the 10th.

Captain-Lieutenant J. W. Adams promoted to the 1ſt of the 10th.

Captain-Lieutenant W. Snead, promoted to the 1ſt of the 11th, vice Brenan.

Captain Lieutenant H. Worſley to the 1ſt of the 14th, vice Morris.

Captain-Lieutenant R. Adams to the 2d of the 1ſt, vice Bird

Captain-

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Capt. Lieut. C. Cleoberry to the 2d of the 5th, vice Burrel.

Capt. Lieut. T. Alcock to the 1ſt of the 4th, vice Clancey.

Capt. Lieut. T. Salked to the 2d of the 3d, vice Young.

Capt. Lieut. J. Rankin to the 1ſt of the 6th, vice Mac Grath.

Capt. Lieut. A. Orme to the 3d European regt. vice Richardſon

Lieut. S. Denny from the 1ſt European regt. to the 1ſt batt. of the 15th regt.

Lieut. W. H. Mainwaring to the 1ſt European regt. vice Denny, removed.

Lieut. B. L. Grenier from the 1ſt. European regt. to the 2d batt. of the 15th.

Lieut. F. V. Raper to the 1ſt European regt. vice Grenier.

Lieut J. Baillie from the 1ſt European regt. to the 1ſt batt. of the 15th.

Lieut. H. B Lloyd to the 1ſt European regt. vice Baillie.

Lieut. R Pittman to the 2d European regt. vice T. Alcock, promoted.

Lieut G. S. C. Steele to the 2d European regt. vice Grey, refigned.

Lieut. T. Staunton to the 2d European regt. vice Hough, not arrived.

Lieut. J. Miller is removed from the 2d of the 12th to the 3d of the 15th.

Lieut. W. S. Heathcote to the 2d of the 12th, vice Miller.

Lieut. Charles Greig from the 2d European regt. to the 1ſt batt. of the 15th.

Lieut J. R. White to the 2d European regt. vice Greig, removed.

Lieut. C. Hay to the 3d European regt. vice Orme, promoted.

Lieut. T. Evans from the 2d to the 1ſt of the 4th, vice Traherne, removed.

Lieut. Edward Roughſedge from the 3d European regt. to the 2d of the 4th, vice Evans, removed

Lieutenant S. Brown, from the 3d European regiment to the 2d of the 4th.

Lieutenant W. Fogo, to the 1ſt of the 11th, *vice* De Courcey, promoted.

Lieutenant J. B. Sealy, to the 1ſt of the 11th, *vice* McPherson, removed.

Lieutenant H. Tanner, to the 2d of the 4th, *vice* Perkins removed.

Lieutenant D. B. Lindsay, to the 2d of the 3d, *vice* Dalton removed.

Lieutenant W. Sleſſor, to the 1ſt of the 7th, *vice* O'Donnell, promoted.

Lieutenant C. W. R. Povoleri, to the 1ſt of the 5th, *vice* Burke, removed.

Lieutenant James Parry, to the 2d of the 5th, *vice* Cloeberry, promoted.

Lieutenant P. B. Hume, to the 2d of the 7th, *vice* Salked, promoted.

Lieutenant Charles Stewart, from the 1ſt of the 6th, to the firſt of the 3d, *vice* Vanrennan, removed.

Lieutenant D. V. Kerin, from the 2d of the 9th, to the 1ſt of the 9th, *vice* Stewart, removed.

Lieutenant J. Patton, from the 1ſt of the 5th, to the 2d of the 9th, *vice* Kerin.

Lieutenant K. A. J. Murchiſon, from the 2d of the 6th, to the 1ſt of the 5th, *vice* Parton, removed.

Lieutenant J. Ludlow, from the 2d of the 14th, to the 1ſt of the 8th regiment, *vice* Drummond, removed.

Lieutenant Jacob Vanrennan, from the 1ſt of the 3d. to the 2d of the 8th regiment, *vice* Pine, promoted

Lieutenant J. S. Harriott, to the 2d of the 9th regt. *vice* Crockatt, promoted.

Lieutenant J. Robertſon, to the 1ſt of the 2d, *vice* Dick, removed.

Lieutenant A. Duncan, to the 1ſt of the 2d, *vice* Lumley, removed.

Lieutenant W. De Waal, to the 2d of the 8th, *vice* L. B. Morris, removed.

Lieutenant John Williams, to the 1ſt of the 9th, *vice* C. Berry, removed.

Lieutenant R. Hay, from the 2d of the 2d, to the 1ſt of the 1ſt, *vice* Daveron, removed.

Lieutenant W. P. Anderſon, to the 2d of the 2d, *vice* Hay, removed.

Lieutenant G. B. Dunkin, to the 1ſt of the 11th, *vice* Ker, not arrived.

Lieutenant R. Dick, from the 1ſt of the 2d, to the firſt of the 3d, *vice Stephenſon*, removed.

Lieutenant G. W. Wiggins, to the 2d of the 9th, *vice* R. Berry, removed.

Lieutenant John Pudner, to the 2d of the 6th, *vice* Warner, removed.

Lieutenant William Beckfield Cox, to the 2d of the 1ſt, *vice* Jones, removed.

Enſign John Hannay, to the 2d European regiment.

Enſign J. H. R. Boileau, to the 2d ditto.

Enſign S. P. Friele, 2d ditto.

Enſign C. Fagan, 3d ditto.

Enſign T. Hall, 3d ditto.

Lieutenant Fireworker, J. H. Brooks, to join the artillery, in Fort William.

Meſſrs. Thomas Wilſon and Henry Hood, cadets for the engineer corps, are directed to put themselves under the orders of the ſenior officers of engineers at the preſidency.

30th September.

Mr. Roger Keys, Aſſiſtant Surgeon, is removed from Prince of Wales's Iſland and appointed to the General Hoſpital at the Preſidency.

Mr.

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Mr. Warring, Assistant Surgeon, is removed from the General Hospital at the Presidency, and appointed to the Troops stationed at Prince of Wales's Island, in the room of Keys, removed.

Lieutenant M'Leod is to act as Adjutant and Quarter master, to the Detachment proceeding under Lieutenant Colonel Woodburne.

1st October, 1798.

Lieutenant D.Colonel Woodburne, of Artillery, having produced a Certificate, granting him the permission of the Honourable Court of Directors to return to his station in the Army at this Presidency; he is admitted accordingly.

Captain John Darby, to be major, from the 10th of September, 1798, *vice* P. M'Dougall, deceased.

Captain Lieutenant John Donald Mitchie, to be captain of a company, from the 10th of Sept. 1798, *vice* Darby, promoted.

Brevet Captain and Lieutenant James Atkinson, to be captain lieutenant from ditto, *vice* Mitchie, promoted.

The undermentioned cadets for this establishment, having produced certificates of their respective appointments; resolved, that they be admitted to the service accordingly.

Mr. Thomas Shubrick, of the season 1796, his certificate dated 14th July, 1798.

Mr. John William Taylor, 19th July, 1798.

Mr. James Garner, 26th do. do.

Mr. Henry Rainey, 26th do. do.

Mr. Otto Clarke, 28th do. do.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF.

October 1.

Lieutenant Colonel D. Woodburne, is appointed to the 2d battalion of Artillery.

Major John Darby, is posted to the 1st battalion of the 13th regiment, vice M'Dougall, deceased.

Captain J. Gascoyne, is removed from the 2d battalion of the 4th regiment, to the 1st European regiment, vice Darby, promoted.

Captain J. D. Michie, is posted to the 2d battalion of the 4th regiment, vice Gascoyne, removed.

Captain Lieutenant Atkinson, is posted to the 2d battalion of the 2d regiment, vice Mitchie, promoted, but in consequence of the inconvenience of withdrawing him from Hydrabad, is directed to do duty with the 2d battalion of the 10th regiment, till further orders, and officiate as adjutant and quarter master.

Ensign Shubrick, is posted to the 3d European regiment.

Ensign J. William Taylor, to the 2d ditto.

Ensign James Garner, to the 3d ditto

Ensign W. H Rainey, to the 3d do.

Ensign Otto Clarke, to the 2d do.

Lieutenant Richard Lambert, is removed from the 1st battalion of the 4th regiment, and appointed to the 3d European regiment.

Lieutenant W. Baker, is removed from the 3d European regiment, and appointed to the 1st battalion of the 4th regiment:

Ensigns Friel and Boileau, are removed from the 2d European regiment, and appointed to the 2d battalion of the 7th native regiment.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF.

October 1.

Lieutenant Colonel Woodhouse is appointed to the 2d battalion of artillery.

Major J. Darby is posted to the 1st batt. 13th regt. vice M'Dougall, deceased.

Captain J. Gascoyne is removed from the 2d batt. 4th. regt to the 1st European regt vice Darby, promoted.

Captain J. D. Mitchie is posted to the 2d battalion, 2d regiment, vice Ritchie, promoted; but in consequence of the inconvenience of withdrawing him from Hydrabad, is directed to do duty with the 2d battalion, 10th regiment, till farther orders, and officiate as adjutant and quarter-master

Ensign Shewbrick is posted to the 3d European regiment.

Ensign J. W. Taylor to the 2d ditto.

Ensign J. Garner, to the 3d ditto.

Ensign W. H. Rainey to the 3d ditto.

Ensign O. Clarke, to the 2d ditto.

Lieutenant R. Lambert is removed from the 1st battalion of the 4th regiment, and appointed to the 3d European regiment.

Lieutenant W. Baker is removed from the 3d European regiment, and appointed to the 1st battalion, 4th regiment.

Ensigns Frail and Boileau are removed from the 2d European regiment, and appointed to the 2d battalion, 7th Native regiment.

By the GOVERNOR GENERAL *in* COUNCIL.

October 8.

Ensign T. Shewbrick to be lieutenant in 3d European regiment. Date to be hereafter adjusted.

Captain

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Captain G. A. Robinſon to be military auditor-general.

CALCUTTA EUROPEAN MILITIA.

To be ſecond lieutenant-colonel W. A. Brooke.

To be 1ſt major J. Webb

Second ditto J. Belli.

Captains, F. Gladwin, R. Bathurſt, F. Mure, J. Buller, G. H. Barlow, T. Myers, R. Birch, W. Farlie, W. Burroughs, and the honourable H. Welleſley.

To be lieutenants, H. Buller, C. Bennet, J. H. Harrington, J. Cotton, T. Daſhwood, R. W. Cox, G. Dowdeſwell, H. Trail, J. Vanzandt, J. Dickens, L. Ball, A. Colvin, J. Shaw, G. U. Lawtie, F. Horſley, T. Gowan, J. Palmer, W. Egerton, R. Parry, C. Rothman, and Allan Gilmore.

Cavalry. 1ſt captain and commandant W. Farquarſon,; 2d ditto C. Cockerell.

Lieutenants, Honourable F. Fitzroy, and Jos. T. Brown. F. Macnaghten to act as adjutant to the cavalry.

The under mentioned Armenian gentlemen to be officers in the militia, as follows:

Firſt *captain and commandant*, Moſes Arackal.

2d *ditto*, Johannes Sarkies.

1ſt *lieutenant*, Aratoon Petruſe.

2d *ditto*, Iſaac Malchus.

1ſt *enſign*, Narciſs Johanes.

2d *ditto* and *adjutant*, John Stephen Mirza.

CALCUTTA MILITIA.

November 30.

To be *lieutenants*—William Johnſon, N. B. Edmonſtone, Edward Strettell, Thomas Scott, James Alexander.

To be *enſigns*—John Hall, John Philip Gardiner, Daniel Seton.

January 25th, 1799.

The following promotions be made in the 2d regiment of Native infantry, in conſequence of the deceaſe of Captain Edward S. Conway.

Captain Lieutenant J. Rankin to be captain of a company, from the 15th January, 1799.

Brevet Captain and Lieutenant James Plover to be captain-lieutenant, from do.

Lieutenant Otto Clarke, of the infantry, to be removed to the cavalry, as cornet, under the expreſs condition which he has acceded to, of foregoing every pretenſion to rank in the army, from his having been promoted to the rank of lieutenant.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF,

29th January, 1799.

The following exchanges are permitted and ordered to take place:

3d *foot*. Lieutenant Robert Francis, from the 4th regiment, vice Lieutenant L. B. Grenier.

4th *foot*. Lieut. L. B. Grenier, from the 3d regiment, vice Lieutenant Robert Francis.

10th *ditto*. Captain J. W. Adams, from the 13th regiment, vice Captain J. D. Courcey.

13th *ditto*. Capt. J. D. Courcey, from the 10th regiment, vice Captain J. W. Adams.

Capt. J W. Adams is appointed to the 1ſt battalion of the 10th regiment.

Capt. D. Courcey is appointed to the 1ſt battalion of the 13th regiment.

Lieut. Francis is appointed to the 1ſt battalion of the 3d regiment.

Lieut. Grenier is appointed to the 1ſt battalion of the 4th regiment.

Cornet Otto Clarke is appointed to the 3d regiment cavalry.

25th January, 1799.

The following promotions and appointments in the Calcutta Portuguese militia:

To be *captains*, Lieutenant Charles Law, and Louis Baretto, Eſq.

To be *lieutenants*, Courtney Smith, H. P. Forſter, William Armſtrong, Antonio De Couto, Lawrence Picachy, James Robertson, and Mathew Mendes.

To be *enſigns*, Charles Leal, J. De Faria, Joſeph De Pereira, William Mendes, and C. Cornelius.

February 4, 1799.

The following promotions be made, in conſequence of the death of Major General Alexander Hardy.

Brevet Colonel Edward Clarke, to be colonel, from the 1ſt February, 1799, and to the command of the 9th regiment of Native infantry, vice Hardy deceaſed.

Brevet Lieut. Colonel Robert Bruce, to be lieutenant-colonel, from the 1ſt February 1799, vice Clarke, promoted.

1ſt *European Regiment*.—Capt. Samuel Jones to be major, from the 1ſt February 1799, vice Bruce, promoted.

Captain Lieutenant C. Cleoberry to be captain of a company, from the 1ſt Feb. 1799, vice Jones, promoted.

Brevet Captain J. Cunningham to be captain-lieutenant, from the 1ſt February, 1799, vice Cleoberry, promoted

Lieutenant

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Lieutenant Colonel Robert Bruce is appointed to the 1ſt European regiment vice Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, promoted.

Enſign Gordon of the Engineers is to act as adjutant of that corps, until further orders.

Enſign Smyth of the Engineer corps, is appointed aſſiſtant to the field engineer, in the room of Enſign Gordon.

Lieutenant Macaliſter of the Artillery is appointed adjutant to the troops at Prince of Wales's Iſland, in the room of Lieutenant Bagſhaw, reſigned.

Cornet Kilna Sweetenham is poſted to the 2d regiment of cavalry.

MADRAS.

In the Hon. COMPANY'S ARMY.

By the GOVERNOR *in* COUNCIL.

April 5, 1798.

Lieut. W. Burke, removed from the 2d batt. 3d regt. to the 1ſt or grenadier batt.

Lieut. W. Walker, removed from the 2d batt. 1ſt regt. to the 2d batt. 3d regt.

April 18.

Enſign J. Maynard to be lieutenant, vice Sherer, reſigned. April 11, 1798.

Lieut. R. F. Fowler to be quarter-maſter of the 1ſt batt. of artillery.

April 25.

Lieut. Fireworker T. Cokeſley to be lieutenant, vice A. Geils, reſigned. April 14.

Lieut. Fireworker J. Noble to be lieutenant, vice T. Geils, reſigned. Ditto.

Lieut. and Adjutant R. Charleton to be brigade major of artillery, vice Geils, reſigned.

May 18.

Lieut. Fireworker Weldon to be adjutant to the 2d batt. of artillery, vice Charleton.

Lieut. T. Coghlan to be advanced to the 1ſt European regt. vice Boyd, promoted.

May 16.

Aſſiſtant Surgeon J. Abernethie to be Surgeon, vice Speirs, deceaſed.

May 18.

Major-General Bridges, appointed to the Staff under the Preſidency, vice Geils.

Capt. J. Innes, appointed to the command of Pinagra, vice Rhodes, deceaſed.

Capt. C. Pearce, appointed to the command of Nagore, vice Hammond, deceaſed.

Lieutenant A. Hughes, appointed to the command of Pulcotah, vice Pearſon.

Enſign L. W. Hall to be lieutenant, vice Rhodes, deceaſed. May 14.

Captain J. Read, adjutant and quarter-maſter, 7th regt. native cavalry, to act as public ſtaff officer to the cantonment of Wallajabad.

July 15.

Major John Haliburton to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Macpherſon, deceaſed. July 24, 1798.

Captain James Brunton to be major, vice Haliburton, promoted. Ditto.

Captain Lieut. Alex. Orr to be captain of a company, vice Brunton, promoted. Ditto.

Brevet Captain David Ogilby to be captain-lieutenant, vice Orr, promoted. Ditto.

Enſign Mathew Hutchins to be lieutenant, vice Ogilby, promoted. Ditto.

Lieut. Colonel George Wahab, appointed to command the fort and garriſon of Amboor.

Lieut. Thomas Auguſtus Frazer appointed barrack-maſter in the center diviſion, vice Capper, reſigned.

Aug. 17.

Mr. R. Macally to be conductor of ſtores.

Aug. 38.

Captain Alex. Grant to be town major of Fort St. George, vice Malcolm, reſigned.

Captain John Brown to be aid-du-camp to the Governor.

Sept. 12.

Colonel H. H. Aſton, appointed to command the fort and garriſon of Arnee.

Major James Innes, to command the fort and garriſon of Tanjore.

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By the GOVERNOR GENERAL *in* COUNCIL.

November 1.

Madras Native Cavalry.

To be Lieutenant Colonels.—Brevet Lieut. Colonels John Murray and John Orr.

To be Majors.—Brevet Majors Thomas Dallas, John Torin, Keith Macalister, and Captain the Hon. Arthur St. Leger.

To be Captains.—Captain Lieut. John Leonard, Alexander Grant, J. K. Huddleston, and Augustus Floyer.

To be Captain Lieutenants.—Brevet Captains William Elliot, Thomas Burrows, James Geekie, and Bernard Delmonte.

To be Lieutenants.—Cornets D. Foulis, William Lewis, J. Rowles, and John Colebroke.

The Court having also directed that promotion in the army shall proceed upon the principles laid down in their dispatch of the 8th Jan. 1796.

Officers are permanently appointed to regiments agreeable to the foregoing principle, but are to continue to serve in the corps to which they now stand appointed, until the requisite removals can be effected without inconvenience.

1st Regiment.—Major Thomas Dallas; Captains Alexander Watson, John Leonard; Captain-Lieutenant William Elliot; Lieutenants William Stretch, James Hargrave, John Doveton, Thomas Nuthall, George Neale, D. Fowlis; Cornets D Walcot, H. O'Donnell.

2d Regiment.—Major J. Torin; Captains William Sheriff, Alexander Grant; Capt. Lieutenant Burroughs; Lieutenants R. Price, Alexander Strachan, H. C. Montgomery, M. Colby, J. M'Laine, William Lewis; Cornets A. D. Monteath, and Duncan Grant.

3d Regiment.—Major K. Macalister; Captains Charles Rumley, J. K. Huddleston; Capt. Lieutenants James Geekie, Alexander Deas, James Dunn, Geo. Kippen, Charles Dallas, K. G. Grange, James Rowles; Cornets Pat. M. Gill, and Henry Munt.

4th Regiment.—Major the Hon. St. Leger, Captains A. Thomas Pogson, A. Floyer; Captain-Lieutenant B. Delmonte; Lieutenants H. Williamson, P. Walker, William M'Gregor, H. Mackay, J. Overand, J. Colebrooke; Cornets F. A. Daniel, J. L. Lushington.

The privates in each troop of native cavalry are to be immediately augmented to seventy, according to the establishment now ordered by the Hon. Court.

BOMBAY.

By the GOVERNOR *in* COUNCIL.

April 3, 1798.

Lieut. T. C. Harris to be deputy adjutant-general, vice Gordon.

Captain J. Manley to be deputy commissary of stores in the southern division of Malabar, vice Harris, promoted.

Lieut. Brown to be muster master, vice Manly, promoted.

January 4, 1799.

4th Native Regiment.—Major Charles Boyé to be lieutenant-colonel.

Captain C. Patrick to be major, vice Boyé, promoted.

Captain Joh Brown to be ditto.

Captain-Lieutenants J. Brady, E. Moor, W. Sholl, and R. Gordon, to captains in ditto.

C. J. Mears to be captain of a company, vice Brown, promoted.

M. Bratton to be captain of a company, vice Patrick, promoted.

Brevet Captain J. C. Sheen to be captain-lieutenant, vice Moor, promoted.

Lieut. T. Cape to be captain-lieutenant, vice Sholl, promoted.

Lieut. D. Bruce to be captain-lieutenant, vice Gordon, promoted.

Lieut. G. Williams to be captain-lieutenant, vice Mears, promoted.

Lieut. J. Dusty to be captain-lieutenant, vice Bratton, promoted. Date of rank, December 28, 1798.

Feb. 5.

Lieut. Michael Kennedy to be fort adjutant and garrison quarter-master at Tannah.

Feb. 13.

Fencible Regiment.—Lieutenant John Beet, 2d batt. 3d native regt. to be adjutant and quarter-master of the 1st batt.

Lieut. T. Hill of the 1st batt. 2d native regiment, to be adjutant and quarter-

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quarter-master of the 2d battalion, ditto.

Captain A. Bethune to be brigade major to Major General Bowles, vice Williams, on furlough.

March 12.

Army in the Field.

Lieut. R. Weightman, of 1ſt batt. 8d regt. to be major of brigade.

Lieut. A. Campbell and Lieut. A. Gray, of his Majeſty's 77th regt. to be ditto.

Captain J. Baird to be captain of guides and intelligence.

Captain Lloyd to be baggage maſter and ſuperintendant of Bazars.

Lieut. R. Lewis to be muſter maſter to the troops, &c.

Lieut. J. Campbell to be poſtmaſter.

Captain D. Price to be Perſian and Hinduſtanic interpreter and tranſlator at head quarters.

Lieut. J. D. Watſon to be Malabar and Canareſe interpreter and tranſlator at ditto.

Thomas Cruſo, Eſq. to be ſuperintending ſurgeon.

Lieut. Macintoſh, of 77th regt. to be deputy commiſſary in the proviſion department.

Enſign Wilkinſon, of the European regt. to act as fort adjutant and quarter-maſter, during Captain Lloyd's abſence in the field.

Aſſiſtant Surgeon Sproule to be medical ſtorekeeper in the province of Malabar.

Lieut. W. Rome to be ſuperintendant of cattle, in the department of commiſſary of grain and proviſions, vice Captain D. Bruce, reſigned.

Lieut. H. M. Fitzgerald to act as adjutant to the 1ſt batt. 3d regt. native infantry.

Lieut. G. Lewellyn to act as deputy judge advocate in the Malabar province.

Captain Alexander Walker to be quarter-maſter-general.

Captain Stewart, deputy ditto.

Captain James Douglas to be commiſſary of elephants and cattle.

By the COMMANDER *in* CHIEF.

April 11.

Lieut. R. Lewis to be aid-du-camp to Major General Hartley, during the abſence of Lieut. Mahony.

Colonel G. V. Hart, of his Majeſty's 75th regt. to be ſuperintending officer of the line.

Lieut. N. Brutton to be aid-du-camp to colonel Hart.

April 19.

Captain J. Eyles to be adjutant and quarter-maſter to the detachment of artillery, vice Macredie, deceaſed.

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BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

MARCH 13, 1798, on board the ship Carron, at sea, the Lady of Col. Riddle, of a son.—19, at Cottai Perambo, in the Malabar province, the Lady of Maj. Disney, of a son.

APRIL 11, at Madras, the Lady of G. Lys, Esq. of a daughter.—16, at Patna, the Lady of H. Williams, Esq. of a son.—21, at Bombay, the Lady of M. B. Forbes, of his Majesty's 75th regt. of a daughter.—22, at ditto, the Lady of Lieut. J. Hayes, of a daughter.—Ditto, at Calcutta, Mrs. F. Dillent, of a son.—24, at Madras, the Lady of G. Rickets, Esq. of a daughter.—27, at Benares, the Lady of Captain Cullen, of a son.—30, at Cawnpore, the Lady of Dr. Freeman, of a son.

MAY 6, at Bombay, the Lady of H. Scott, Esq. of a daughter.—7, at Coffimbazar, the Lady of T. Brown, Esq. of a daughter.—9, at Calcutta, the Lady of B. Turner, Esq. of a daughter.—11, at Madras, the Lady of J. Brodie, Esq. of a daughter.

JUNE 7, at Serampore, the Lady of Capt. Moore, of a daughter.—Ditto, at Calcutta, Mrs. Pereira, of a daughter.—9, at Madras, Mrs. Connell, of a son.—Ditto, at Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. Grey, of his Majesty's ship Nonsuch, of a daughter.—12, at ditto, Mrs. Davidson, of a son.—13, at Bandel, Mrs. Landeman, of a son.—20, at Chouringhee, Mrs. Blanchard, of a daughter.—21, at Midnapore, the Lady of C. Oldfield, Esq. of a daughter.——*Lately*, at Pondicherry, the Lady of Mr. Kerjean, of a daughter.

JULY 1, at Bombay, the Lady of J. Rivett, Esq. of a daughter.—15, at Moneat, the Lady of Captain T. Brown, of a daughter.—20, at Calcutta, Mrs. Poole, of a daughter.—26, at ditto, the Lady of Capt. J. Cooke, of a daughter.——*Lately*, at Madras, the Lady of Mr. R. Williams, of a daughter.—At Masulipatam, the Hon. Mrs. Longman, the Lady of Lieut. T. Longman, of a son.

AUGUST 1, at Calcutta, the Lady of T. Gowan, Esq. of a daughter.—Ditto ditto, Mrs. A. M'Dowall, of a daughter.—Ditto ditto, Mrs. G. H. Garden, of a son.—4, at ditto, the Lady of G. Hall, Esq. of a son.—5, at ditto, the Lady of W. Jackson, Esq. of a son.—Ditto, at Berhampore, the Lady of Capt. Clerkson, of a daughter.—6, at Calcutta, Mrs. W. S. Cooper, of a son.—7, at Monghyr, the Lady of Capt. J. Williams, of a son.—10, at Dinapore, the Lady of Capt. Crockatt, of a daughter.—15, at Surat, the Lady of the Hon. Baron D'Abbedhyl, of a son.—Ditto, at Finnat, Mrs. Kennedy, of a son.—18, at Bombay, the Lady of Captain G. Holmes, of a son.—25, at Bankipore, the Lady of C. Boddam, Esq. of a son.—26, at Waltair, the Lady of Captain W. G. Geraud, of a daughter.—Ditto, at Arcot, the Lady of Capt. Sherriff, of a daughter.—27, at Calcutta, Mrs. Lawrence, of a son.—28, at Patna, the Lady of T. Hawkins, Esq. of a daughter.—30, at Madras, the Lady of Capt. Floyer, of a daughter.—31, at Calcutta, Mrs. Gillanders, of a son.——*Lately*, at Madras, the Lady of Major Brunton, of a daughter.—Ditto, the Lady of A. Falconar, Esq. of a daughter.—In the province of Malabar, the Lady of Capt. J. Shaw, of a daughter.

SEPTEMBER 1, at Calcutta, the Lady of S. Taylor, Esq. of a daughter.—8, at ditto, the Lady of J. Dickens, of a son.—10, at Madras, the Lady of M. Fitzgerald, Esq. of a son.—14, at ditto, the Lady of W. Bartlett, of a son.—Ditto ditto, the Lady of J. Underwood, Esq. of a son.—19, at Patna, the Lady of Captain G. Wilson, of a son.—21, at Calcutta, Mrs. Stewart, of a son.—26, at Madras, the Lady of S. R. Lushington, Esq. of a son.—29, at Chittegong, the Lady of P. Coales, Esq. of a daughter.

OCTOBER 1, at Calcutta, the Lady of C. Robertson, Esq. of a son.—9, at ditto, the Lady of T. R. Dent, Esq. of a daughter.—13, at Patna, the Lady of J. Barton, Esq. of a daughter.—21, at Pubna, the Lady of J. Shaw, Esq. of a son.—27, at Calcutta, the Lady of J. Palmer, Esq. of a son.—28, at ditto, the Lady of R. C. Birch, Esq. of a daughter.——*Lately*, at ditto, the Lady of Capt. Skelton, of a daughter.—At ditto, Mrs. Casey, of a son.—At St. Thome, the Lady of Mr. Davis, of a son.

NOVEMBER 10, at Calcutta, the Lady of the Rev. Mr. Brown, of a son.—11, at Madras, the Lady of C. Smith, Esq. of a son.—13, at Bombay, the Lady of Capt. R. Blackall, of a daughter.—16, at Calcutta, Mrs. Hungerford, of a daughter.—19, at Bombay, the

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the Lady of Captain A. Spens, of a daughter.—21, at Lucknow, the Lady of J. Lumſden, Eſq. of a ſon.—22, at Calcutta, Mrs. Jones, of a daughter.—Ditto, at ditto, Mrs. White, of a daughter.—26, at Benares, Mrs. Francs, of a ſon.—28, at Maſulipatam, the Lady of Capt. J Goldſworthy, of a daughter.—30, at Calcutta, the Lady of G. H. Barlow, Eſq. of a daughter.—*Lately*, at Cawnpore, Mrs. Madge, of a daughter.—At Malda, the Lady of W. Creighton, Eſq. of a ſon.—At Ruſſapugla, the Lady of Capt. H. Mercer, of a daughter.—At Bombay, the Lady of Capt. Powell, of a daughter.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Captain Skelton, of a daughter.

DECEMBER 1, at Calcutta, the Lady of W. Fairlie, Eſq. of a ſon.—Ditto, at ditto, Mrs. Huttemen, of a ſon.—3, at ditto, Mrs. Waltar Smith, of a ſon.—7, at ditto, Mrs. Blancy, of a daughter.—Ditto, at Bombay, the Lady of Lieut. W. Green, of a ſon.—8, at Mugletore, the Lady of J. Goldingham, Eſq. of a ſon.—9, at Calcutta, the Lady of W. Farquharſon, Eſq. of a ſon.—11, in Fort William, the Lady of Lieut. Colonel Montague, of a ſon.—14, at Calcutta, Mrs. Conyers, of a daughter.—Ditto, at Futtyghur, the Lady of Captain M. Fitzgerald, of a ſon.—19, at Calcutta, the Lady of Captain Gillmore, of a daughter.—Ditto, at Mugletore, the Lady of Capt. T. Hart, of a ſon.—Ditto, at Vizagapatam, the Lady of Capt. Preſtoh, of a ſon.—20, at Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. Tweedale of the Hon. Company's ſhip Earl Fitzwilliam, of a ſon.—26, at Cawnpore, the Lady of Lieut. Patton, of a ſon—29, at Calcutta, Mrs. Hollingberry, of a daughter.—Ditto, at Jeſſore, the Lady of J. Wintle, Eſq. of a ſon.—31, at Calcutta, Mrs. Sherman, of a daughter.—*Lately*, at ditto, Mrs. Roſs, of a daughter.—In the province of Malabar, the Lady of T. H. Biber, Eſq. of a daughter; and the Lady of C. R. Doolan of a ſon.

JANUARY 2, 1799, at Calcutta, Mrs. Blunt, of a daughter.—6, at Bankipore, Mrs. Dunn, of a daughter.—10, at Madras, the Lady of the Rev. Mr. Parr, of a daughter.—Ditto, at Vipery, the Lady of Lieut. Colonel Gordon of his Majeſty's 29th regt. of light dragoons, of a ſon.—11, at Cuddalore, the Lady of H. Taylor, Eſq. of a daughter.—Ditto, at Cawnpore, the Lady of Lieutenant P. Cartwright, of a ſon.—15, at Benares, Mrs. Stafford, of a daughter.—17, at Calcutta, the Lady of F. Horſely, Eſq. of a ſon.—21, at Madras, Mrs. Coulon, of a daughter.—22, at Innacondah, the Hon. Mrs. Murray, of a daughter.—28, at Cawnpore, the Lady of B. Maſon, Eſq. of a ſon.—29, at Chittegong, the Lady of J. Stonhouſe, Eſq. of a ſon.—*Lately*, in Fort William, the Lady of Captain Nelly of the artillery, of a ſon.—At Bombay, the Lady of the late W. Aſhburner, Eſq. of a daughter.—At Surat, the Lady of J. H. Cherry, Eſq. of a ſon.

FEBRUARY 6, at Coolbariah, Mrs. Sair, of a ſon.—Ditto, at Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. J. Delamain, of a daughter.—10, at Madras, the Lady of R. Woolfe, Eſq. of a ſon.—13, at ditto, Mrs. Penneiz, of a ſon.—15, at ditto, Lady Anſtruther, of a daughter, which died the ſecond day after its birth.—19, at Obya, Mrs Seely, of a daughter.—Ditto, at Calcutta, Mrs. Wiltſhire, of a ſon.—21, at Ganjam, the Lady of Major General Cunningham, of a daughter.—24, at Bombay, the Lady of F. Reeves, Eſq. of a daughter.—25, at Calcutta, Mrs. Hodgkinſon, of a daughter.—27, at ditto, Mrs. A. Fleming, of a daughter.—*Lately*, at Calcutta, the Lady of H. Tolfrey, Eſq. of a daughter.—At Kidderpore, Mrs. Burney, of a ſon.—At Madras, the Lady of Lieut. A. Jones, of a ſon.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Lieut. T. Dowell, of a daughter.—At ditto, the Lady of Capt. J. J. Bird, of a ſon.

MARCH 7, at Luckipore, the Lady of C. R. Crommelin, Eſq of a daughter.—10, at Bombay, the Lady of Lieut. J. Smith, of a daughter.—Ditto, at Calcutta, the Lady of Major Frazer, of a ſon; and the Lady of A. Binney, Eſq. of a daughter.—Ditto, at Futtyghur, the Lady of Lieut. Colonel J. Collins, of a ſon.—17, at Calcutta, Mrs. S. Jones, of a daughter.—*Lately*, at Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. J. Hodges, of a ſon—At Madras, the Lady of R. Sherſon, Eſq. of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of N. E. Kinderſley, Eſq. of a ſon.—21, at Madras, Mrs. Biſhop, of a ſon.—22, at Vellore, the Lady of Major Iſaacke, of a daughter.—24, at Innacondah, the Lady of Lieut. Colonel Kinſey, of a ſon.—At Manar, the Hon. Mrs. Turnour, of a ſon—At Tellicherry, the Lady of Major Diſney, of a daughter.

APRIL 4, at Madras, the Lady of E. Watts, Eſq. of a daughter.—23, at Berhampore, the Lady of Capt. O'Halloran, of a ſon.—28, at Serampore, the

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Lady of J. C. Pringle, Esq. Danish Commercial Chief, of a son.

MAY 1. at Calcutta, the Lady of T. Raban, Esq. of a son.—5, at Dinagepore, Mrs. G. Da Costa, of a son—15, at Pubna, Mrs Bafton, of a daughter—22, at Calcutta, Mrs. Kennedy, of a son.——*Lately*, at Madras, the Lady of Sir Thomas Strange, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

APRIL 18, 1798, At Calcutta, Mr. J. Parr, to Miss Bean.—16, at ditto, Lieut. A. Jones of the Hon. Company's infantry, to Miss A. Fairney.—20, at Vellore, Lieut. A. Gore of his Majesty's 75d reg. to Miss M. A. Urquhart.—22, at Bombay, C. Watkins, Esq. President at Fort Victoria, to Miss E. Bond.

MAY 1. at Calcutta, at J I.B.Proby, Esq. to Miss Hayes.—2, at Cawnpore, Cornet Haigs, of his Majesty's 27th reg. of light dragoons, to Miss E. Fawcett.—5, T.C. Pattle, Esq. of the Hon. Company's estab. at Canton, to Miss Middleton.—12, at Calcutta, D. Ross, Esq. to Miss Gall.—15, R. Chase, Esq. Alderman of Madrasjpatnam, to Miss Neale.—20, at Calcutta, G. Prager, Esq. to Mrs. Preston, widow of the late Capt Preston.—21, C. R. Crommelin, Esq. Commercial Resident at Luckipore, to Miss Wilkinson.—Same day, at Calcutta, S. Laprimaudaye, Esq to Miss Letch.——*Lately*, at ditto, Mr. W. Collier, to Miss E. Savage—In the Malabar province, Capt. Grummont, to Miss Draper

JUNE 14, at Cawnpore, Maj. P. Powell, to Miss Collie—16, at Calcutta, D. Campbell, Esq Sub-secretary, to Miss Cowper.—19, at Calcutta, Captain T. Jaffray, to Miss Heard.—20, at ditto, Mr. J. R. Juiford, Dep Commissary of Ordnance, to Miss Mary Vickers.—22, at Madras, R. Sherson, Esq. of the Hon. Company's civil service, to Miss Taylor——*Lately*, at Mausulipatam, Lieut. M. Boteman, of artillery, to Miss Wahab.—At Cochin, Lieut. Lawrence, of his Majesty's 77th reg. of foot, to Miss Knox.—At Calcutta, Mr. F. J. Bastion, to Miss J. E. Shaw.—At *St. Helena*, Lieut Forbes, of the navy, to Mrs Doveton.

JULY 1, at Calcutta, Mr. J. Le Clare, to Miss K. Shultz—11, at Diamond Harbour, G. Jackson, Esq. to Miss E. Falls,—12, at Calcutta, Capt. J. Carnagie, to Miss Ogilvie.——*Lately*, at ditto, Mr. W. Bason, Master in the Hon. Company's pilot service, to Mrs. Mary Riddeley.

AUGUST 2, at Itchapore, R. Campbell, Esq. to Miss E. Pasley.—5, at Masulipatam, W. H. Gordon, Esq. of the Madras estab. and Sheriff of Madras, to Miss M. A. Johnstone, a beautiful and accomplished lady.—Same day, at Bencoolen, B. W. Cox, to Miss Johnson.—Same day, at Padaug, J. Prince, Esq. to Miss Wittenberg—18, at Cawnpore, Mr. J. F. Muscilback, Commandant in the service of Ali Bahauder, to Miss A. Jones, daughtet of Mr. Muslyn Jones.

SEPTEMPTER 1, at Dinagepore, T. Parr, Esq. to Miss F. Rovarth.—Ditto, at Calcutta, Mr. E. Moroney, to Miss Robertson—Ditto ditto, M. L. Macintosh, to Miss E. S. Robertson.—Ditto, at Bombay, Lieut. J. T. Warren, to Miss C. A. Godwin.—8, at Calcutta, Mr. S. Evans, to Miss Stewart.—11, at Bombay, Maj. J. Bland of the Engineers, to Miss W. Bullock.—14, at Madras, Mr. W. Hope, to Miss Wheeler.—15, at ditto, Mr. Balfour, jun. to Miss Bell.—21, at Masulipatam, Wm. Northan, Esq. surgeon, Madras, Estab. to Miss Dixon.——*Lately*, at Kissengunge, Lieut J. Gibbs, to Miss Smith.—At Madras, Capt. Prescot of the Hon. Company's ship, Princess Charlotte, to Miss Tolley, daughter of the late Col. Tolley.—At the *Cape of Good Hope*, Lieut. Whitla, of his Majesty's 75th reg. to Miss Grindal.

OCTOBER 23, at Madras, H. A. D. Compton, Esq. one of the Attornies of the Court and Coroner of Madras, to Miss M. A. Carrere, daughter of the late Dr. Carrere, of that establishment.

NOVEMBER 11, at Calcutta, Mr. J. Morgan, to Miss Rozario.—14, at the *Cape of Good Hope*, S. H. Linzee, Commander of his Majesty's frigate, L'Oiseau, to Miss J. Clarke—17. at Pondamallie, Lieut. J. L. Jones, Fort Adj. to Miss Mackenzie.—21, at Calcutta, Mr. Lewis de Souza, to Miss M. Malow.—24, ditto, Mr. S. M. Lowder, to Miss Barnet.——*Lately*, Mr. J. G. Stacchinny, to Miss M. Hard.

DECEMBER 10, at Berhampore, Sir G. Leith, Bart. Brigade Maj. of his Majesty's troops in Bengal, and Aid-du-camp to the Right Hon. the Governor General, to Miss Albina Vaughan.—11, at Kidderpore, Mr. T. Stark, to Miss Frances Cunningham.—20, at Gothal, A. Stephens, Esq. of Keerpoy, to Miss Toucher.—24, at Monghyr, Mr. Howe, Conductor of Stores, to Miss E. Stokes.—26, at Tiager, Mr. J. Shaw, Conductor of Stores,

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Stores, to Miſs Ferguſon, eldeſt daughter of the Commanding Officer.—Ditto, at Calcutta, A. Wright, Eſq of Rungpore, ſen. merchant, in the Hon. Company's ſervice, to Miſs Jeſſup. ——*Lately*, at Hyderabad, G. Ure, Eſq. ſurgeon to the reſidency, to Miſs Blair.

JANUARY 1, 1799, at Surat, J. Vanderſloot, Eſq. of Cochin, to Miſs A. Hubdraw of Surat.—4, at Bombay, G. Keir, Eſq. M. D. to Miſs E. M. Goodwin.—7, at Bankipore, Mr. J. Feetenby, to Mrs. Ann Jones.—Ditto, at Calcutta, Mr. F. Dormieux, to Miſs A. Gladwin.—14, at ditto, Mr. R. Caſhore, Conductor of Ordnance, to Miſs M. Dormieux.—19, at ditto, Mr. E. M. Sandford, to Miſs S. Barraud.—27, at Calcutta, Mr. N. Mewrac, to Miſs D'Cruz.—29, at Jaunpore, F. Lawrence, Eſq. to Miſs E. Cook.——*Lately*, at Bombay, R. Stewart, Eſq. ſurgeon, to Miſs M. Frederick.—At Point de Galle, Capt. R. M'Cully, to Miſs Van Cump.—Ditto, Capt. E. Clarke of the Bengal artillery, and Commandant of that Garriſon, to Miſs Cara Beta de More.

FEBRUARY 2, at Calcutta, Mr. A. Thompſon, to Miſs C. Groce.—Ditto ditto, Mr. A. Roderick, to Miſs A. Vaſs.—13, at Natore, Mr. D. C. Macrody, to Miſs M. Fowlis.—16, at Calcutta, Mr. H. Eaſtgate, to Mrs. J. Bidault.—19, at ditto, Capt. J. Hickland, to Mrs. de Prelaz.—24, at ditto, Mr. P. Malchus, to Miſs A. Correa.——*Lately*, at Arnee, Maj. J. Blackwell, of his Majeſty's 29th light dragoons, to Miſs M. Whoop.—At the *Cape of Good Hope*, Lieut. Col. Cockburne, to Miſs A. de Wall.—Ditto, Lieut J. Graham, 28th light dragoons, to Mrs. Ferſen.—Ditto, Mr. Smith, Naval Store-keeper, to Miſs Moyne.—Ditto Lieut. Stutt, 28th light dragoons, to Mrs. Yeſſel.

MARCH 2, at Calcutta, Mr. J. Lewis, of the York Hotel, to Miſs E. Brigs.—8, at ditto, R. Cardin, Eſq. of Mirzapore, to Miſs Child —11, at ditto, Mr. Fulton, to Miſs L. Johnſon.—17, at Cawnpore, Capt. J. Hodgſon, to Miſs Hardwicke —19, at Bombay, J. Elphinſtone, Eſq. to Miſs M. Robertſon.—24, at Calcutta, Mr. M. Arthur, to Miſs M. Kearney.——*Lately*, at the *Cape of Good Hope*, Lieut. Col. Crawford, 98th reg. to the charming and amiable Miſs Barnard, niece to the Lord Biſhop of Limerick.

APRIL 1, Calcutta, Mr. J. Settle, to Miſs F. Walter.—3, at ditto, the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, to Miſs M. Whiſh—8, at Madras, G. Reid, Eſq. Accountant in the Revenue Department, to Miſs E. Routledge.—19, at Calcutta, Capt. R. Macgregor, to Miſs Graham.—28, at Narrain Gunge, Mr. C. Dibi, Conſtacki Mavrodoglio, to Miſs Effmiralda Panioty.—29, at Madras, G. G. Richardſon, Eſq. to Miſs E. C. Scott.—30, at Maſulipatam, Lieut. W. H. Hewitt, to Miſs Coltgrave.

MAY 11, at Calcutta, Mr. F. Purchaſe, to Miſs M. Mayer.—25, at ditto, Mr. J. Sirrel, to Miſs M. Wright.

DEATHS.

APRIL 7, 1798, at Madras, the Lady of Colonel Spens.—12, at Chandernagherry, R. Hamilton, Eſq. of the civil ſervice, Madras eſtab.—17, at Madras, Capt. W. Hammond, late Commandant at Karical.—18, at Tritchinopoly, Lieut. J. Caffidy of his Majeſty's 12th reg. of foot.—24, at Bombay, the infant ſon of Mr. Newton.—27, at Calcutta, the eldeſt daughter of Lieut. A. Green.——*Lately*, on his paſſage from Bencoolen to Calcutta, T. Cudlip, Eſq. a young gentleman of the moſt promiſing talents, of a fine taſte in poetry, and, by thoſe who knew him thoroughly, equally admired and eſteemed.—On his paſſage to England, Lieut. W. Preſcott of the Hon. Company's infantry; alſo, A. Spiers, Eſq. ſurgeon, Madras, eſtab.

MAY 9, at Calcutta, Mrs. Maxwell.—17, at Chandernagore, Mr. Rouſſeau —18, at Calcutta, the Lady of C. Thornhill, Eſq. Maſter-Attendant —Ditto ditto, Mr J. Storey, victualler.—20, at Bombay, W. Spink, Eſq. ſecond member of the Medical Board.—21, at Vellore, S. Gradman, 2d Lieut of his Majeſty's Swiſs reg. Demeuron, eſteemed and beloved by his friends, and deſervedly regretted by them.—22, at ditto, C. C. Kier, Eſq. one of the attornies of the Supreme Court.—20, at Calcutta, Mr. W. Keane, aſſiſtant in Commiſ. of Stores office.—26, at Chunar, Enſign S. Macgowan, of the Engineers.—27, at Madras, Captain G. C. G. Pitman, of the Engineers, ſincerely regretted by a large circle of friends, to whom his amiable qualities and liberal accompliſhments were well known and adequately eſtimated. He fell prematurely, neither preſſed with the weight of years, nor the accumulation of infirmities. The diſorder which haſtened on his diſſolution, is ſaid to have been increaſed by an exceſſive ſenſibilty, of which we lament the effect,

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fect, though we cannot but revere the cauſe. His funeral was attended by Gen. Roſs, Col. Gent, and ſeveral officers of the corps to which he belonged, and a number of private friends.—29, at Jugogopah, Capt. Darrah —— *Lately*, at Amboyna, Capt. C. Pickett, of the Bombay frigate.—On board the Hon. Company's extra ſhip Lion, Capt J. Doherty, of His Majeſty's 19th reg. —At Bencoolen, R. Maidman, Eſq. ſenior merchant and reſident at Crore.

JUNE 1. at Benares, Mr. J. Smith, merchant.—6, at Boglepore, H. E. Lutterlop, Eſq.—13, at Kiſtnagherry, Capt. W. Rhodes, of the Hon. Company's ſervice, and commanding Pinagra; a gentleman much eſteemed by his acquaintance; whoſe death has deprived the ſervice of a deſerving officer, his friends of a ſociable companion, and ſociety of a worthy and honourable man.—17, at St. Thome, the Rev. Free Antonie, Vicar of the Dominican Church. He died after a long and painful illneſs, which he bore with Chriſtian patience.—19, at Madras, at an advanced age, the Nabob Abdaul Waub Khan, Bahauder, brother to the late, and uncle to the preſent Nabob of the Carnatic.—26, at Calcutta, A. Marſton, penſioner in the Hon. Company's ſervice.——*Lately*, at Ramnaghur, Mr. C. E. Maclew, indigo manufacturer.—At Montapilley, B. Macmahon, ſurgeon, Bengal eſtab.—30, at Cawnpore, Col. J. M'Gowan, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers in the Bengal army. By the dint of his own abilities, he roſe himſelf from the ranks to the honourable ſituation which he filled at the time of his death. He was an intrepid and gallant ſoldier, an ardent and ſteady friend, and an unaffuming and upright man.

JULY 1, at Barrackpore, Lieut-Col. C. H. White.—Ditto, at Calcutta, Mr. W. Arnot.—4, at Tellicherry, Lieut. D. Phillips.—9, at Calcutta, Mrs. Paſchal Deſſa.—10, at Allahabad, Lieut-Col. A. Hearſey, Bengal eſtab. —13, at Calcutta, Mr. Syme, ſurveyor of the Antelope cruizer.—Ditto, at Monhyr, the infant ſon of Capt. J. Williams.—19, at Bombay, J. W. Laukheet, Eſq. of the civil ſervice of that eſtab.—22, at Madras, Mr. A. N. Brown, aſſiſtant ſurgeon, ſincerely regretted by all who knew him.—23, at Calcutta, H. Harvey, Eſq.—26, at Bandel, Mr M. D'Cruiz, aged 83.—29, at Monghyr, Mrs. Williams, wife of Capt. J. Williams. The fate of this Lady has been truly lamentable and diſtreſsing to her friends. A fine boy, 20 months old, and the only child ſhe had remaining in India, was attacked by a ſevere illneſs, which ſo early as the 2d ult. left no hopes of his recovery. On that day ſhe was herſelf ſeized with a violent fever; and although ſhe was in the laſt month of her pregnancy, yet ſhe could not be prevailed upon to quit his bed-ſide, until the pains of labour forced her from him. On the death of the child, her ſtrength and ſpirits entirely failed her; and ſhe ſunk under the affliction, 16 days after him.—— *Lately*, at Rampore Buddeſſary, in the diſtrict of Purnea, Mr W. White, ſincerely regretted.—At Calcutta, Mrs. C. Edwards.—At Madras, the youngeſt daughter of Lieut. Preſton.—On his paſſage to the Cape, Mr. Baſkett, ſecond officer of the Hon. Company's ſhip Hawkeſbury —On board the ſame ſhip, Capt. Moor of the army.—On their paſſage from India to Europe; Mrs. Maule, relict of the late Colonel Maule; Mr. R. Weſtett of civil eſtab. at the Madras Preſidency; the Lady of R. S. Perreau, Eſq; Capt. Bunbury of his Majeſty's 52d reg. of light dragoons; and C. Fordyce, Eſq. of the civil ſervice, Bengal eſtab.

AUGUST 8, at Chunar, Capt. W. Butler, Fort-adjutant and Barrack-maſter of that ſtation —5, at Arungabad, Noorud-Deen Hoſſain Khan, principal native agent of the Britiſh reſident at Poonah, aged 64.—8, at Chunar, Capt. M. White, 8th reg. of native inf.—10, at Barrackpore, J. G. Hoare, Eſq. of the infantry in the department of the Surveyor-General.—Ditto, in Fort-William, at the quarters of the Hon. Col. Welleſley, after a ſhort but ſevere illneſs, in the 28th year of his age, A. Hunt, Eſq. late Captain in the Royal Navy, and commander of His Majeſty's ſhip La Virginie. He was an officer eminently qualified for all the duties of his profeſſion, and diſtinguiſhed for his urbanity in all the habitudes of ſocial life.—13, at Calcutta, on board the ſhip Eurydice, W. Lockhart, Eſq. of the Hon. Company's ſervice, in the revenue department.—16, in Fort William, K. Moore, Eſq. aged 24 years, late ſurgeon on board His Majeſty's ſhip La Virginie.—21, at Bombay, Miſs H. A. Banatyne, daughter of Col. J. Banatyne.—23, at Arcot, Lieut.-Col A. Macpherſon, commandant of Amboor. He had been upwards of 27 years in the Hon. Company's ſervice: He was particularly diſtinguiſhed for his facility in acquiring

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acquiring the country languages, and for the fluency with which he ſpoke them. He was an able and zealous officer, a pleaſant companion, and a truly amiable man.—Ditto, at Kidderpore ſchool, Miſs C. M. Anderſon.—25, at Culcutta, Mr. Soubiſe.——*Lately*, at Bencoolen, J. Maidman, Eſq. reſident at Croco.—29, at Madras, Mr. Polard.

SEPTEMBER 1, at Calicut, R. Lewis, Eſq. Bombay civil eſtab.—6, at Calcutta, M. C. Andrews, much and juſtly regretted.—8, at ditto, Mrs. M. Jackſon.—9, at St. Thome, Father Fre Luis de Santa Anna, Vicar General to the Right Hon. the Biſhop of that place, aged 75.—Ditto, at Chunar, Major P. Macdougal.—11, at Bombay, Mr. C. Oram, aſſiſtant ſurgeon.—12, at Calcutta, Mr. J. Henderſon.—13, at Pondicherry, Colonel Chermont, *ci-devant* Governor of that place, a poliſhed gentleman, and a zealous officer.—14, at Calcutta, S. M. Taylor, Eſq. aſſiſtant to the reſident at Lucknow,—17, at ditto, Mr. W. Cowley, after a long illneſs, huſband of Mrs. Cowley, the celebrated dramatic writer.—Ditto, at Madras, Major T. Gordon.—19, at Hoogley, the Lady of the Hon. C. A. Bruce, and daughter of Sir Charles Blunt; a lady endowed with the fineſt talents, as well as with every female accompliſhment, which, while they gave ſtrength to her virtue, and confidence to the ſpotleſs innocence of her heart, ſerved to dignify rather than command the native modeſty of her manners. To a huſband well qualified to appreciate her worth ſhe was a loving and dutiful wife; to her father, ſhe was an affectionate daughter, to her family ſhe was a tender friend; and to her friends ſhe was an eſtimable companion.—21, at Madras, Mr. J. Bray, ſurveor of his Majeſty's ſhip Surfolk; much regretted.—29, at Midnapore, Mr. Potter, many years merchant at that place.——*Lately*, at Columbo, Capt. C. M. Cloyfield, 29th reg.—At Serampore, Mr. P. Allen.—At Surat, the infant daughter of J. Price, Eſq.

OCTOBER 1, at Calcutta, Mrs. T. Smith.—10, at ditto, the wife of Mr. D. Wilſon.—20, at Ramnad, Lieut. and Adjutant S. Clarke, of the Marowa eſtab. Endeavooring to ſtop a Polygar at the fort gate from making his eſcape, about 3 P. M. he was ſtabbed through the body, and fell dead on the ſpot. He was a worthy man, and a diligent and brave officer. He has left a helpleſs young family of three children, without any proviſion, to lament the loſs of their departed father.——*Lately*, on board the Oſterley. Capt. Mackintoſh, Madras eſtab.—On her paſſage to England, the wife of Captain J. Campbell, Madras artillery.—At Jegger atpuram. Mr. J. Garthſhore, firſt officer of the ſhip Begler.

NOVEMBER 3, at Calcutta, Mr. J. Croſſgriff.—5, at ditto, Mr. J. D. Mathews.—8, at ditto, the infant daughter of T. R. Dent, Eſq.—11, at Bombay, Lieut. D. Gibſon—18, at ditto. S. Ince, Eſq. ſenior merchant in the Hon. Company's ſervice.—19, at ditto, after a lingering illneſs of eighteen months, the youngeſt daughter of J. Morris, Eſq. aged two years.—Ditto, at Calcutta, S. Fairfax, Eſq. a young man whoſe early virtues raiſed the fondeſt expectation in the boſom of his friends: to whom, and to ſociety, he promiſed to become a moſt uſeful and valuable ornament. Mr. F. was the ſon of C. W. Fairfax, Captain of Admiral Lord Duncan's ſhip, the Venerable, on the 11th Oct. 1798. He went to India laſt year as a cadet, and was lately transferred to the civil ſervice.—25, at Madras, T. Pelling, Eſq. aged 76; late partner in the reſpectable and long eſtabliſhed houſe of Pelling, De Fries, and Co.—28, at Calcutta, Capt. P. Campbell, late commander of the Surpriſe.——*Lately*, at Rungpore, Brevet Capt Ulyſſes Brown, a gentleman much admired for his convivial qualities, and very deſervedly lamented.

DECEMBER 2, in Fort William, Mr. Frampſon, third officer of the Hon. Company's ſhip London.—4, at Calcutta, Mr. B. Hard.—Ditto ditto, Mr. A. Anderſon.—12, at ditto, Mr. J. J. Haywood, aſſiſtant in the Surveyor-General's office.—14, at ditto, Mrs. M. Stephenſon.—Ditto ditto, Captain Wagſtaff, of the Engineers.—16, at ditto, Mr. W. Collier.—Ditto, at Hyderabad, Enſign G. Leith.—23, at Arnee, in the Carnatic, Col. H. Aſhton, commanding his Majeſty's 12th regt. of foot. He died in conſequence of a wound which he received in an unfortunate duel with a brother officer. He was a man well known in the firſt circles of faſhion in England; the friend and companion of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, to whom he had been recommended by the generoſity of his heart, no leſs than by the elegance and urbanity of his manners.—25, at Bandel, the Rev. Free Joaquim de St. Ritta,

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Ritta, prior of that place.---29, at Vellore, Lieut. H. C. Jones, of the Hon. Company's infantry.

JANUARY 2, 1799, Capt. T. Williamson, Bengal eſtab.---6, at Madras, C. M. Buſhby, Eſq. one of the advocates of the Recorder's Court.---10, at Calcutta, Brevet Enſign J. Vickers.---11, at ditto, Mr. J Hutchinſon, aſſiſtant in the Military Board office.---14, at Benarer, G. T. Cherry, Eſq. ſenior Judge of Appeal; Capt. E. S. Conway; Mr. R. Evans; and Mr. E. Hill, indigo planters. Theſe gentlemen fell a ſacrifice to the vindictive malice and brutal ferocity of Vizier Ally, the depoſed Nabob of Oude, in the memorable maſſacre at Benares, which was planned and executed by that atrocious and profligate prince, and of which a part cular account will be found in our Chronicle for the above month.---26, at Berhampore, Lieut R. Fagan.---28, at Calcutta, Mr. N. Bacon.---31, at Barrackpore, Maj. Gen. A. Hardy.——*Lately*, at Burragong, Enſign G. Clephane.---At Madras, the infant ſon of J Goldingham, Eſq. ---Drowned on the coaſt of Malabar, Mr. Henderſon, chief officer of the ſhip Jane.---At Madras, Captain Lieut. J. Logan, Bengal eſtab.---At Gya, Lieut. T. H. Welſh, Adj. of the Ramgut battalion.---At the *Cape*, E. Hay, Eſq. ſenior merchant, Bengal eſtab. and fourth member of the Board of Trade at Calcutta; a man valuable for his incorruptible integrity, pure honour, and ardent benevolence.

FEBRUARY 1, at Calcutta, Kiſſen Perſaud Holdar---5, at Serampore, Mr. C. Cole, formerly of Calcutta, aged 80. ---15, at Calcutta, Mrs. M. D'Cruz. ---17, at ditto, Mr. Pirie, watchmaker.---Ditto ditto, Mr. A Coutts.---20, at Madras, Miſs M. J. Frend, daughter of Mrs Fitzgerald.---21, at Chingurah, Mr. F. Strother.---24, in Fort William, J Muſgrave, Eſq. ſurgeon in his Majeſty's 76th regiment, much regretted by his brother officers. ——*Lately*, near Hyderabad, Major Simpſon, late in the ſervice of his Highneſs the Nizam, and formerly Baggage-maſter to the Britiſh army on the Continent, under the command of the Duke of York.---At Calcutta, Lieut. and Adj. R. G. M'Millan ---At Pondamallie, W. Bevelie, Eſq. aſſiſtant ſurgeon.---At Madras, the infant daughter of Mr. Reynolds ---On his paſſage to Madras, Capt. T. Stevenſon, of the Hon. Company's infantry, and commanding Rajahmundry.---On the voyage from England to China. Captain Eſphin, of the Company's ſhip Airley Caſtle.

MARCH 1, at Calcutta, Mr. W. Ingram, ---Ditto, at Burdwan, R. Ireland, Eſq. ---2, at Bombay, Lieut. G Bowſon.---3, at Dacca, J. Herbert, Eſq.---7, at Bombay, the infant ſon of Captain Holmes.---14, at Nagore, the Lady of C. Harris, Eſq ---Ditto, at Trincomallée, Lieut. W. H. Gordon.---17, at Calcutta, Captain Cowliſhaw, of the Bengal native infantry.---20, at ditto, Mr. E. Daniel.---Ditto ditto, Mr. R. Moſs, late poſt-maſter of Kedgere.---21, Mr. W. Haſtings, who fell from the chopper of a boat, and was drowned. ---Ditto, at Calcutta, Mr. S. Joſeph, late interpreter to Sir W. Dunkin.---24, at Mazagon, ſuddenly, Nabob Havatt Saib ---30, at Chinſurah, Miſs M. Stalenberry.——*Lately*, on board La Forte, Mr Riddell, late of the ſhip Lord Mornington.---Killed on board his Majeſty's frigate La Sybille, in the action with La Forte, Captain R. Davies, of the Bengal eſtab. Aid-du-Camp to the Governor-General, and Fort-Adj. of Fort-William. He was a brave and ſkilful officer; in the army no leſs diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge and public ſpirit, than in private life for the amenity of his manners and the purity of his heart.

APRIL 8, in Fort William, Mr. T. Sherwin.---24, with Col. Brown's detachment, near Erroad, Lieut. Sir J. Colquhoun, Bart. 19th regt.——*Lately*, on board the Exeter, Mr. J. Holmes, ſupercargo, formerly of Calcutta.---At Bombay, Capt. C. P. Oliſſon, formerly of Tranquebar.---Ditto, Mr. W. Maughan. ---On the Malabar coaſt, Capt. Scholl, Gilkey, and Thompſon, of the Hon. Company's infantry.---At the Cape, Admiral Sir Hugh Chriſtian.

MAY 2, at Fort-William, Maſter J. Wade.---4, at the houſe of Mr. R. Ledlie, at the Powder Mills, W. Johnſon, Eſq. attorney of the Supreme Court, and Clerk to Mr. Juſtice Royds. ---Ditto, at Calcutta, Mr. T. Baber.---5, at ditto, Mr. M. Rock.---6, at Aſhtoor, on his way from the grand army to the coaſt, for the recovery of a conſtitution worn out in the ſervice of his country, Lieut Colonel J. Murray, commandant of the 1ſt reg. of native cavalry.---10, at Calcutta, the Rev. Mr. J.Z.Kiernander.---Ditto ditto, C. Coates, Eſq. of the Honourable Company's civil

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civil ſervice.—11, at Vellore, Col. R. Sale.—14, at Madras, the Lady of Sir T. Strange, Knight, Recorder of that place.—15, at ditto, the Lady of Capt. Charleton, of the coaſt artillery.—23, at the houſe of T. Muir, Eſq. Chouringhee, after a painful and lingering illneſs, in conſequence of the wound he received in the engagement between La Sybille and La Forte, on the 1ſt of March, in Balaſore Roads, Edward Cooke, Eſq. Poſt-Captain in the Royal Navy, and Commander of his Majeſty's ſhip La Forte. Little of our humble praiſe is required to the memory of an officer ſo honoured, and of a man ſo beloved; the glory of his own ſplendid achievement, as it was his higheſt reward, ſo it is his nobleſt encomium, and the affection of his friends, which formed the happineſs of his life, is the beſt tribute that can be offered to his virtues. The merits of diſtinguiſhed characters are indeed ſeldom diſcriminated with due impartiality; but in the praiſes which have been beſtowed on him for whom we now mourn, the voice of friendſhip and the language of truth are the ſame; and the faithful page of hiſtory will tranſmit his name to poſterity with undiminiſhed luſtre.—26, at Calcutta, the Lady of Mr. T. Woodhouſe, in the pilot ſervice.—27, at ditto, the Lady of Mr. W. Tulloch.——*Lately*, at ditto, Mr. W. Macleod, of 73d reg.—At Madras, Major Macdonald.—On board the Company's ſhip Buſbridge, on his paſſage to Europe, Lieutenant Murray.—At Calcutta, Mr. Hodgſon, writer.—At ditto, Lieut. Brooke, of the Madras eſtab.

By the laſt accounts from India, we are ſorry to learn, that the Hon. Major-General St. Leger, died ſuddenly at Ceylon ſome time in May laſt.

SUPPLE-

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SUPPLEMENT TO THE CHRONICLE.

[Although the following papers do not come in the order of time, we have placed them first in our Supplement, on account of their importance.]

Tranſlations of authentic PERSIAN PAPERS *found in the Palace of Seringapatam, after the reduction of that Capital by the Army under the command of Lieutenant General Harris.*

THE PERSIAN PAPERS, of which the following numbers are true tranſlations, by N. B. Edmonſtone, Perſian Tranſlator, were found in the palace of the late TIPPOO SULTAUN at Seringapatam.

They are authenticated as either true copies, or original documents, either by the Private Secretary to the Commander in Chief of the Britiſh forces, prior to the inſtitution of a Board of Commiſſioners for the Affairs of Myſore; or, ſubſequently, by members of that Board, and alſo by HUBEEB-OLLIA, head moonſhy (or ſecretary) to the late TIPPOO SULTAUN.

The papers from No. 1, to No. 20, incluſive, relate to the alliance between TIPPOO SULTAUN and the French nation.

The originals of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, and 20, are memorandum books, partly in TIPPOO SULTAUN's own hand-writing, and partly in that of his head moonſhy, and of ſeveral of the principal officers of his government.

They are tranſlated in the form and order in which they reſpectively appear in the original memorandum books.

The hand-writing of the Sultaun, and of each of the chiefs or ſecretaries, was pointed out and atteſted by HUBEEB-OLLIA.

The papers ſubſequent to No. 20, exhibit the intercourſe which ſubſiſted between TIPPOO SULTAUN and ZEMAUN SHAH, the King of Cabul, for purpoſes hoſtile to the Britiſh Empire in India.

It is proper to remark, that the late TIPPOO SULTAUN, either with a view to denote, in the moſt conſpicuous manner, his pretenſions to abſolute ſovereignty and independence, or from the ſuggeſtions of pride or caprice, or from thoſe motives combined, changed the æra in uſe with all other Muſſulman States, and altered the names and deſignations of all the offices of government; of the diviſions of territory and terms of revenue; of the implements of war, and of coins, weights, and meaſures; ſubſtituting names of his own invention, for thoſe which are in uſe in every other part of Hindoſtân. The æra which he adopted, is preciſely the Tellingana, which commenced with the Caili-Yoog, or fourth incarnation of Viſhnû, according to the mythology of the Hindûs. It conſiſts of ſucceſſive cycles of ſixty years each, every year bearing a diſtinct name, and of theſe cycles eighty-one are ſaid to have elapſed.—TIPPOO SULTAUN invented new names for thoſe years, and changed the names of the months; adding thereto the æra of the birth of MAHOMMED (or rather that of MAHOMMED's aſſumption of the character of God's Meſſenger) which was thirteen years prior to the Hijerah.

The

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The ſeries of papers here printed, forms but a ſmall part of the voluminous correſpondence found in the palace of Seringapatam, all of the ſame tendency, and manifeſting the ſame implacable hatred of the Britiſh Nation. The recent diſcovery and tranſmiſſion of a large portion of that correſpondence occaſions the following collection to be leſs complete than it might have been, by the addition of papers equally intereſting and important with thoſe now printed, which would ſerve to connect the chain of tranſactions, and to corroborate the evidence of facts. But the following papers are more than ſufficient to ſhew the unremitting ardor with which the late TIPPOO SULTAUN had for years purſued the objects of his inſatiable revenge, by violating every principle of faith, truth, and honour, and by deſcending to artifices the meaneſt and moſt degrading to his character, as a man and a ſovereign.

No. 1.

[The whole of the original of this number is in Tippoo Sultaun's own handwriting.]

Names of the Sirdars (or chiefs) of the French nation.

Five ſelect Sirdars, poſſeſſing the ſupreme authority of France: the title of their office—*Pouvoir Executif.* They are alſo called *Membres.*

Official deſignation of the aſſembly of five hundred Sirdars, conſtituting the deliberative body in France, and ſubordinate to the five Sirdars above-mentioned—*Conſeil des Anciens.*

The official deſignation of the two perſons out of the aſſembly of five hundred, compoſing the deliberative body in France, who are at the Mauritius——*Aux Repreſentans du Peuple.*

The name of the perſon who came out with the appointment of Commander in Chief, on the part of the French nation in India, is General Citoyen Mengalon.

The commander of all the French ſhips—*Citoyen Sercey, Admiral de Mer de la Republique.*

Name of the chief of the Mauritius—Malartique, *Governeur General de L'Iſle de France, et de la Reunion.*

Names of the three iſlands belonging to the Engliſh—Ireland, Guernſey, Jerſey.

On the Engliſh iſland, there was once the Rajah of a tribe called Cooſſeea, an hundred years ago: the Engliſh Rajah put the Rajah of the Cooſſeeas * to death, and took poſſeſſion of his country.

In the name of God, the merciful, the compaſſionate!

What occurs to my mind is this; To retain the Frenchman, Ripaud, as a vakeel, oſtenſibly as a ſervant: to purchaſe the ſhip which he has brought, load upon it black pepper, and other articles of merchandize. To ſend two confidential perſons, with letters from that Frenchman. There are two European navigators with Ripaud; to entertain them in the capacity of navigators; and entruſting to the verbal communications of theſe two reputable perſons and the Frenchman, what is intended to be communicated, ſatisfy the mind of the French nation, and require Chriſtian forces. The officers of each department to commit in writing their opinion ſeparately.

Ripaud has agreed to this.

Subject adjuſted, 25th March, 1797.

On the 2d April, 1797, two perſons,

* Cooſſeea ſeems intended for *Ecoſſais*, Scotch; and the Rajah, for one of the kings of Scotland.

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perſons, Meer Ghoolaum Ally, and Meerza Bauker, were appointed to proceed to Europe, for the purpoſe of negotiating with the French nation, and Huſſun Ally, and Meer Yooſuf Ally, to accompany the commander of the French ſhips, by name *Citoyen Sercey, Admiral de Mer de la Republique Francaiſe.*

Queſtion to the Officers of Government:——What negotiations and engagements ſhall be entered into with the French nation?

Anſwer:——1ſt. The French troops and French commander, to be under the orders of the Khoodadaud * Sircar, in military matters, as well as with reſpect to † marches and halts. 2dly, After taking Cheenaputtan (Madras), it ſhould be deſtroyed, and let the ſea overwhelm it. From Pondicherry to Madras, territory y elding five lacks of rupees, to be given to the French; the remainder of the Cuddalore diſtrict to belong to the Khoodadaud Sircar. The fort of Ginjee, alſo to be ceded to the French. Every one to appropriate whatever plunder he acquires in the fort of Madras and the Black Town. The fort of Goa to belong to the Khoodadaud Sircar; Bombay to belong to the French. 3dly, The army of the Khoodadaud Sircar, to unite with that of the French, in the conqueſt of Bengal. The commander of the forces of the ‡ Ahmedy Sircar, and the commander of the French troops to act in concert. No operation to be undertaken without the advice of the commander of the French troops. Such part of the territory of Bengal as may be conquered, to be equally divided between the Khoodadaud Sircar and the French. 4thly, The queſtion of war and peace with the Engliſh to be decided only by the mutual advice of the parties, that is to ſay, the Khoodadaud Sircar, and the French.

On the back of the original:

O Protector!

Belonging to the Preſence.

No. 2.

[The whole of the original of this number is in the hand writing of Mohummed Rezza, the Binky Nabob.]

Anſwer from the Meer Meraun, & Heads of the Military Department.

Our humble repreſentation is as follows:—Let your Highneſs for the preſent ſatisfy Ripaud's mind; and keeping him here, require him to write letters of aſſurance (of encouragement) to the French. Send thoſe letters to the Mauritius, and call in a Chriſtian force. That force to be directed againſt Calicut; and having conquered the Calicut diſtrict, let the latter be made over to the Khoodadaud Sircar. After which let proviſions and ſuccour be ſupplied from the Khoodadaud Sircar; and let it be taken into your Highneſs's ſervice. The chaſtiſement of the Engliſh is on every account indiſpenſible. Every moment, every hour, the agitation of this affair is neceſſary and paramount to every thing. In ſpite of the expenditure of ſo large a ſum of money, the inſincerity, faithleſſneſs, and refractory diſpoſition of the French, is evident to your Highneſs. Without their making over to the Khoodadaud Sircar the diſtrict of Calicut, it does not appear adviſeable to us, that they ſhould be permitted to land

* Khoodadaud, literally ſignifies "God given." Tippoo Sultaun adopted this deſignation at the concluſion of the war in 1792.

† That is to ſay, all military operations.

‡ Another term by which Tippoo Sultaun uſed to deſignate his government.

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hand in any of your Highneſs's ports, and be furniſhed with proviſions and ſuccours. Though the ſhip ſhould be purchaſed from the Frenchman by the Khoodadaud Sircar, ſtill it would not be adviſeable to ſend her, for they ſeized this ſhip piratically. We do not know what port ſhe belongs to: and, therefore, leſt ſome diſturbance ſhould happen in the voyage on this account, let your Highneſs ſend ſome other ſhip, under the name of a merchant ſhip, with a quantity of black pepper and rice, and diſpatch her, together with two European navigators and the confidential perſons. Letters from the Khoodadaud Sircar are unneceſſary.

(Signed) MOHUMMED REZZA.
POORNEA.

On the back of the original:
Meer Meraun.

Subject adjuſted on the 25th March 1797.

No. 3.

[The whole of the original of this number is in the hand writing of Syud Mohummud Khan, who was killed in the aſſault of Seringapatam, on the 4th of May.]

The Anſwer from the Meer Aſſofs, or Head Revenue Officers.

It is repreſented as follows:—Your Highneſs ſhould by any means retain Ripaud till two whole months, and wait till you receive accurate intelligence of the ſtate of the war between the French and Engliſh. It appears moſt adviſeable not to ſend the two navigators, Ripaud's companions, until then. Becauſe this circumſtance, conceal it as you may, cannot be entirely hid from them. And ſhould they be deſirous of making a peace together, they will make a handle of this circumſtance, to come to an accommodation. Your Highneſs ſhould effect this in ſuch a manner, that no one may be able to unite with them*. With regard to the amount of the French force, if you ſhould require a larger force than the reſources of this country are ſtrictly adequate to, yet they will not bring the whole. It is the practice of this nation, outwardly to promiſe a great deal, and to fall very ſhort in performance. Should it be your Highneſs's pleaſure, I would propoſe, that your Highneſs ſhould take from Ripaud two of his Europeans, and nominating a perſon from among the ſervants of the Sircar, cauſe letters to be drawn up by the hand of Ripaud, and diſpatch them ſpeedily. So that all three, proceeding together, may give an account of the attachment between the Khoodadaud Sircar and the French, and ratify engagements with them in their own country and return. After receiving authentic intelligence, let your Highneſs carry into effect ſuch important buſineſs as may be to be performed. This is what appears to be the moſt adviſeable line for your Highneſs to purſue.

If Ripaud's ſhip may be purchaſed at a fair price, we would recommend it your Highneſs to purchaſe it: at the ſeaſon of action it is needful.

Dated 21ſt March 1797.

(Signed)
MEER MOHUMMED SAUDER,
MERAUN HOOSSAIN,
SYUD MOHUMMUD.

Queſtion on the part of the Khoodadaud Sircar.—What negotiations and engagements ſhall be entered into with the French nation?

How

* The Engliſh muſt be here underſtood.

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How far it is practicable to eſtabliſh a perfect union with the French is evident. If the ſcene of war were in France, the entire aid of the Khoodadaud Sircar would not be afforded them; nor could it. In the ſame manner, neither could the whole aid of the French be afforded in the country of the Sircar. How then can a perfect union be effected with the French nation? Unleſs, indeed, as it is with the Engliſh, by giving into the hands of the French, the ports, iſlands, and forts, and admitting a permanent French force to be in the neighbourhood, then an union may be effected. An alliance (literally *partnerſhip*) with adventurers (literally *travellers*), men who carry their houſes on their backs, indigent and unconnected, is a delicate buſineſs. Still, however, in conformity to order, it is humbly recommended, that you ſhould, in the firſt inſtance, completely eſtabliſh your engagements with the French, and then proceed to buſineſs.—Dated as above.

On the back of the original:
Meer Aſſof.

No. 4.

Anſwer from the Meer Yem, or Head of the Marine Department.

What negotiations and engagements ſhall be entered into with the French nation?

An engagement to this effect ſhould be made with the Sirdars of the French nation, viz. That while the ſun and moon endure, the French ſhall not ſwerve from their friendſhip with the Khoodadaud Sircar, and that they ſhall not act, with reſpect to the continuation of war or the concluſion of peace, without the concurrence (literally *order*) of the Khoodadaud Sircar; and that after the arrival of the French force, its marches and halts (in other words military operations) ſhall be at the diſcretion of the Khoodadaud Sircar.

(Signed)
Ghoolaum Ally,
Haufez Mohummed.

Subject adjuſted on the 25th March, 1797.

It will be proper to ſend two reſpectable perſons, as upon a trading concern; and it is adviſeable to aſcertain the ſtate of things.

(Signed)
Haufez Mohummed,
Meer Ghoolaum Alli.

On the back of the original:
Oh Protector!
Meer Yem.

No. 5.

[The whole of the original of this number is in the hand writing of Ghoolaum Ally.]

Anſwer from the Meer Suddoor, or Head Department connected with Forts and Garriſons.

What your Highneſs has ſtated, is highly right and proper. It being your Highneſs's deſign to ſend for a French force, we recommend it to your Highneſs to eſtabliſh your engagements firmly in Europe, and then require it; otherwiſe, after involving you in a conteſt, they will ſecede, and thus diſgrace themſelves, as your Highneſs knows they formerly did in the midſt of the war at *** (*name illegible*) when they ſeparated from the army and made their own peace. This is well known to your Highneſs. To write more were to tranſgreſs the bounds of reſpect.

(Signed)
The Suddoors.

What negotiations and engagements ſhall be entered into with the French Nation?

Friendſhip has very long ſubſiſted between the Khoodadaud Sircar and the French, and this circumſtance

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circumstance is well known to all. Owing to the friendship subsisting with the French, lacks have been expended by the Khoodadaud Sircar, the sirdars, and their relations, to promote the concerns of the French nation; and many have sacrificed their lives in the pursuit. This all the people in Europe, &c. well know; moreover, the combination of the three powers* (literally *persons*) and the commotions they set on foot, by which they inflicted misery on the people, and laid violent hands on the country and property of the Sircar, was entirely owing to the attachment subsisting with the French; for otherwise there was no motive for the enmity of the three powers. The French nation are well informed of these events, and probably are not regardless of them: be it therefore declared, that if a respectable French army shall land in the neighbourhood of Calicut, supplies of provisions shall be afforded by the Khoodadaud Sircar, and the arrangement of the country shall be made in concert. An engagement to this effect must take place, viz. That such territory as belonged to the Khoodadaud Sircar shall revert to the Sircar; and of such new territorial conquests as may be made, half shall be retained by the Sircar, and half be granted to the French; also, that the friendship between the Khoodadaud Sircar and the French shall endure while the earth and skies remain; that the continuation of war, and the conclusion of peace, with the enemy, be decided by concert between the two states; and that nothing be undertaken without advice (given to the Sircar.) To add more would be to transgress the bounds of respect.

Subject adjusted, 25th March, 1797.

(Signed)

GHOOLAUM ALLY,
MEER SUDDOOR.

On the back of the original:

Oh, Protector!
Meer Suddoor.

No. 6.

[The whole of the original of this number, is in the hand writing of Shaikh Ismaeel.]

Answer of the Meer Khauzin, or Treasurer.

I recommend that the following proposal be made to the French:

"The Khoodadaud Sircar having furnished such troops and money as you require, let your troops join and co-operate with those of his Highness, and render themselves masters of the country of (*name illegible*) which is in the way; and having stationed garrisons, proceed onwards to conquer that part of your country which has been taken possession of by the English. After regaining the country so taken by the English, such arrangement of it to be made as may be thought proper, and friendship and alliance remain established between the two states. Until the conquest of the country of (*name illegible*) be effected, provisions for your troops to be furnished by the Khoodadaud Sircar; both parties to keep account thereof. Supplies of provisions, &c. expences for such troops of the Sircar as shall be sent to co-operate in recovering your country, to be furnished by you, because the country of the Khoodadaud Sircar is at a great distance; and afterwards let the accounts be settled."

(Signed)

MEER KHAUZIN.

* English, Nizam, and Mahrattas.

Subject

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Subject adjusted on the 25th March, 1797.

I beg leave humbly to represent,—Let Ripaud, who is come on the part of the French nation, be required to write a letter to the Sirdar of the French, and let it be sent by a man of Ripaud's; and two other persons be at the same time sent empty-handed, to bring private information from the Sirdar of the French, so that these two persons may ascertain where Ripaud's letter goes, and whence the answer really comes, and return and report accordingly to the presence. To write more would be to transgress the bounds of respect.

On the back of the original:
Meer Khauzin.

No. 7.

[The whole of the original of this number, is in the hand writing of Ahmud Khan.]

Answer of the Mullick-oo-Toojar, or Heads of the Commercial Department.

In the Name of the most Merciful God!

This Ripaud that is come, God knows what ass it is; whence it comes, and for what purpose. The evil and secret designs of those, even who are inhabitants of this country, cannot be known all at once. For the present, however, it is advisable to retain him in the service of the Sircar, and next season make this liar write letters to the Rajah of the French, and then wait to see what answers are returned, and what the Rajah of the French writes; and after perusal of the Rajah's letters, let your Highness act as may appear advisable and politic. Kibleh* of the world! The French are not firm to their engagements; when, through the assistance of the Khoodadaud Sircar, they shall have acquired possession of territory, perhaps they will not adhere to their engagements. Kibleh of the world! Your Highness must adopt such measures as will give you the superiority over the English, and to that end it is advisable that you should take some one by the hand, and then, through the aid of God, and the favour of the Prophet, by force of arms extirpate the English, and give them to the waters and the wind! The engagements that seem proper to be made with the French are these: the territory of the Khoodadaud Sircar, which passed into the hands of the English, to revert exclusively to the Sircar; whatever other country and forts belonging to the Christians, which may fall into our hands, to be equally divided between the Sircar and the French. In the same manner, whatever money, effects, &c. may be taken, to be divided as above. Also, should a peace be in agitation between the French and the English, not to be concluded without the concurrence of the Khoodadaud Sircar, but, on the contrary, be concluded in concert with, and by consent of, the Khoodadaud Sircar. For instance, supposing that in some particular point in the treaty of peace the French should be for, and the Sircar against, then, neither that treaty of peace, nor that point to be executed. No demands of money and effects to be made upon the Sircar, but such amount, more or less, as from motives of kindness and indulgence, your Highness may be desirous of disbursing upon application, might be given. The Commander in Chief who comes with

* The points to which all Mussulmans turn, when praying.

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with the French force, to be inſtructed by the Rajah of the French to be ſubject to the control of the Sircar, and not to take any ſtep without orders; and in all engagements in the field, as well as in ſieges of forts, to be obedient to the orders of the preſence. Kibleh of religion and the world! Should your Highneſs think proper to enter into negotiations and engagements with the Rajah of the French, there is no occaſion to wait till next ſeaſon. Your Highneſs has only to write letters, and cauſe Ripaud to write others, and giving your inſtructions with reſpect to what is to be committed to verbal communication, depute him, with two reſpectable perſons belonging to the Sircar, and two of Ripaud's aſſociates, ſo that an anſwer may arrive at the commencement of the ſeaſon. Protector of the world! We have thus taken the liberty to repreſent what has occurred to our deficient underſtandings.

(Signed)
SHAIKH AHMUD,
MOHAMMED ISMAEEL.
Mullick-oo-Toojars.

Written the 24th March, 1797.
Subject adjuſted on the 25th March, 1797.

On the back of the original:
Mullick-oo-Toojar.[1]

No. 8.

Obſervations ſubmitted by the Departments of Government to Tippoo Sultaun, on the ſubject of the Negotiation propoſed to be opened with the French, through the Channel of Ripaud; with a rough Draught of the Propoſitions to be tranſmitted to the French, as prepared by the Sultaun himſelf.

[The firſt part of the original is in the hand of Mohammed Rezza, the Binky Nabob; the ſecond in that of Tippoo Sultaun.]

In the name of the moſt Merciful God!

The repreſentation which Ripaud formerly made, is perfectly well known to your Highneſs, as it is alſo to us; and the ſtatement now made by Aubaine, on Friday the 10th of the month Shumſee of the year Sauz, 1225 from the birth of Mahommed, in direct oppoſition to that of Ripaud, is alſo well known to your Highneſs. From firſt to laſt, the language of this man has been that of ſelf-intereſt and falſehood; nothing has reſulted from this buſineſs, and nothing elſe will come of it. From the erroneous ſtatements of this ſcoundrel, the ſtrongeſt doubts have ariſen; and even his requeſt for permiſſion to go a hunting to the diſtance of eight or ten coſs, is very ſuſpicious. When ſo much chicane, covetouſneſs of money, artifice and deceit, are apparent in that ſhort diſtance, what may not be expected in ſo long a voyage with the moallims (navigators or mates) his aſſociates? The tranſacting of affairs of ſuch vaſt importance, through the medium of ſuch a low fellow, tends to throw diſcredit on the tranſaction. It is hoped that your Highneſs will procure moallims of a better deſcription; and that your Highneſs, after procuring authentic intelligence of the ſtate of the war, &c. between the French and the Engliſh, will diſpatch them at the firſt of the ſeaſon. If theſe doubts and ſuſpicions had not occurred in this buſineſs, nothing could have been better. With reſpect to the conqueſt of Nizam Alli's country, pleaſe God, at a proper opportunity you muſt ſo manage, that it may fall into your hands with the utmoſt facility, and alſo that the other two powers (literally *perſons*) may be made to repent (their deſigns); the queſtion depends upon the union of the

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three powers*. When a new dominion shall come into your Highness's possession, although the other two powers (*naukussaun*) should unite, yet through the spiritual aid of the religion of the holy Prophet, the chastisement of those two powers may be effected with a suitable force, agreeably to your Highness's wishes. The troops of two powers cannot exceed those of three. By the favour of God the troops of two powers are at your command (literally *in your possession*); the chastisement of those two† disgraceful powers, will certainly be completely effected. The object of this state will probably be much better effected at a season of opportunity, than by relying upon the agency of this compound of air and water (meaning Ripaud.) To write more would be to transgress the bounds of respect. Written on the 8th March, 1797.

(Signed)

The Representation of the Five Departments of Government.

[After two blank leaves in the memorandum book, occurs the following, in Tippoo Sultaun's hand writing.]

Proposition.—From the tenour of Ripaud's discourse, it would appear that he did not come of his own accord, but that his superiors sent him to ascertain how the Khoodadaud Sircar is affected towards the French nation; but now, on Friday the 10th of the month Ahmedy, and the 9th of the month Kummeree (or it may mean the lunar month) of the year Sauz 1225, from the birth of Mahommed, it appears, from the declarations of the European Aubaine, an associate of Ripaud's, made before the six departments of the government, that Ripaud is an inhabitant of Bourbon; that having taken a merchant ship, they came out to plunder the ships of the English; that neither is servant to the other, but that they share in common. The sending of the four Sirdars of the Khoodadaud Sircar, therefore, on a deputation to the French nation, is my own act, and the publicity of this would be productive of disturbance. However, if (we) lay hands on the dominions (literally *house*) of Nizam Ally, the other two hereticks (meaning, it is to be supposed, the English and Mahrattas) would still unite. Is it or is it not best to depute the four Sirdars to the French nation? Commit to writing what is advisable upon this head. Dated as above.

N. B. This proposition would appear to be addressed as a query to the departments.

Four persons, holding offices under the Khoodadaud Sircar, are vested with full powers, and sent to negotiate friendship between the two parties. If they (the French) are disposed to establish friendship, and form alliance with the Khoodadaud Sircar, let them satisfy the minds of the said four Sirdars by oath and engagement; and let the French also satisfy their own minds, by taking an oath and engagement from *them*; and having thus adjusted the concerns of both parties, and established mutual friendship, let them speedily send an army: and let three of the said Sirdars be sent, with two French Sirdars, on a ship of war to Europe, to negotiate with the French nation,

* The word in the original is *nau-kussaun*; *kussaun* signifies *persons*, and the addition of the privative *nau* conveys the signification of *worthless*: the English, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, are designed by the expression.

† The term in the original is *yellow-faced*, an expression of contempt, and apparently applied to the English and Mahrattas.

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nation, and the other Sirdar to be sent with the officers of the French army to this quarter. Please God, the interests and satisfaction of both parties will by these means be promoted, and the enemy of the French nation be effectually exterminated.

No. 9.

Translation of Queries, by the Persons appointed by the late Tippoo Sultaun to proceed on an Embassy to the Isle of France; with Answers to the same.

[The queries in the original manuscript are in the hand writing of Mirza Baukir (who was killed at the battle of Malavelly), and the answers in the hand writing of Mahommed Rezza, the Binky Nabob.]

In the name of the most Merciful God!

Oh Protector!

Question from Mirza Baukir, Meer Yoosuf Ally, Hussun Ally, and Meer Ghoolaum Ally, to the six departments of the Khoodadaud government: "Are we whom you are about to depute to adjust the concerns of the government to be vested with full powers with regard to all the points comprised in the five articles, or to be subject to order?—Let us be informed explicitly."

Answer from all the members of the six departments of the Khoodadaud Sircar, to the exception of Ghoolaum Ally, the suddoor:—"You are vested with full powers with regard to all the points comprised in the five articles."

Answer from Ghoolaum Ally, the suddoor: "To the exception of engagements; you are vested with full powers with regard to all other political points."

Question the second: "Conformably to our instructions, after our arrival at the Mauritius, we shall make the following proposition to the French Sirdars: "That they satisfy our minds, by oath and by formal engagements, while we do the same with respect to them. That they then send an army, accompanied by one of us, to the country of the Khoodadaud Sircar, while the remaining three proceed, accompanied by two Sirdars of their nation, to Europe, for the purpose of adjusting matters and satisfying our minds. Should the Sirdars at the Mauritius, on being made acquainted with this proposition, answer, that they are but servants; and with respect to military co-operation have only authority to attend without hesitation, if our sovereign required it, but are not at liberty to enter into formal engagements with us, although when arrived at the presence, they will in person enter into formal engagements, and attach themselves to his Highness's service, and obey his commands—In such case, what are we to do?"

Answer from all the members of the six departments of the Khoodadaud Sircar, excepting Ghoolaum Ally, Meer Suddoor: "If the Sirdars of the Mauritius should object to enter into formal engagements, you must endeavour, by every device in your power, to induce them. If, however, they should still persist in refusing, you must of necessity give way, and not insist upon that point."

Answer from Ghoolaum Ally, the suddoor: "Unless they enter into formal engagements, you should not bring an army."

Question the third: "After the refusal of the Sirdars at the Mauritius to enter into formal engagements, shall we or shall we not proceed to Europe?"

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Anſwer unanimouſly from all the ſix departments of the Koodadaud Sircar: "You muſt uſe due exertions to obtain a formal engagement:—ſhould they, however, at length not conſent, you ſhould proceed to Europe."

Queſtion the fourth: "After our arrival in Europe, if the managers there ſhould likewiſe refuſe to enter into engagements, what are we to do?"

Anſwer unanimouſly from all the ſix departments of the Khoodadaud Sircar: "You will leave unemployed no exertions to obtain formal engagements; if, however, they abſolutely will not conſent, you will obtain from them friendly addreſſes, and return. If you find no alternative, ſetting aſide the formal obligation, you will obtain from the miniſters a counterpart of the agreement, conſiſting of five articles, and, parting upon good terms, ſet out for the preſence."

On the back of the original:
Oh Protector!

No. 10.

[The original of the following memorandum, and the five articles annexed to it, is in the hand writing of the late Tippoo Sultaun. The drafts of letters to the Executive Directory, &c. in the hand writing of Hubeeb-Oola, the Sultaun's head moonſhy, and the remainder, in that of Mahommed Rezza the Binky Nabob. The whole is upon red-coloured paper.]

In the name of the moſt merciful God!

On the 2d of April, 1797, the propoſitions from the Khoodadaud Sircar were made to the French nation, through Francais Ripaud, an European: and letters were cauſed to be written with his hand to the nation, and forwarded by Mirza Baukir, Meer Meeraun; Huſſun Ally, Mullick-oo-Toojar; Meer Ghoolaum Ally, Meer Yem; and Meer Yooſuf Ally, Meer Aſſof; together with letters from the preſence. By the favour of God they will arrive in ſafety. Before the propoſition was declared, the ſaid Francais Ripaud, of his own accord, ſtanding up, took the oath of his nation, and kiſſed the national cockade which he wears in his hat. Then the five articles hereunder particulariſed, were cauſed to be written. A copy of the hookumnaumeh (*or paper of inſtructions*) to all the four perſons, is alſo inſerted hereunder.

Article 1. That friendſhip between the Khoodadaud Sircar, and the nation of the Khoodadaud Sircar and the French nation, be ſo firmly eſtabliſhed by oath and engagement, as long as the ſun and moon ſhall hold their courſe, that no interruption in it may ever take place. If (which God forbid!) any difference in word or deed ſhould occur among individuals of the claſs of ſervants, in any tranſaction, no offence to enter into the minds of the (*contracting*) parties, but the affair to be cleared up by correſpondence and perſonal negotiation. The French officers to be obedient (*to the Sircar.*)

2. Owing to (*my*) connexion with the French, the Engliſh uniting to themſelves the Mahrattas and Nizam Ally Khan, came againſt the dominions of the Khoodadaud Sircar, took (*from me*) three crores, and thirty lacks in ſpecie, and half (*my*) country, and otherwiſe occaſioned (*me*) heavy loſſes. All theſe circumſtances are fully known to the French nation. Moreover, the French nation had it at heart to expel the Engliſh from Hinduſtân; it is therefore written that the French nation ſhould afford perfect aſſurance to the Khoodadaud Sircar, ſo that their enemy may be driven out of India.

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India. Whenever the queſtion of concluding a peace (*with the Engliſh*) may be agitated in Europe, information is given, in the firſt inſtance, to the Khoodadaud Sircar, and the queſtion to be decided with a due conformity to the demands of the Khoodadaud Sircar, by mutual concert. To the exception of the country lately wreſted from the Khoodadaud Sircar, all the reſt of the Britiſh territorial poſſeſſions to be equally divided; and in the ſame manner ſuch of the ſhips, iſlands, and ports belonging to the Engliſh and the Portugueze as may fall into (*our*) hands, together with all ſtores and effects to be equally divided.

3. As far as 10,000 ſoldiers, 30,000 negroes, &c. to be landed; and ſhips of war in proportion to the number of troops to be in attendance at ſea, until the concluſion of the war. Whatever money, military ſtores, and grain may be required, ſhall be provided by the Khoodadaud Sircar, as ſhall alſo carriages, horſes, and bullocks. After the conqueſt and partition of the country and forts, accounts ſhall be ſettled with the French for the money that may have been expended. The French officers and their troops to be ſubject to the orders of the Khoodadaud Sircar, with reſpect to engaging, marching, and halting. The French army to land at the fort of Mirjaun, which is in the country of the Khoodadaud Sircar, and in the neighbourhood of Goa, which extends to the large river, (*K'hauree.*) To co-operate effectually, and bring the fort of Goa into the poſſeſſion of the Sircar, after taking the fort of Bombay, it ſhall be made over to the French. The army of the Sircar to proceed from Goa to Madras, and taking the forts in the way, advance as far as Maſulipatam, with the French army accompanying. From thence an officer belonging to the Sircar, with 40,000 horſe and 40,000 infantry, ſhall be diſpatched jointly with a French officer and a French force, to reduce the province of Bengal; and the one ſhall, upon all occaſions, ſupport the other in its operations.

4. Should any power (literally *Sirdar*) in this country, enter into hoſtilities againſt the Khoodadaud Sircar, both parties ſhall join to puniſh that power. As long as the ſun and moon retain their courſe, the French nation ſhall conſider the enemies of the Khoodadaud Sircar as their own; and in like manner the enemies of the French ſhall be conſidered as the enemies of the Khoodadaud Sircar; and both parties ſhall unite to chaſtiſe and repel them.

5. Four perſons holding offices under the government of the Khoodadaud Sircar, have been veſted with powers, and ſent to negotiate an alliance of friendſhip between the two parties. If the French are deſirous of eſtabliſhing friendſhip and alliance with the Khoodadaud Sircar, let them ſatisfy the Sirdars above mentioned, by oath and engagements; and in the ſame manner let the French ſatisfy themſelves alſo, by requiring an oath and engagements from thoſe Sirdars; and having adjuſted the affairs of both parties, and cemented mutual friendſhip, let them ſpeedily ſend an army, and let them diſpatch to Europe on a ſhip of war, three of the Sirdars of the Khoodadaud Sircar, with two of the French, to carry on the negotiation, and let the other Sirdar be ſent back to this quarter with the French officers and troops. Pleaſe God, by this arrangement, the intereſt and ſatisfaction of both

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parties will be promoted, and the enemy of the French nation will be completely exterminated. On the 5th of the Ahmedy, in the year Sauz, 1225 from the birth of Mahommed, corresponding with Sunday the fourth of the month of Showal (answering to the 2d of April, 1797) after the 8th hour of the day, in the hour Kummer, and when the sun entered Taurus, these propositions were written.

[Here follow the drafts of five letters from Tippoo Sultaun to the French legislature in France, and at the Mauritius; of which translations appear in No. 3, addressed—Au Pouvoir Executif. Au Representans du Peuple (at the Mauritius)—General Citoyen Mangalon—Citoyen Sercey, Admiral de Mer de la Republique—Citoyen Malartique, Governeur General de l'Isle de France et de la Re-union.]

Then follows a Memorandum of the form of address, &c.

N. B. The above drafts of letters are in the hand writing of Hubbeeb-oola, Tippoo Sultaun's head Moonshy

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Copy of the Instructions addressed to Mirza Baukir, Meer Yoosuf Ally, Meer Ghoolaum Aly, and Hussun Ally.

Having appointed you four to carry on a negotiation between the Khoodadaud Sircar and the French nation, you have been empowered to agitate the five articles annexed to this. Considering yourselves fortunate in obtaining so important an employment, let your conduct be conformable to the commands of God and of his messenger; and keeping engraved on your minds the engagement to which you bound yourselves in the Akshah mosque, make them the rule of your actions upon all occasions. According to the sacred writings, "Be obedient to God and to his messenger, and to those to whom obedience is due by you." To obey a prince of the faith, is a duty. To fulfil this duty of obedience, four things, the initial letter of which is Z, must not be coveted, viz. zunn (*woman*), zeest (*existence*), zurr, (*money*), and zemeen (*land*).—God defend us!—The undue coveting of these four things, reduces a man to the nature of those three things of which the initial letter begins with a K, kauffer *(heretics)*, kerauz *(swine,)* and kulb *(dogs)*, which are for certain impure, and are brothers in filthiness. Thus, it is summarily recorded in books: "heretics and all their brethren; dogs and all their tribe; swine and all their race; are equally impure." The fidelity which is to be practised, is of four kinds: first, the fidelity of the eyes; that is, if you see any one injuring the Sircar, you prevent him: secondly, the fidelity of the ears; that is, if you hear any one utter expressions repugnant to loyalty *(or fidelity)* you immediately reprimand him as far as lays in your power, and without disguise, state the case to the presence, or to some officer of government: the third is the fidelity of the tongue; that is, to utter the expressions of loyalty, of praise, and gratitude; to recommend and to shew the example of loyalty to others, and as long as the organs of speech are left you, to employ them for the service of the Sircar: the fourth is that fidelity of the hand, which imports, that you are to employ it in the service of the Sircar in every way; whether by writing, or by carrying the sword and the musket against the enemy. In short, all the faculties of the eyes, the ears, the tongue, and the hand, must be called into action, and upon all occasions, considering that God and his messenger, who know and see all things, are ever present, you should act accordingly.

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cordingly. The Moſt High hath ſaid, "I know the ſecret emotions of the heart of man—I am ever preſent with him."—Again it occurs in the Huddees *(traditional ſayings of the prophet)*, "The giver and receiver of bribes ſhall both enter into hell." You muſt not, in the firſt inſtance, give yourſelves out as being employed in an ambaſſadorial capacity; but conduct the concerns of the Khoodadaud Sircar with the utmoſt ſecrecy. You muſt profeſs yourſelves to be merchants. On your arrival at the Mauritius, you muſt ſend ſome perſons of reſpectability with the European aubaine, and one or two dob'hauſſees *(interpreters)*, with a meſſage to the five Sirdars at the Mauritius, purporting that you are merchants of the Khoodadaud Sircar, come to ſell your merchandiſe. If they will permit you, and allow you to hire a houſe (as you have come a long voyage), you will repoſe yourſelves a while, and then proceed to diſpoſe of your effects. You muſt enjoin the European aubaine not to communicate the ſecret to any one except the five Sirdars.

The names of the five Sirdars are as follows:

There are two perſons poſſeſſing the general control of affairs. Their deſignation is "Au Repreſentans de Peuple."

The name of the commander in chief in Hinduſtân, who has come out with that appointment, is "General Citoyen Mangalon."

The name and deſignation of the commander of the French navy, are "Citoyen Sercey, Admiral de Mer de la Republique."

The name and deſignation of the chief of the Mauritius, are "Citoyen Malartique, Governeur General de l'Iſle de France et de la Re-union."

Having communicated to them your arrival, and heard what they have to ſay, you will tell them, that they muſt by no means pay you the compliment of going themſelves, or of ſending perſons to meet you, nor ſhow open marks of friendſhip towards the Khoodadaud Sircar, nor outwardly ſhow you any attentions; in order that your miſſion may not become public. That after your landing, whereſoever they may aſſemble in private and ſend for you, you will wait upon them unattended, and communicate the ſentiments of friendſhip. What is meant, is this; "That you four ſhould meet the above-mentioned Sirdars privately; that you ſhould, in the firſt inſtance, offer compliments on the part of the Khoodadaud Sircar, make enquiries after their health, and confine your diſcourſe to general profeſſions of friendſhip. Of the five Perſian and five French letters which are entruſted to your care, you are to keep one in the Perſian and another in the French language, addreſſed to the five Sirdars in Europe *(the Directory)*, in depoſit. With reſpect to the remaining four Perſian and four French letters, addreſſed to the Sirdars of Mauritius (in the latter of which all particulars are contained), you will, in the firſt inſtance, leave the French letters in depoſit in the ſhip, and without delivering them, only carry with you the four Perſian letters: and at your meeting with the five Sirdars, riſe up and deliver to them the letters according to their reſpective addreſſes, with your own hands. You muſt firſt find out, in the courſe of converſation, how far they are conſtant to their friendſhip with the Khoodadaud Sircar; that you will completely aſcertain; and then, at a private conference,

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you will, with your own hands, deliver the four French letters reſpectively into the hands of the Sirdars, and adapt your diſcourſe ſo as to flatter them, and promote the ſucceſs of the object of your miſſion. It is a known ſaying, "The pleaſed labourer ſucceeds in his undertaking." You will alſo ſtate, that on account of the ſecrecy of your miſſion, jewels and khelauts, (*honourary dreſſes*) &c. tokens of friendſhip, have not been ſent on the part of the Khoodadaud Sircar, but that, pleaſe God, when a meeting takes place with the preſence, which, through the divine favour will ſoon happen, every mark of favour and indulgence will be ſhewn. Such are the friendly ſentiments which you muſt expreſs. In ſhort, you muſt in private, with the five Sirdars, aſcertain their diſpoſition, that is to ſay, aſcertain, if, from the tenour of their diſcourſe, they are deſirous of cultivating friendſhip with the Khoodadaud Sircar, and are inclined to ſend an army to the Calicut quarter, or to the coaſt belonging to the Khoodadaud Sircar. After aſcertaining this, you will propoſe to them, that both parties ſhould mutually ratify their aſſurances according to their reſpective tenets, and join with one heart to exterminate the enemy. If they ſhould agree to ſend back with you an army under the command of a Sirdar, and ſhould bind themſelves to you by oath and engagements, you will, in the ſame manner, give them aſſurances under oath and engagement. Should they, which God forbid! merely agree to ſend an army, but refuſe to bind themſelves by formal engagements, you are not to ſtand upon this point; but in that caſe, you muſt have the five articles of agreement drawn up in the French language, and deliver the ſame to them, receiving from them a counterpart; and ſending Meer Yooſuf Ally with the troops, the remaining three of you are to embark with the two (*French*) Sirdars, whom they will nominate for the purpoſe, on board one of their ſhips, and proceed to France; and, by the favour of God, being arrived at the place of your deſtination, you will cauſe thoſe two Sirdars to write notice of your arrival to the miniſters; and proceeding into their country with the utmoſt poſſible ſecrecy, you will meet the five conſtituted Sirdars of that country, who are called Pouvoir Executif. After compliments and expreſſions of regard, you will privately ſtate to them, that by the favour of God, the bonds of friendſhip between the Khoodadaud Sircar and the French nation have very long been daily acquiring ſtrength, as is well known to them. That they are not ignorant that the enmity of their enemies towards the Khoodadaud Sircar, originated in the deputation of the ambaſſadors from the Khoodadaud Sircar to France, which formerly took place. That the ſum of my deſire is, that as long as the ſun and moon ſhall endure, our mutual friendſhip may remain and encreaſe daily. Pleaſe God, you will effect the complete ſatisfaction of both parties, and employ your endeavours to the encreaſe of friendſhip. You will explain to them, in detail, the five articles which have been committed to writing. You are well-wiſhers and faithful ſervants of the Khoodadaud Sircar, and you wiſh well to the votaries of the faith; exerting your zeal therefore to the utmoſt, you muſt make your court to them by the moſt impreſſive and flattering language, and by the expreſſions of perfect cordiality. You

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You muſt perſuade them to act according to the five articles which you are empowered to negotiate, and to execute mutual engagements to that effect, agreeably to the reſpective tenets of the parties; and cauſing them to draw out a treaty (*or engagement*) accordingly, make them ſign, ſeal, and deliver the ſame. You will alſo draw up and deliver a treaty (*or engagement*) in the ſame terms, and engage that a like inſtrument ſhall be ſigned and ſealed by the preſence, and delivered to their Sirdars (*meaning, it is to be ſuppoſed, thoſe of their nation in India.*)

Having thus entered into engagements, you will bring with you the troops, &c. together with the ſhips of war as ſpecified in the five articles, as alſo arzees (*addreſſes*) from them to the preſence; and letters of injunction to the Sirdars of the French nation who are arrived in this quarter, requiring them to pay obedience to the Khoodadaud Sircar, and to receive the engagement to be executed under my ſeal and ſignature. Should there be any appearance of a ceſſation of hoſtilities between the contending parties in Europe, you will require them to ſtipulate for the reſtitution of that half of the country, and of the three crores and thirty lacks of rupees, which their enemy wreſted from me, becauſe of my attachment to their nation. This requiſition you will couch in proper terms.

After your arrival at the Mauritius, when you ſhall have aſcertained from the diſcourſe of the Sirdars of the French nation (*at that place*) that they are diſpoſed to cement the friendſhip ſubſiſting between that nation and the Khoodadaud Sircar, and that they are determined to join in extirpating the enemy, and that ſuch alſo is the diſpoſition of thoſe in Europe, and when they ſhall have agreed with earneſt cordiality to ſend a ſhip with you, and a confidential perſon (*to Europe*) then you may proceed.

Should you however, (which God forbid!), find them averſe to the alliance between the Khoodadaud Sircar and the French Nation, you will confine theſe ſecret points to your own breaſts; and ſtating yourſelves to have come merely upon a trading concern, all four of you, in concert with the Meer Beher, Komaul-oo-deen, will draw up a ſtatement of facts, neither omitting nor adding a ſingle circumſtance, affix thereto your ſeals and ſignatures, depoſit it in a cheſt, and repair to the preſence.

If the European navigators who accompany you, ſhould not conſent to return with you, you muſt entertain and bring others.

Ten cannon founders, ten ſhip builders, ten manufacturers of China ware, ten glaſs and mirror makers, ten makers of ſhip blocks (literally *wheels*) and wheels (or *engines*) for raiſing water, and other kinds of wheel-work, and workmen verſed in fine gold plating; are required in the Khoodadaud Sircar. You will ſtate to the French Sirdars, that they are to conſider the deſire to manufacture theſe articles, as ariſing from the friendſhip and attachment of the Khoodadaud Sircar, and as a means of promoting their intereſts, and to requeſt that they will therefore ſend ten artificers of each ſort. After obtaining theſe people, you will fix ſuitable wages for them before you leave the place, giving them alſo ſomething in advance; and after their embarkation, you will give them an allowance of proviſions (literally *grain*) on the part of the Khoodadaud Sircar, and tranſport them hither. Pleaſe God, after your return to the preſence, you will

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will deliver up these instructions.

On the 2d of April 1797, (about 9 o'clock, *a. m.*) the original of these instructions was written by the hand of Syud Mahommed Meer Assof.

This copy is written in the hand of Mahommed Rezza, Meer Meeraun.

SUPPLEMENTAL INSTRUCTIONS.

Whatever propositions the French Sirdars may make to you, you are to take them down in writing with your own hands, and tell them, that, please God, you will give an answer on the following day. You will then return home, and all four of you assembling in private, you will consult together upon the answer to be given; and having determined upon it, you are to commit it to writing; and all four having signed it, you are to deposit it in a cheest; and the answer, in conformity to the terms of it, is to be verbally delivered by Mirza Baukir, all the rest sitting by and listening. Should Mirza Baukir make any mistake in delivering the answer, the rest are to prompt him.

You must all of you study the French language; but none of you must converse with the French Sirdars in French. You are to speak through an interpreter; yet if the interpreter should mistake a word or two, you will set him right in French; excepting, however, one or two words, none of you four must hold any converse in the French language, because, while an interpreter is employed, they (*the Sirdars*) cannot tell whether you say any thing more or less; whereas if the French Sirdars say any thing more or less, you, knowing the language, will detect it; you must make yourselves appear ignorant of their language, whereby you will be able to learn their real sentiments, while they consult together upon the various subjects that come before them.

As there are no clove or nutmeg trees in the Khoodadaud Sircar, you are directed to desire the Sirdars at the Mauritius, to fill some boxes with seeds, and also to send some plants by the ships.

You will commit to paper all circumstances respecting the negotiation at the Mauritius, and forward the account to the presence by a French ship, before you proceed on your voyage.

The sacred command is issued to Mirza Baukir, Hussun Ally, Meer Yoosuf Ally, and Meer Ghoolaum Ally, that, provided they are successful, that is to say, provided they obtain formal engagements from the leaders of the French nation, it matters not though they expend from one imaumee to five lacks, *still* however on condition, that the engagements take place.

No. 11.

[The Original of this number is in the hand-writing of Hubeeb-oolla, the late Tippoo Sultaun's head Moonshy.]

Copy of the fictitious Hookum-naumah (or Instructions) addressed to Mirza Mahommed Baukir, Meer Yoosuf Ally, Meer Ghoolaum Ally, and Meer Hussun Ally.

It is hoped that, attended by the Divine Protection, you will reach Jemaulabad, and thence, Coriaul (*Mangalore*), and through the aid of Providence, embarking with your baggage on board the ship *Assud Ellanhee*, set out towards the place of destination. Immediately on your arrival at Koriaul, you will load on the ship, black pepper to the amount of 15 or 20,000 pagodas, together with four months provisions and water for your people. Among the fifteen men belonging

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belonging to Ripaud the Frenchman, who came here for ſervice, there are two navigators, by name Maçon and Aubaine; to theſe perſons you will aſſign a proper monthly ſalary, and appoint them to the duty of navigators on board the ſhip. You will alſo place with them, in the ſame capacity, and for the purpoſe of inſtruction, the three muſſulmen navigators, by name Abdool Kurreem, Mooſa, and Fukkeer Mahommed. Two large and eight ſmall volumes upon the ſubject of navigation are entruſted to you; the French muſt be tranſlated into Perſian; and they (*or you*) and the other navigators and Sirdars make themſelves maſters of the art; you muſt alſo calculate the ſhip's progreſs. For the fifteen Chriſtians who would not take ſervice, you muſt ſupply proviſions on the Sircar's account, and cauſing them to embark with you, land them at the iſland; one or two men among them, who are verſed in navigation, you muſt alſo join with the other navigators. Should there not be room enough for all the men ſent with you, you will leave behind ſuch as you think proper, and take with you the reſt. You muſt diſpoſe of the pepper at a good price, and bring the caſh with you. You are appointed to conduct this commercial expedition; and the pepper, together with the ſhip Aſſud Ellanhee, are given into the protection of the All-merciful, and into your charge. Wherever you expect to be able to diſpoſe of the pepper to advantage, you muſt carry it there, and ſell it accordingly. It is alſo ordered, that the ſhip's bottom ſhould be coppered, and therefore you are to touch at any iſland where ſhips bottoms are coppered, and, paying a proper price, get it done. Meer Komaul-go-Deen, Meer Beher, alſo underſtands the ſcience of navigation.

Copy of the Ship's Paſs.

From a ſenſe of original and innate fraternity and regard, it is repreſented to the reſpectable governors on the ſea coaſts, on the part of the Khoodadaud Sircar, that ſhould Mirza Mahommed Baukir, &c. merchants by profeſſion, arrive at any of your ports for the purpoſes of trade, it will be conſiſtent with friendſhip and benevolence in you, to ſhew them all that attention, hoſpitality, and reſpect, which is the laudable practice of men of liberal minds, and enabling them, if occaſion ſhould require, to purchaſe grain, &c. articles at a reaſonable rate, facilitate their departure, and ſhew them every degree of favour.

On the back of the original:

Copy of the fictitious Hookumnaumah.

No. 12.

Queſtion propoſed by the Six Departments to Citizen Francais Ripaud, as follows:

Previouſly to the preſent period, (*perſons*) on the part of the Khoodadaud Sircar went to France, for the purpoſe of cultivating the friendſhip of the French nation; and in conſequence of this, the Engliſh became hoſtile to the Khoodadaud Sircar; and the loſſes which they occaſioned to the Sircar are well known to the whole French nation, as well as to yourſelf. The favour and kindneſs ſhewn by the Khoodadaud Sircar to the French, are alſo well known to the whole nation; yet the peace which the Rajah of France concluded with the Rajah of England, was not even communicated to the Khoodadaud Sircar. But notwithſtanding this improper proceeding, his

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his Highneſs, regardleſs of the repreſentations of his well-wiſhers, and thoſe who have grown old in his ſervice, was ſtill diſpoſed to afford his protection and ſupport to the French nation, and on your repreſentations this countenance has been ſhewn them: We therefore propoſe to you the preſent queſtion, and deſire that you will ſtate, What are the actual intentions of the French nation, if they be certainly known to you, and whether there is, or is not, a proſpect of their ſpeedily carrying their determination into effect?

In the four departments there are four officers of high rank; firſt, the Meer Meeraun, or war miniſter; the ſecond, Meer Yem, the miniſter of marine; the third, Mullick-oo-Toojar, the ſuperintendant of commerce; the fourth, Meer Aſſof, the ſuperintendant of the country (*revenues.*) It has been determined to ſend off theſe four officers, that they may repair to the Sirdars of the French nation; and by formal engagements on the part of the Khoodadaud Sircar, give confidence and ſatisfaction to the French nation, at the ſame time receiving from that nation ſimilar aſſurances, confirmed by perſonal engagements, and by oath. Will then the Sirdar of the Mauritius, and the Commander of the ſhips, Citizen Sercey, Admiral de Mer de la Republique, conſent to this, and will they, or will they not, ſend off the four officers above-mentioned immediately to France? —If you are well acquainted with the diſpoſitions of your own nation, and the character of their general profeſſions (*with reſpect to us*) of which you cannot be ignorant, you will apprize us accordingly.—Immediately on the arrival of the four officers above-mentioned at the Mauritius, will the ſaid Chief repair to this place, with a large army or not? Inform us of this. You have already taſted the bounty of the Sirdar, and you may wiſh to enjoy it hereafter; give us therefore a particular account of every thing.

No. 15.

[This Memorandum Book commences with a rough and incomplete draft of the Letters to the French Legiſlature in France and at the Mauritius.]

Heads of intelligence reſpecting the Country Powers.

Intelligence reſpecting Nizam Ally Khan:

Nizam Ally Khan is extremely ill and at the point of death. He has three or four ſons, who are inimical to one another. Several of them ſolicit the protection of the Khoodadaud Sircar, and he who is particularly attached to the Sircar is ſupported by the chiefs of that ſtate.

Intelligence reſpecting the Mahrattas:

The head of the ſtate threw himſelf off the top of his houſe, and was killed.—All the Chiefs are inimical to one another, and upon the point of proceeding to hoſtilities, and they no longer poſſeſs any authority throughout the country.—The troops of Zemaun Shah, Duranne, have reached Delhi, the capital of the Emperor. He himſelf is come with them.—The Mahratta troops have made their appearance in various places in the Delhi province, and are continuing to collect. All the Chiefs of Hindoſtân are diſaffected to the Mahrattas, on account of their oppreſſions. There is no doubt they will ſoon be expelled from that country. The domeſtic diſputes of the two Sircars (*meaning the Nizam and the Mahrattas*) will cercertainly prevent either from joining the Engliſh. At the deſire and

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and inſtigation of Zemaun Shah, Mirza Amaum (*the late Vizier Aſsf-ud-Doulah*) has quarrelled with the Engliſh, aſſembled his army, and is prepared for hoſtilities againſt them. The Engliſh likewiſe have aſſembled their army in Bengal. In the Calicut diſtrict, the Rajah of Cotingerry has ſlain, in battle, near a thouſand Engliſh ſoldiers, and three or four thouſand native troops. The whole of the Calicut diſtrict is rendered diſaffected by the oppreſſion and violence of the Engliſh. In various places, the inhabitants are in arms, and do not acknowledge the Engliſh authority. The Polygars, that is to ſay, the Chiefs of the Maſulipatam, Ellore, and Arcot diſtricts, are alſo ready to revolt. They have killed and cut off the head of the ſon of Abdool Wahaub Khan. In ſhort, now is the moment of opportunity.

[Here follows a memorandum of the names and deſignations of the leading men of the Mauritius, and of the Executive Directory; the ſame as appears in No. 1.]

On the *9th of October* 1797, letters of the ſame tenour were written to the four perſons undermentioned:

Au Repreſentans, General Mangalon, General Malartique, Amiral Sercey.

The contents as follow:—The circumſtances of my cordial and ſincere attachment, and the ſentiments of my heart, have been perſonally communicated to Meer Yooſuf Ally and Citoyen Ripaud, who will repreſent them to you. I doubt not you will conſider what they may ſtate as genuine and authentic. Believe me to be very anxious for your ſpeedily communicating the news of your welfare, and the detailed declaration of your friendſhip by theſe two perſons. Laſt year (*when I propoſed to ſend an embaſſy*) the ſeaſon for the ſailing of the ſhips was at an end, and therefore the departure of the embaſſy was poſtponed. This year I have taken advantage of the early part of the ſeaſon for that purpoſe. Be fortune favourable to you!—[Written upon ſilvered paper.]

On the back of the original:
Intelligence.

No. 16.

Tranſlation of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun's Ambaſſadors to the Iſle of France; written on their return from the Embaſſy to Mangalore.

Huſſun Ally and Shaik Ibrahim, after offering their reſpects at the foot of the throne, repreſent as follows:

On Wedneſday the 26th of April 1798, we landed in ſafety with the laſcars and other attendants.

The following is an abſtract ſtatement of the force ſent by Generals Malartique, Sercey, and Mangalon, from Mauritius, to be employed in the ſervice.

Chapuy, general of the land forces	1
Du Buc, general of the marine —	1
Deſmoulins, commandant of the Europeans — —	1
Officers of the artillery —	2
Marine officers — —	6
Ship-builders and others —	4
Officers, captains, ſerjeants, and linguiſt — —	26
European ſoldiers —	36
Soldiers of the ſecond deſcription or half-caſt — —	22
Total of the perſons arrived from Mauritius — —	99

excluſive of Monſieur De Bay, the watch-maker, who was ſent from the capital (*Seringapatam*) with us; making together 100 perſons, agreeably to the muſter roll which is diſpatched to your Majeſty, and from

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from which every thing will appear.

The party, agreeably to the ſuggeſtion of their chiefs, were diſembarked and furniſhed with ſeparate lodgings, which had been prepared for them.

Although there was no order from the preſence for giving a daily batta (*extra allowance*), or for furniſhing ſubſiſtence and neceſſary ſupplies for the troops which might eventually arrive from Mauritius, yet, with a view to ſatisfy them, and ſet their minds at eaſe, we having conſulted with Mirza Mahommed Baukir and Meer Mahommed Ally, the Aſſof of Jemaulabad, fixed on ſuch rates as appeared to us proper for the daily allowance of each individual, to have effect until the receipt of orders from the preſence: But the chiefs would not aſſent to theſe rates, and they made application for allowances according to a ſtatement of their own.

We accordingly, conſidering the circumſtances of the time, adopted their own rates, and they will be paid agreeably thereto, until notice be received from the preſence. A copy of the ſtatement fixed by us, with copy alſo of the memorandum delivered by them, is tranſmitted to your Majeſty, and every thing will appear from them.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty!—The application made by the two generals for conveyances for themſelves, as well as for their dependants, appears by the memorandum dictated by them, to be as follows:

For the two generals—two palankeens and two horſes.

For the commandant of the troops, 10 officers, 5 captains, 6 ſerjeants, 1 linguiſt, 2 chief officers of artillery, and 1 watch-maker, altogether 25 perſons—they require 28 horſes and 2 palankeens.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty!—The various articles and baggage which accompany them, ſuch as large cheſts, &c. &c. are very numerous, and extremely bulky and heavy; they may be eſtimated at nearly the burthen of a thouſand men; and at the time of carrying this baggage over the ghauts, &c. a ſtill greater number of labourers will be required than heretofore; and by reaſon of the great weight and bulk of the articles, great delay and tardineſs will certainly take place at the different ſtages. The ſeaſon too of the rains, and for bad roads, is arrived and at hand; moreover, it is the time fixed for the department of the aſſofs, aumildars, and killadars, ſtationed on the road, according to their engagements; and from the borders of Jemaulabad to Aſtaureh, your Majeſty well knows in what a high ſtate of cultivation the land is, the whole extent of the road: under this circumſtance, your Majeſty will be pleaſed to order what you may think proper.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty!—In conſequence of the rains (ſhould perchance no halting place be found in the cultivated country) they will require for themſelves and their equipage, as the troops accompany them, gondolehs (*the fly of a tent*) and ſmall tents for the chiefs; they will alſo want proviſions, goats, fowls, rice, &c.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty!—Seven cheſts or caſks containing nutmeg and clove trees, &c. which, agreeably to your orders, were brought by us from the Mauritius, alſo require near eighty perſons to carry them. It occurred to us, before the receipt of an order from the preſence, and their diſpatch, a con-

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conſiderable period muſt elapſe; that the rains were approaching (and God forbid that they ſhould receive any injury). We, therefore, in preference to every thing elſe, ſent them off under charge of a guard, to take care of them, with a letter and an account of particulars of the names of the trees, which we tranſlated from the account given by the European, and we gave poſitive injunctions for their being carried as far as the borders of Jemaulabad (the Aſſof of which is Meer Mahomed Ally) by baigarries (*perſons preſſed for public ſervice*) and for their being tranſported from thence up to the ghauts. Having conveyed them ſo far, we deſired alſo that they might be carried on, provided baigarries could be procured as they proceeded. Under theſe circumſtances, we truſt that laſcars and others may be ordered from the preſence, with a view to expedite the conveyance of them, that they may receive no injury from delay.

We have further to repreſent, That we have diſpatched to your Majeſty three letters from the Europeans; one from General Chapuy, the ſecond from General Du Buc, who at the time of our landing gave us one alſo to be preſented to your Majeſty from a perſon named Monſieur L'Hermite: we alſo ſend three memoranda of rates of allowance as fixed by us, and thoſe which the chiefs demand. Altogether there are five packets forwarded incloſed in our letter, which we hope will be duly received.—In addition to theſe, a ſeparate account of the battle between the French and Engliſh ſhips in the roads of Tellicherry is alſo tranſmitted, and every thing will appear from it.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty!—From the day of our departure on board the veſſel of that traitor Ripaud, till our arrival at Coriaul (*Mangalore*) whatever has occurred, and all that we have accompliſhed in our endeavours to promote the intereſts of the Khoodadaud Sircar, will be fully apparent on our arrival at the preſence. One of us being unable to ride on horſeback in conſequence of the heat of the weather, and his ſuffering much from boils, we truſt that through your Majeſty's extreme kindneſs, we ſhall be favoured with a dooly from the preſence.

Dated *the 30th of April* 1798.

No. 17.

Tranſlation of the Draft of a Letter from the late Tippoo Sultaun to Mirza Baukir, &c. at Mangalore.

[To Mirza Baukir, Huſſun Ally, and Mahommed Ibrahim; dated the 11th of May 1799.

Your letter dated the 30*th of April* 1798, diſpatched by two camel meſſengers, has been received; and the contents have been aſcertained.

You ſtate that Huſſun Ally and Mahommed Ibrahim had arrived with the French Sirdars and ſome European recruits; and the account which you ſent containing the liſt of their names, and the allowances for their ſubſiſtence, has been received.

According to your requeſt, two palankeens and two horſes are ſent for the two chiefs, and 28 horſes for the other perſons; a horſe is alſo ſent for Mahommed Ibrahim, and you will take the palankeen belonging to the European Ripaud, and having aſſigned two palankeens to the two European chiefs, and one to Huſſun Ally, you will repair to the preſence with the Europeans. For the tranſportation of their baggage

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300 men have been ordered; you will pay them their wages until their arrival at the capital, and making them carry the baggage of the Europeans, bring them with you; you will desire the European chiefs to leave their surplus baggage behind them, depositing it in a house, and placing a guard to take care of it, and the remaining necessary articles they will bring with them; by the blessing of God, after their arrival at the presence, their whole baggage will be sent for. Having fully explained this, you will bring them to the presence.

An answer to their letters is transmitted accompanying; you will accordingly deliver it to them.—They have been informed, that if it be necessary to bring every body with them, they will do so: but that if they have any thing particular to communicate, some of their chiefs should repair immediately to the presence, and, leaving the men with the other chiefs, give orders for their proceeding leisurely after them. Should the men be left behind, you will leave with them Komaul Mahommed, Mirda, and an hircarrah, for the purpose of providing them with necessaries, and you yourselves will proceed to the presence with the European chiefs. You will cause them to be furnished with such a quantity of provisions as may be proper by the different aumils (*revenue officers*) of the talooks, and give regular receipts—An order for this purpose has been written, and is transmitted to you. Bearers for three palankeens with three duffadars, Jewajee Naick, Phenkajee Naick, and Goolaul Naick, and two Shahaubdar guards, are sent to you.

Your dispatching the boxes containing the trees was perfectly proper: lascars have also been sent from the presence for the purpose of bringing them on. You will bring the ship-builders who have arrived, to the presence, as well as the other artificers; and after I shall have seen them, they will be sent back for the purpose of being employed in ship-building.

The letters written by Huffun Ally and Mahommed Ibrahim do not contain any thing respecting their negotiations, nor mention where they have been, or from whence they came. We desire you will cause Huffun Ally to write a full account of every thing, from the day of their leaving Jemaulabad to the day of their return to that place, containing the occurrences on the voyage, their conferences, the state of the war, and a description of whatever they may have seen curious or interesting; having written all these particulars, you will transmit the narrative to the presence, that they may not again be called to account.

You will encourage and satisfy the people who have arrived, and bring them to the presence. In matters of little importance, you will be careful not to displease or vex them.

The order for supplying necessaries which has been sent, is under charge of Komaul Mahommed. Considering what is proper, you will furnish them accordingly, and taking an account of every thing, bring it with you, that the necessary deductions may be granted. You must all three of you write separate arzees when you have occasion to write.

To the Assof of Jemaulabad.

You will remain (at Jemaulabad) for the purpose of furnishing the necessary articles to the Christians who have arrived; after their departure you will repair to the presence, and should even the

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month of Zehijah have elapſed, it is of no importance.

Endorſement.

Two large mares, 29 horſes, and bearers for 3 palankeens, with 3 duffadars, Jewajee Naick, Phenkajee Naick, and Goolaul Naick, and two Shahaubdar guards, are *ſent* with Komaul Mahommed Mirda, (*or head*) of meſſengers, and Narrana and Burſa Naick hircarrahs.

No. 18.

Tranſlation of the Narrative of the Proceedings of the Ambaſſadors diſpatched by Tippoo Sultaun to the French Iſlands, from their Departure to their Return—Written by Huſſun Ally, one of the Ambaſſadors.

[The following Articles were taken down agreeably to the Dictation of Ripaud, on board the Veſſel, on the 15th December 1797.]

It has been ordered by the ſacred preſence, that (*we*) muſt bring 30,000 horſe and 40,000 infantry, 100 guns and mortars, with their equipments and artillery men, with the French force. Proviſions, carriage, conveyance, and military ſtores, ſhall be furniſhed by the Khoodadaud Sircar—This article was not brought forward.

That we ſhould forward as great a number of Europeans as we can, together with 20 or 30,000 men of colour, who know their exerciſe well, and accompanied by experienced officers.

That the Generals who may be ſent on their part (*the French*) be maſters of their profeſſion, ſuch as General Mangalon; and, as our King is better verſed in the ſyſtems of India, the French Generals muſt conſult with him, and carry on operations againſt the enemy in concert with him.

Whatever may be taken in this war from the enemies of our King and the Republic, ſuch as towns, forts, factories, effects, ſhips and veſſels, money, &c. or whatever caſh or treaſure be taken from nations in ſubjection to them; all theſe muſt be divided into two (*equal*) parts, one half for our King, and the other for the Republic; excepting the country of the Khoodadaud Sircar, which the Engliſh formerly wreſted from it by force of arms; ſuch country will be retained by the Sircar, and they (*the French*) ſhall have no ſhare in it.

Should the French Republic be deſirous of making peace with the Engliſh, they are not to conclude ſuch peace without our King being comprehended therein; becauſe, after the treaty of alliance, the enemies of the Republic will be ſtill the enemies of our King, and it would not be conſiſtent with friendſhip and juſtice, not to include him in the peace.

Should any one in the ſervice of the Khoodadaud Sircar enter the French camp and commit any outrage, let him be apprehended and ſent to the preſence, in order that he may be puniſhed according to the forms of the Khoodadaud Sircar; and in the ſame manner, ſhould any one of the French army enter the camp of our King, and be guilty of any outrage and irregularity, he ſhall be immediately apprehended and ſent to the General of the French army, in order that he may puniſh him agreeably to his own cuſtoms.—This article was not brought forward.

Should theſe propoſitions be approved by the Republic, we requeſt the leaders of the mother Republic, to tranſmit ſpeedy intelligence thereof to our King, by a ſmall veſſel, in order that his Highneſs in perſon may ſet on foot a formidable and victorious army to meet that of the French in the neighbourhood of Mirjaun, which place is cloſe to Goa. Oh, French nation! with a view to the mutual

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intereſts of the parties, our King intended to ſend ſeveral letters under his auguſt ſeal and ſignature, with four Sircars of high rank, for the purpoſe of negotiating, upon a ſhip belonging to the Khoodadaud Sircar, to the chiefs of the mother country. But the apprehenſion of the enemy, and the unfavourableneſs of the ſeaſon, prevented the meaſure. A ſtandard of the Republic was, however, quickly prepared, and ſet up in the camp of Lally; (*his Majeſty*) cauſed it to be ſaluted with three thouſand guns*: Ripaud and Monſ. De Bay can bear teſtimony to this fact. And whereas our King has declared, that he thus will ſupport the ſtandard of the Republic; Oh, French nation! if ye will but conſent to theſe propoſitions, you need not hereafter fear your enemies: turn your thoughts only to the protection of your iſland, for our King will keep the Engliſh ſo employed and embarraſſed, that they will be unable to turn their attention towards you: further, Zemaun Shah, King of the Afghans, and the greater part of the powers of India, are united with our King for this purpoſe, and will not ceaſe until they ſhall have driven the Engliſh out of India.

Oh Protector!
Supporter of the World, Health!

The particulars of our proceedings from our firſt leaving Jemaulabad, until our arrival (*return*) at the port of Coriaul (*Mangalore*) in the Khoodadaud Sircar, are as follow:

On Sunday the 5*th of* December 1797, we embarked: Ripaud occaſioned the delay of a day or two in adjuſting the equipments of the veſſel, &c. On the 19th, we weighed anchor. After proceeding five or ſix coſs to ſea, Ripaud, accompanied by five or ſix perſons, came up to us in a very diſorderly manner, deſiring us to ſhew them the letters which had been entruſted to us for the Sirdars at the Mauritius; we obſerved, that our orders from the preſence were, not to open the diſpatches until our arrival there, and that it was not becoming in him (*Ripaud*) who had laid the foundation of the preſent expedition, and who was acquainted with all circumſtances, to take ſuch a ſtep. All our perſuaſions were of no avail; he took the diſpatches from us by force, and tearing open the leathern envelope, wanted to open the khereetahs† alſo. We told him that he would be diſgraced, and his improper proceedings be expoſed among his whole nation, (*adding*) that it was highly unbecoming in him to be guilty of ſuch a degree of treachery and miſconduct: that until our arrival at the Mauritius, we reſpected theſe khereetahs as our own lives, and that we would ſacrifice our lives, but we would do with theſe khereetahs as we had been directed by the preſence. Upon this, he reſtored them to us. The next day he came to us, and deſired that we would make over to him the money which had been given to us by the preſence, for him and his French aſſociates, elſe (*ſaid he*) I will go to Unbajee (*meaning perhapst owards Bombay*) and other quarters, for plunder, and will coaſt

* Here follow the names of various implements of war, granary, ordnance, muſkets, and rockets; but the uſual appellations being changed according to Tippoo Sultaun's ſyſtem, it is not known what ſpecies are here deſignated. This alludes to the ceremony of conſecrating the national flag, of which a detailed account is given in the Journal of the ſittings of a Jacobin Club, which had been eſtabliſhed at Seringapatam under the auſpices of M. Ripaud. This curious paper, in which the Sultaun is ſtyled Le Citoyen Tippoo, was found in the palace at Seringapatam.

† Khereetahs are the bags or caſes of tiſſue or ſilk, in which letters addreſſed to perſons of rank are uſually encloſed.

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coaſt it five or ſix months. We anſwered, "you know very well, that the money which his Highneſs aſſigned for our expenſes was entruſted to us in your preſence, by Shaik Ahmud, Mullik-oo-Toojar; knowing and ſeeing this, it is very unbecoming in you to make this requeſt." Refuge of the world, health! He aſſigned for our accommodation, the place where the laſcars are; there was no place for us to ſleep or ſit in; our inconveniences increaſed daily; at laſt we deſired Ripaud to allot ſome place for us to remain in until our arrival at the Mauritius; upon which he gave us a ſmall *boat*, which was on the veſſel, to ſleep and eat in, until our arrival at the iſland. From the day of our leaving Mangalore until our arrival at Mauritius, he allowed us not more (*water*) than what he allowed the laſcars, and which only ſufficed for drinking; it was not enough for cooking. In the courſe of the voyage he took two veſſels; after taking the cargo out he releaſed them. After ten or twelve days we ſteered directly for the Mauritius. Ripaud ſent a meſſage to me*, propoſing to recite to us the commands which your Highneſs had entruſted to him, reſpecting the negotiations with the Sirdars of the Mauritius; that we ſhould take down a tranſlation of them, and make our repreſentations accordingly at the iſland. We replied, that the Shaik Ahmud, Mullik-oo-Toojar, had communicated to us in his (*Ripaud's*) preſence, orders to this effect; that whatever he (*Ripaud*) ſhould dictate to us or tell us, we ſhould make our repreſentations accordingly to the Sirdars above mentioned, through the medium of Monſieur De Bay. Ripaud brought ſeveral papers to us, and dictating to De Bay, cauſed him to write ſeveral articles; which being done, he ſaid, that they were in conformity to the orders of the preſence, and deſired that we would regulate our negotiations accordingly. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the diſtreſs we ſuffered from the rain, and the motion of the waves of the ſea. However, by the favour of God and your Majeſty's auſpices, we ſurvived, and on Thurſday the 19th *of January* 1798, being arrived within two coſs of the Mauritius, a pilot came off in a boat to learn the circumſtances of the ſhip. He came on board, and Ripaud received him with a great deal of cordiality. He told him that we were ambaſſadors ſent by your Highneſs to the Sirdars of the Mauritius, and deſired that he would ſend ſome one (*on ſhore*) to give notice. The pilot immediately ſent a laſcar with a verbal meſſage to the General; and in two or three hours† after a phyſician came to aſcertain the people's health on board the ſhip. He ſent for all the men who were on board the veſſel, and inquired into the ſtate of every man's health; he then came up to us, and made a ſalaam (*or obeiſance*) and told us, that he would immediately ſend notice to the General of our arrival. We deſired him to allot ſome place for our accommodation on ſhore, and enable us to diſembark, adding, that in a day or two after, we would commence our interviews with the Sirdars; requeſting that our arrival might not be made known to any one (*elſe.*) The phyſician, after remaining an hour, returned to the Sirdars, and before two hours had elapſed, ſent four

* The vakeels are deſignated throughout this paper by the term Ghoolaum, or ſlaves. Here the word is in the ſingular number, and is perhaps intended to apply to the writer only.

† The *hours* in this paper muſt be underſtood to mean the Hinduſtany *Ghurry*, conſiſting of about twenty-three or twenty-four minutes.

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perſons of rank with a verbal meſſage, ſtating, that he was extremely happy at our arrival, and that he would ſend for us the next day. We replied, by requeſting that he would ſend for us clandeſtinely, ſo that it ſhould be known to no one. They replied, that it was very well; they would report accordingly to the General, and act agreeably to ſuch orders as he might give; after this they went away. In the mean time, Ripaud carried the ſhip near to the land, and dropping the anchor in the mouth of the river, immediately went to the General. At twelve o'clock at night he came on board again, and told us that he had repreſented every thing to the General; before his return, however, five or ſix Sirdars and two aids-du-camp of General Malartique's came to us on board the veſſel, and told us that they muſt conform to the cuſtom of their nation, and that if they did not receive your Highneſs's ambaſſadors with due reſpect and attention, they would be cenſured from home. We uſed every argument in our power to diſſuade them, but to no purpoſe. The next day, the ſoldiers were drawn up in two lines, from the bank of the river to General Malartique's houſe, by General Malartique's directions, who ſent ſeveral officers in his own boat to meet us, and conduct us to his houſe. Accordingly we went on ſhore in the boat; and immediately upon our landing, near a hundred and fifty guns were fired, and we were conducted with the utmoſt degree of reſpect to the Sirdars. When arrived at General Malartique's houſe, the General himſelf, General Sercey, the Members of Council*, and other Sirdars, met us at the door of the houſe. The General ſeated us upon the chairs cloſe at his right hand. We preſented your Highneſs's compliments to all the Sirdars, and told them that the object of our coming was to inquire after the health of your Majeſty's friends, as no news of them had reached the preſence for ſeveral years, and therefore your Majeſty had deputed us to all the Sirdars, that we might aſcertain and return with an account of the welfare of your Majeſty's friends. I then took the kherectahs, containing your Majeſty's letters in my hands, roſe from my ſeat, and addreſſing the Sirdars, told them that they muſt take the royal letters with reſpect. Upon this General Malartique aroſe, and taking off his hat, received the letters from my hands. In the ſame manner General Sercey roſe from his place, and came up to me, and then I delivered to him his letter alſo. General Mangalon was not then preſent, but General Malartique told us that if we would deliver to him your Highneſs's letter to General Mangalon, he would take care to convey it to him, and obtain his receipt for it. We accordingly delivered the auguſt letter into the hands of General Malartique. I afterwards inquired who was the Preſident of the Council: Malartique deſired Monſieur Deſcombres to riſe and take the letters. At the time of our landing we deſired Ripaud to accompany us, which however he did not, but, in about one hour after our arrival, he came to the Aſſembly, and holding his hat under his arm, ſtood at a diſtance. We told General Malartique that Monſieur De Bay had been ſent from the preſence to be the interpreter between him (*Malartique*) and us, in any negotiations which might take place between us; in conſequence of which, he

* The Colonial Aſſembly muſt be ſuppoſed to be here meant.

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he called De Bay to him, and observed to him, that in your Highness's letter, Yoofuf Ally was mentioned *(as the person deputed)* whereas our names were Hussun Ally and Shaik Ibrahim, and desired to know the reason of this? This being explained to us by De Bay, I answered, that Meer Yoofuf Ally had been originally appointed, but being laid up with illness, he had been set aside, and your Highness had deputed us instead; we then told General Malartique that we had several points of a secret nature to communicate to him, and therefore, if he would send for us in private, we would communicate to him what your Highness had directed. General Malartique answered, "at three o'clock we two* Sirdars will visit you at your place of residence;" we then took leave. General Malartique provided us both with palankeens, and directed the bearers to remain with us as long as we continued on the island; and he gave us a garden close to the city to reside in. At three o'clock all the Sirdars above-mentioned visited us; we went to meet them as far as the garden gate, and conducted them into the house with all due ceremony and respect. We seated them upon chairs, and addressed them to this effect: "The object of our King in desiring to form an alliance with the French Republic, is to crush our already half-expiring enemy. What do you wait for? his Majesty is ready to afford you succours; shew yourselves in India. The unbounded violence and oppression of the English, have rendered all the Princes of India their enemies; they are enfeebled on every side, and from the great extent of territory which they have acquired by artifice, they are dispersed in all quarters. Look upon the present time as a most fortunate opportunity; send a large army and an extensive train of artillery, to the assistance of our sovereign, and effectually chastizing our mutual enemies, drive them out of India. The English tremble at the very name of our Sovereign and of the French! and will not be able to withstand the power of our Sovereign, supported by the aid of the French Republic, but will be defeated in every quarter. It is well known to the Republic, that both his late Majesty and our present Sovereign, have at all times been the friends and well-wishers of the French nation, have always sought their assistance and support, and made common cause in their wars against their enemies. The wish of our Sovereign is this, that, by affording assistance to the Republic, the French name may become as honoured and exalted in India, as it is through Europe and among the Mussulmen."

The Sirdars asked, if an auxiliary force should be furnished from Europe, would your Highness supply them with provisions, military stores, conveyance, and carriage? We answered, That from the day of the landing of the French army in India, you Highness would supply them with provisions; that is to say, rice, meat of every kind, and ghee (excepting, however, European liquors) military stores, conveyance, and carriage. They then told us, that for the purpose of procuring a new military force, they would fit out two ships of war, and dispatch them with letters from themselves, together with your Highness's letters addressed to them four, in charge of two confidential persons of rank, to France; and they desired that we would give them a memorandum of the provisions and carriage which

* It does not appear who the other was.

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we had promiſed them, in order that they might forward it to Europe, and ſpeedily obtain the military ſuccours required. We replied, that we would the next day furniſh them with the memorandum accordingly. They then roſe and went home. In the morning they ſent the head aid-du-camp and * —— Dewan ——, to us; who ſaid that General Malartique ſent his compliments, and deſired him to mention, that he and the other three Sirdars were about to write letters to the government in Europe, and therefore he requeſted, that we would furniſh him with the memorandum which we had promiſed, with reſpect to proviſions and carriage. Having accordingly drawn up a memorandum with regard to proviſions and carriage, we ſent it by Monſ. De Bay to General Malartique. Cheriſher of the world, health! Theſe four Sirdars have each written ſeparate letters to different people, to procure a large force for the aſſiſtance of the Sircar, and have deputed two confidential perſons, one Monſ.†—— the head aid-du-camp, the other Monſ. Magon, a captain, in order to repreſent the exceſs of your Highneſs's friendſhip and attachment, and charged with your Highneſs's letters addreſſed to General Malartique, &c. And accordingly, on the 7th of Rauzee 1225 of the birth of Mahommed (23d January 1798), they were diſpatched to Europe, on two ſhips of war, with the utmoſt caution. After two or three days, with a view to ſtrengthen the foundations of friendſhip and attachment, we cauſed a paper to be drawn up by Monſieur De Bay, to the following purpoſe, and ſent it to General Malartique; viz. that in order to cement the baſis of friendſhip and alliance, it was neceſſary that both parties ſhould bind themſelves by oaths, in order that the ſyſtem of harmony and friendſhip, ſubſiſting between your Majeſty and the French nation, might be confirmed, and that while the moon ſhould keep its courſe, this alliance ſhould remain unimpaired and unviolated. General Malartique returned for anſwer, that the ratification of the alliance by oath depended upon government in Europe; that the friendſhip between the Khoodadaud Sircar and the French nation was fully eſtabliſhed; that there would never be any diminution of that friendſhip and union, as long as the moon retained her courſe; that the enemies of their ſtate were the enemies of the French nation; that your Highneſs would ſoon have an opportunity of ſeeing what the devotion and friendſhip of the French nation would effect, with the view of cruſhing the enemy; and that he was from his heart the devoted ſervant of your Sircar.

Refuge of the World!

In conſequence of the ſeverity of a ſea voyage, and unfavourableneſs of the climate, I was ſo much indiſpoſed, that † —— General Malartique's Dewan, remarked it, and told the General, that I was extremely ill; in conſequence of which he immediately ſent two of the firſt phyſicians to attend me, with a meſſage, that, on the next day, at three o'clock, he would come himſelf to viſit me. The following day General Malartique came accordingly; and after making inquiries reſpecting my health, he ſaid that Ripaud had made an erroneous repreſentation to your Highneſs, which occaſioned us to be deputed: *That had he arrived four months before, he could have ſent*

* No probable name can be conjectured from the original.
† Name illegible.

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ſent us back with one thouſand Europeans, until the arrival of the army from Egypt, but that thoſe troops had now been diſpatched to Batavia, to the aſſiſtance of the Dutch; ſtill, however, he would manifeſt his devotion in the beſt manner he could, and that he would not ſend us away empty-handed. He then aſked in what places your Highneſs had factories eſtabliſhed, and what was the practice of the Sircar with reſpect to the eſtabliſhment of factories? and deſired us to ſend a memorandum upon the ſubject. The next day we cauſed De Bay to draw up a reply to the following effect, which we ſent to General Malartique; viz. "That your Highneſs had eſtabliſhed factories at Muſcat, at Kutch, at Buſſora, and in other principal cities; that two confidential perſons were kept at each factory to buy and ſell; and that if he (*Malartique*) were willing that a factory on the part of your Highneſs ſhould be eſtabliſhed at the Mauritius, we would repreſent it to your Highneſs, and that if you approved, a factory ſhould be eſtabliſhed accordingly." Some days after, General Malartique ſent for us, and told us, that he readily agreed to the eſtabliſhment of the Sircar's factory at the Mauritius; adding, that he would appoint a Dewan to ſuperintend it, who would provide ſuch articles as your Highneſs required at a favourable rate, and alſo that he would aſſign a houſe belonging to the Company for the purpoſe. After two or three days, I ſent a note by Monſ. De Bay to Gen. Malartique, requeſting that he would procure ſome plants of the nutmeg and clove, ſome European fruit-trees, fine-coloured and ſweet-ſcented flowers, and, filling ſome wooden boxes with earth, plant them therein, and ſend them carefully back with us to be preſented to your Highneſs. The General immediately ſent for the gardener, and directed him to prepare the plants in the boxes with the utmoſt expedition. At 3 o'clock we received a viſit from General Sercey. We advanced to meet him, conducted him into the houſe, and ſeated him on a chair. General Sercey ſaid to us, that, pleaſe God, ſome large ſuccours would very ſoon arrive from Europe, and that it was his intention to accompany the troops to your Highneſs. After that, we told him, that it would be very deſirable if he could ſend back with us five or ſix experienced navigators, ſeveral ſhip builders, and iron cannon founders; to which Gen. Sercey agreed, promiſing to ſend them with us on our return. After ſitting two hours, he roſe. After this, Gen. Malartique ſent a meſſage by his Dewan, inviting us the following morning to ſee the powder mills, gardens, and mortar firing, adding, that he ſhould be at the powder works before us. Early in the morning, accompanied by De Bay, we went to the powder works, and immediately on our alighting from our palankeens at the gate, we were ſaluted with 21 guns. The ſoldiers were drawn out in two ranks, while ſeveral officers came out to meet us, and conducted us to Gen. Malartique and Gen. Sercey, who met us at the head of the ſtairs, and taking our hands, ſeated us upon chairs, and then offered, if we choſe, to go with us and ſhew us the works. We anſwered, that it was juſt as they pleaſed; their pleaſure was ours. They immediately roſe, and ſhewed us all the works. We then went without the gates, where they directed the artillery-men to fire the mortars at the targets, which they did fifteen times. They

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then requested that we would go and see the garden, with the plants of nutmegs and cloves, &c. On our leaving the powder works, we were again saluted with 21 guns. We then proceeded to the garden, where we remained four hours, and then returned home. The next day Gen. Malartique sent to invite us to go and see some fire-works to be exhibited that night; accordingly, an hour before the close of the day, we went to the place where the fire-works were to be exhibited. The second aid-du-camp and five Sirdars came out to meet us, and conducted us to the upper story: at that time both the generals were not present. Having sat till nine o'clock at night, and seen the fire-works, we returned home. Two or three days afterwards they invited us to go and see the armoury, the moody-khauna (*granary*), and the iron-manufactory, desiring that we would come for that purpose at four hours after day-light. We accordingly set out, and on our arrival at the gate of the armoury, the Sirdars belonging to the establishment came out to meet us; they shewed us the whole of the establishment of muskets, implements of war, balls, &c. &c. after which we took our leave. The next day Gen. Malartique sent a verbal message by —— Dewan, inviting us to go, at three o'clock in the afternoon, to see the batteries and ordnance. The person in command of them received directions to shew them to us; and we accordingly set out, accompanied by Monsr. De Bay, and when arrived at the batteries, the Sirdars of that department came forward, and shewed us the batteries and ordnance: they caused several shots to be fired. After seeing them all, we took leave of those Sirdars, and returned home.

The next day we were informed by Descombres and the Dewan, that Gen. Malartique had sent a ship to Bourbon, to fetch men for the service of the Sircar; and that the General said he would not suffer us to take leave until the return of the ship; we told them, that we were not come to carry away with us men to be enlisted for the service of the Sircar (in other words *recruits*), nor were such the orders we received from the presence. Five or six days after, Gen. Malartique sent a man to call us. He told us, that he had appointed some men for the service of the Sircar, whom he was about to send accordingly; and desired us to give it under our hands, that we would represent to the presence, and procure their entertainment at the rate of pay which he should fix. We informed him, that we could not venture to make any such representation to the presence. General Malartique replied, "Were I to write to the presence, would it not be agreed to?" We answered, that if he chose to write, it would be at your Highness's option to agree to it or not. After this we took leave. Being arrived at home, we wrote and sent a letter to Gen. Malartique by Monsr. De Bay, to this purport: "It is very well known to you, Sir, that the object of our coming hither, was to carry with us the succour of a large and effective body of troops. Persons of your nation represented to the presence that a considerable body of troops was actually ready at the Mauritius for the assistance of the Sircar, and that so soon as ambassadors should be sent to the Sirdars of the Mauritius, on the part of the Khoodadaud Sircar, an efficient body of men should be sent back with them, whereby the common enemy would be chastised.

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Had his Highneſs been pleaſed to give us orders for raiſing French recruits, his Highneſs would not have ſent us without ſettling their rate of pay and eſtabliſhment, agreeably to the cuſtom of the Sircar. From a regard to the antient union and eſtabliſhed friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two ſtates, you deem it improper to ſend away the ambaſſadors of the Koodadaud Sircar empty handed, and therefore propoſe to ſend a few men, whom you yourſelf have engaged for the ſervice of the Sircar: but the object of the Sircar will not be anſwered by ſo ſmall a body of men; neither are we inſtructed to carry with us recruits from the Mauritius; nor, indeed, can this be done without money. Men of your nation come to us every day, (*meaning for the purpoſe of being engaged*), and require to be furniſhed with money; but ſuppoſing they waved their demand for money here, and voluntarily repaired to the preſence with us, under your orders, their pay muſt be fixed by the preſence; elſe, ſuſpending this buſineſs until his Highneſs can be informed, depute two vakeels of your own with us to negotiate the matter. As ſoon as ſuch vakeels ſhall have arrived at the preſence, and his Highneſs ſhall have ſtated to them the rate of pay and eſtabliſhment, as allowed to Lally's force in the ſervice of the Sircar, ſhould his Highneſs be diſpoſed to entertain them agreeably to the accuſtomed rate of our Sircar, his Highneſs will ſend money with his ambaſſadors; and then you may enliſt men and ſend them accordingly; in the mean time, do us the favour to give us our leave to return to the preſence." General Malartique wrote in anſwer, and alſo ſent word by Monſieur Deſcombres and ..... the Dewan, That he propoſed ſending Meſſrs. Chapuis and Du Buc, with ſeveral other ſirdars, to your Highneſs, with this view; that until the arrival of the French ſuccours from Europe, the former ſhould reſide at the preſence, in quality of plenipotentiary; that the other Frenchmen might not by telling falſities, like Ripaud, deceive your Highneſs; and that Monſieur Du Buc might be deputed to France, together with your Highneſs's ambaſſadors, at the opening of the ſeaſon, to negotiate on the part of your Highneſs; as by his going, many points of great importance would be effected. For theſe reaſons, he ſaid, he propoſed ſending theſe perſons to the preſence, that hereafter ſhould your Highneſs approve of engaging Frenchmen for your ſervice, they ſhould be entertained at the rate and according to the cuſtoms of the Sircar, and ſent accordingly. Refuge of the World! After the lapſe of eighteen days, the ſhip which had been ſent to Bourbon returned empty. It appeared that a great many men wiſhed to come, but were prevented by want of means. On being informed of this, Gen. Malartique ſent word to us, that he propoſed, in the courſe of five or ſix days, to ſend us to Bourbon; that as many men as were willing to accompany us, we might carry to your Highneſs. Gen. Mangalon paying us a viſit, we ſtated to him that it would be very deſirable if he would accompany the troops deſtined for the ſervice of the ſtate; to which he replied, that when a conſiderable force ſhould arrive from Europe for the purpoſe of ſubduing the enemy, he would accompany it to the preſence; and he deſired that we would repreſent ſo to your Highneſs. After ſitting two hours, he took leave. Four days after, Gen. Malartique ſent for us to his houſe, at three o'clock in the afternoon; and

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and then propoſed to us to embark the following morning at nine o'clock, adding, that he himſelf would accompany us on board of ſhip to take leave. Accordingly, the nex day, being Thurſday, the 8th of March 1798, we ſet out. Arrived at the bank of the river's mouth, ſeveral Sirdars accompanied us in the boat, and eſcorted us on board the ſhip, where they took leave. An hour after, Gen. Malartique, Monſ. Chapuis and Monſ. De Buc, came on board; and Gen. Malartique delivered to us the khereetahs containing the arzees to your Highneſs's addreſs, deſiring that we would preſent his humble reſpects. He then gave orders for weighing anchor, and returned as ſoon as General Malartique had got on board the boat. The captain of the ſhip ordered the anchor to be hove; and in one day and night we arrived at Bourbon, where we anchored. Monſ. Chapuis and Du Buc got into the boat, and viſited the Governor of Bourbon; and returned, bringing with them four perſons, who were deſirous of proceeding to the preſence. The captain continued here the whole day, and then weighing anchor, ſhaped his courſe for Mangalore. Near the line we met with a ſtorm, in which one of the maſts of the ſhip was ſprung (or *carried away*), and during the whole of the night the people deſpaired of their lives; but through the favour of God, and the royal auſpices, in the morning the ſtorm ceaſed.

Prior to this, I had the honour to write to your Highneſs a full and accurate account of the engagement which took place off Tellicherry*, together with the diſembarkment of the Europeans, and their demands. Whence your Highneſs will have been informed of thoſe particulars.

Dated 23d May, 1798.

No. 19.

Translation of the Narrative of Mahommed Ibrahim, one of the Ambaſſadors diſpatched by Tippoo Sultaun to the Iſle of France in 1797.

CHAPTER I.—Account of the Departure of Huſſun Ally and Mahommed Ibrahim, deputed on the part of the Khoodadaud Sircar, for the Iſland of Mauritius, on board a ſhip, accompanied by Ripaud, a Frenchman; alſo of the Conferences held at that Place with the Chiefs of Mauritius, &c. agreeably to the under-mentioned particulars.

WE, Huſſun Ally and Mahommed Ibrahim, on the 4th of December 1797, having embarked on board the ſhip *****, in company with Ripaud the European, in purſuance of the order of the enlightened preſence, weighed anchor, and on the 8th January 1798 ſafely arrived at the Mauritius. The Sirdars of that place, in conſideration of the high reputation and dignity of the Khoodadaud Sircar, came out to meet us with the greateſt reſpect, and we were landed in the town at one of the beſt houſes.

The four letters, addreſſed to the chiefs of Mauritius, one to Gen. Malartique, the ſecond to Gen. Sercey, the third to Gen. Mangalon, and the fourth to Gen. Deſcombres, were delivered; and theſe four chiefs received them with the greateſt reſpect. They opened them, and aſcertained their contents. They mentioned that two ſhips were to be diſpatched from thence immediately for Paris, and that they ſhould ſend two other ſhips as a convoy to them, altogether four ſhips; that they (the four chiefs)

* This alludes to the capture of the *Raymond* and *Woodcote*, Indiamen, in Tellicherry Roads.

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chiefs) ſhould write to Paris an account of our arrival at Mauritius, on a deputation from the Sultaun, and perſuade the Directory to open a negotiation.

Your ſervants conſidered the departure of theſe ſhips for Paris, ſo immediately after their arrival at the Mauritius, as a moſt propitious circumſtance, the happy effect of your victorious auſpices, and as preſaging the ſucceſs of the affairs of the Khoodadaud Sircar. We obſerved to the chiefs, that their writing alone would not produce a ſpeedy and ſatisfactory anſwer from Europe; and that therefore it would be proper to poſtpone the departure of the ſhips for ſome days, and ſend copies of the letters which they had reſpectively received from the preſence, with their own diſpatches on the ſubject of the negotiation with your Highneſs, in order that all your Highneſs's wiſhes might be made known, and acquieſced in as ſoon as poſſible.

The chiefs accordingly, on due conſideration, wrote what was proper. We alſo, taking advantage of the circumſtance of the time, appointed two Europeans of note, one Monſ. Magon, the other Monſ. Pigon*, (holding out to them an expectation of the favour of the Sircar) to act as vakeels (*or ambaſſadors*;) and after preparing an bookumnaumah (*or inſtrument*) containing ten propoſitions, the particulars of which will appear in a ſeparate paper, we delivered it to them, and diſpatched them on board the ſaid ſhips for Paris, on the 22d of January 1798. By the bleſſing of God all the objects of the Sircar will ſpeedily be brought to bear agreeably to your wiſhes; but it will be better, with a view to give efficacy to the buſineſs, if vakeels be ſent to Paris, with all poſſible expedition, immediately from the Sircar. At a former period, it was your wiſh to ſend confidential vakeels to Paris, for the purpoſe of promoting the objects you have in view; if vakeels had been ſent, all the objects of your demands by this time would have been accompliſhed.

It is certain that the Engliſh are reduced to great difficulties and diſtreſs; and that at this criſis the negotiations at Paris may be carried on with the greateſt ſucceſs: from the friendſhip of the chiefs of Mauritius you can expect only ſome recruits and the eſtabliſhment of a factory; but with regard to other affairs of importance, ſuch as ſuccours for your country, and the conducting a negotiation, nothing final can be determined here. It will be adviſeable, however, to preſerve a friendſhip between theſe chiefs of the Mauritius and the Sircar.

We, according to our imperfect underſtandings, having made ourſelves acquainted with theſe matters have related them accordingly.

CHAPTER II.—Account of Ripaud, the European, as follows:

Having weighed anchor from the bay at Courial (*Mangalore*), we proceeded out to the roads and came to an anchor. He, having collected all the Europeans, came to us, and ſaid that he had been extremely ill treated by all our Sirdars. We aſked him in what reſpect our chiefs had behaved ill towards him? He anſwered, that it was the order of our prince, that he ſhould be ſupplied from the Sircar with all the ſtores and neceſſaries

* Theſe names are too indiſtinctly written in the Perſian to warrant a certainty that they are the real names.

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ries for the ship, in the most ample manner, and that he should thereon be dispatched; that the Sirdars had furnished him with neither stores nor necessaries of any kind; and that Ahmed Khan, Mullick-oo-Toojar, had taken from him by force the sum of 325 pagodas, and had also taken a bond from him for the ship, and informed him that he must himself purchase the stores and necessaries for her. That he had, in consequence, purchased them from his own funds. and had then come away, by which means he had sustained a great loss; he therefore wished to delay his voyage to the Mauritius for one year; and with a view to indemnify himself for his losses, he proposed to seize some of the enemy's ships, after which he would proceed to the Mauritius. We on this asked Ripaud, if he recollected what engagement he had entered into with the presence, and what improper measures he now proposed to pursue? we observed, that it would be proper for him to pay some attention to his engagement, and to have some consideration for the important business in agitation; that your Highness had treated him with great kindness, and that it would be well for him to exert himself cordially in promoting the affairs of the Sircar, that he might be exalted accordingly. Ripaud replied, that it was well; but that he wished to see the letters which had been written from the presence to the Sirdars of the Mauritius, with a view to ascertain whether they were the same letters or others. We observed to Ripaud, that it was the order of the presence, that we should deliver these letters to the chiefs of Mauritius; that it was not proper in him treacherously to think of opening and reading them; and that he would be severely reprimanded for it. Notwithstanding this, without any regard either to his character or life, he still positively insisted, that without opening and reading the letters addressed to the chiefs of Mauritius, he would by no means proceed to that place. We being entirely helpless, gave the four letters into the hands of Ripaud, who, having opened them, and his mind being relieved from apprehention, immediately weighed anchor, and set off for Mauritius. We accordingly, through the prosperous fortunes of your Highness, arrived in safety with this European at that place.

CHAPTER III.—Account of the Conferences with the Chiefs of Mauritius:

Who immediately on our arrival sent to us a doctor and an aid-du-camp, to inquire into the state of health of the ship's company, and to ascertain from whence she came. We replied, that we came from the Sultaun, upon whose kingdom and country be the shadow of God! Afterwards a boat, highly ornamented, came off with several Sirdars to receive us; and they having placed us in it, and brought us on shore, 500 guns were fired off, and two lines of European troops being formed, and a compliment being paid with the colours, we were conducted with the greatest ceremony and respect to the house of Gen. Malartique, and all the chiefs and gentlemen rose with great deference, and made us sit down. They made inquiry after the health of your Highness. We replied, "God be praised, by the Divine favour, he always enjoys excellent health, and is actively employed in conducting the affairs of his country, and in punishing and preventing the evil designs of his devoted enemies; and he has sent his compliments to all the chiefs." All the chiefs,

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chiefs, immediately on hearing the word compliments, taking off their hats, and rising from their seats, offered their profound respects. Upon this we gave the four chiefs their letters. They asked what else there was besides the letters? We answered, a hookumnaumah*. They then sent to our place of residence, and observed, that in the evening they would call in on us and see the hookumnaumah. The four chiefs accordingly did call in the evening, and made themselves acquainted with the contents of the hookumnaumah. We informed the chiefs, that Ripaud was present at the time of writing it, and that it would be well if he were called in. Gen. Malartique replied, that he did not send this European as a vakeel to the resplendent presence; "what then," said he, "has he to do here? He is second officer of a ship, and you are come from the presence, the shadow of God: whatever conferences it may be necessary to hold, let them be held with you." We thereon gave in writing to the chiefs the ten articles respecting provisions, &c. the particulars of which are specified in a separate paper; and the chiefs being extremely pleased with it, went to their own houses; and they have since sent, on their own part, those ten articles in detail to Paris.

CHAPTER IV.—Account of our return from the Mauritius to the Resplendent Presence.

The four chiefs of Mauritius told us personally, that the European Ripaud had brought us here on a false representation to the Sultaun: that at present they had no forces: that had we arrived four months sooner, a small reinforcement would have been sent with us; that as a succour to the Dutch, two ships had been sent to Batavia, more than three months ago; that had we arrived sooner, these ships should have gone as a reinforcement with us. We observed to the chiefs, that for forty years a friendship had subsisted between them and your Highness, the circumstances of which it was not necessary to particularize; that it was the most ardent wish of your Highness's heart, by a mutual concert, to extirpate the English nation, and raising the standard of victory, and affording assistance and protection to the country of Hindustân, cement still stronger the bonds of union and friendship: that our sovereign had with this determined view sent us to them, and that they should act in such a manner, as to increase the honour and reputation of both parties. They replied, that it was certain that in a short time a large army, and efficient succours, would be sent from Europe; and that they were ready to do every thing in their power to promote the service of the Sircar. After this conversation they returned to their houses.

CHAPTER V.—The chiefs of Mauritius caused a proclamation to be made in the city, by beat of drum, and sent letters to the neighbouring island, inviting those to come forward who were desirous of entering into the service of your Highness.

After an interval of fifteen days, some

* Or paper of instructions; probably means the paper of propositions annexed to the diary of Hussun Ally.

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ſome few men aſſembled, and the chiefs having ſent for us, mentioned that after fixing the pay of the Sirdars, ſeamen, gunners, ſoldiers, and artificers, they were about to ſend them with us to the preſence; that it would be proper for us to give a writing, purporting that the allowances which had been eſtabliſhed at the Mauritius ſhould be regularly paid to the perſons ſent by them. We replied to this, that we had come here to obtain extenſive ſuccours, and a large army, and not to carry away recruits: that had we come to procure recruits, we ſhould certainly have come furniſhed with inſtructions for ſettling their pay: that they were at liberty to ſend them, if they pleaſed; but that the eſtabliſhment of pay, and the entertaining of them, reſted with your Highneſs, and that we had no power to give a writing to this effect. Theſe particulars were ſtated in writing to the chiefs: who wrote to us in reply, that although we would not give what they deſired in writing, it was of no conſequence; that they ſhould, at their own diſcretion, put the perſons who had accepted ſervice, on board the ſhip, and ſend them with us; that ſhould your Highneſs entertain them in your ſervice, and allow them the pay fixed by us, it would be well; that otherwiſe the men ſhould be ſent back on the ſame ſhip to the Mauritius.

CHAPTER VI.—We ſubmitted ſix propoſitions to the Chiefs of Mauritius.

Propoſition 1. That they ſhould ſend two reſpectable perſons on the part of the Khoodadaud Sircar to Paris, for conducting the negotiation.

They accordingly did ſend two perſons to Paris.

2. That we ſhould enter into a treaty, that their ſtandard and that of the Khoodadaud Sircar ſhould be united.*,

They replied, that this could not be done here by them without powers from Paris.

3. That a factory ſhould be eſtabliſhed at Mauritius on the part of the Khoodadaud Sircar.

To this they conſented.

4. That they ſhould ſend to the Khoodadaud Sircar ſome nutmeg and clove trees.

To this they agreed, and have ſent them to the preſence with us.

5. That we would not carry with us to the preſence the recruits, whom they propoſed to ſend.

6. That in the event of your Highneſs being deſirous of ſending vakeels to Paris, they ſhould be conveyed thither on the ſhip now arrived.

To this they aſſented.

CHAPTER VII.—Ripaud, the European, came to us at night twice during our reſidence at the Mauritius. The firſt time he came, he ſaid that General Malartique and the other chiefs had ſhewn great diſpleaſure and anger towards him, aſking him why he had by a falſe repreſentation to the preſence brought us there? Ripaud aſked us to give him an inſtrument in writing, purporting that he had not, by ſpeaking to your Highneſs, been the means of bringing us; for that Monſieur Munderool (*Moneron*) had, at a former period, made a repreſentation to the preſence, recommend-

* In other words, that a treaty of alliance, offenſive and defenſive, ſhould be concluded.

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recommending that your Highneſs ſhould ſend vakeels on your part to France, and elſewhere, for the purpoſe of obtaining ſuccours. We, thereon, told Ripaud that he had delivered a ſtatement to the preſence, and that it was evident that the advice on which we had been ſent, &c. proceeded from him; and that we would never give any ſuch writing.

The ſecond time that Ripaud came, he ſaid, that Meer Ghoolaum Ally, ſpeaking of the buſineſs of the negotiation, had mentioned, that he (*Ripaud*) had certainly ſuggeſted to the preſence, the deputation of the vakeels; but he denied ever having recommended any thing of the kind. We were informed too by Deſcombres, the firſt in council, that Ripaud was in the practice of holding very improper and diſreſpectful diſcourſe, ſaying, that they had kept him in confinement; that having obtained his releaſe by ſtratagem, he had proceeded hither; that in conſequence of this very improper diſcourſe, they had diſgraced Ripaud, and turned him out of the city.

Deſcombres further aſked, why your Highneſs, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, did not unite and drive the Engliſh out of Hinduſtán? He ſaid, it was certain that by the union of theſe three, the Engliſh might be rooted out of that country. That 500 Frenchmen had been in the ſervice of Ram Rajah; upon hearing which, they (*the Engliſh*) had peremptorily remonſtrated with him, and cauſed him to diſmiſs the 500 Frenchmen; that Ram Rajah was very much diſſatisfied with the Engliſh, and that it was his wiſh to produce a good underſtanding between your Highneſs and Ram Rajah.

We further learnt from Deſcombres, that at Paris, one day all the French Gentlemen being aſſembled in conſultation, it had been aſked, whether in Hunduſtán the French had any ally? that at this time a friend of the Khoodadaud Sircar was preſent, who replied, that your Highneſs, for a period of forty years, had been the ally of the French, and that you were a powerful friend; and that on hearing this, all the gentlemen were highly pleaſed.

We were informed by Monſieur Coſſigny, that the * letters of your Highneſs, which had been ſent to France under the care of Monſieur Moneron had arrived ten months before in France.

At the time of our coming away, we made inquiry of General Malartique reſpecting Ripaud: he replied, that on his receiving your Highneſs's commands regarding him, he would take him into cuſtody, and ſend him to your Highneſs; that the former vakeels had been guilty of many very improper acts, and that your Highneſs ought not to ſend ſuch perſons as vakeels.

He ſhewed us the place in which gunpowder is manufactured and pounded by the power of a water-mill; and a new manufactory, where the charge of powder with which the guns are loaded, is equal to two cartridges, and the balls for theſe guns weigh ſixty pounds; they make the balls as hot as fire, and throw them into theſe guns, which they fire off. The

* No copies of theſe letters have yet been diſcovered; their date is alſo unknown. It is evident, however, from Mr. Coſſigny's letter in the French correſpondence, that their object was the ſame as that of the embaſſy to the Mauritius in 1797. Pierre Moneron, a perſon of ſome note in the French revolution, was the bearer of theſe letters.

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The balls carry as far as 200 yards. In this manner they fired off the great guns three times, for the purpose of shewing them to us.

He shewed us the gardens in which the nutmeg and clove trees are cultivated.

He shewed us the bridge (*or pier*) on both sides of which there are two batteries, and on each of these batteries there are sixty excellent guns, the balls of which being made ret hot, and thrown into the guns, they are fired off; and by these balls the ships of an enemy may be burnt.

He shewed us fire-works of different sorts, (such as the Chuckerbaun and Taramundul, &c.) all very excellent of their kind.

He entertained us with plays and music, &c. which merit to be highly extolled.

He shewed us the manufactory for guns, swords, cartridge boxes, and the various implements of war.

We had nine interviews with the above-mentioned general.

The island of Mauritius is in length sixty cos, and forty cos in breadth. The city is situated at the foot of a hill.

The following particulars were ascertained from * * * *

A Danish ship had arrived at Mauritius, with letters from Paris. All the chiefs of the council of Mauritius being assembled, and having read the letters, remained during one day overwhelmed with fear and anxiety. We inquired of * * * * why all the gentlemen had remained a whole day in consternation. He replied, that after the French king was killed, a new system had been established: that there were five* chiefs of the first order: that there was a Council of Ancients, consisting of 250, and a third order of young men, whose number amounted to 500: that these chiefs consulting together, conduct the affairs of the state; that the Germans had made peace with the French, but that the English having bribed the former with millions of money, had separated them from the French, and brought them over to their own party: that through the means of the Germans, they had also brought over to their interest two of the chiefs of the first order (*the Directory*), and a great number of those of the second and third orders: and that they secretly determined to bring about a peace between the French and English; that this being discovered by the other chiefs who were not engaged in the intrigues of the latter nation, they thereon asked the chiefs who were in the interest of the English, for what reason they were intriguing to accomplish a peace with that nation? They replied, that they had been seduced into this error by the instigation and artifice of the Germans; they in consequence put all these French chiefs, the partizans of the English, into close confinement, and appointed 5000 horse as a guard for the custody of them. The English ambassadors who had come to favour the scheme, took to flight†; that in consequence of this circumstance, a misunderstanding had again arisen between the Germans and the French, and that peace at this time could by no means be established between the French and English. This account was a matter of public notoriety at Mauritius.

The

* Meaning the Directory.

† This probably alludes to the sudden departure of Lord Malmesbury from France.

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The French declare to the Engliſh, that peace can be eſtabliſhed with them only on condition, that they ſhould be content to be placed in the ſame ſituation that they were in forty years ago: that on thoſe terms they certainly might have peace. The Engliſh are reduced to the greateſt difficulties and diſtreſs: they are burthened with an enormous debt, and there is no money in their country: how long will they be able to ſubſiſt on the reſources which they draw from Bengal, and elſewhere? There being ſo much reaſon to believe that the Engliſh are in a weak and ſhattered condition, the kings of Conſtantinople, of America, Spain, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal, have united with the French, and their vakeels (*ambaſſadors*) are aſſembled at Paris.

We having aſcertained all the foregoing particulars by inquiry at different places, have repreſented them to the preſence to the beſt of our ability. To add more, were to tranſgreſs the bounds of reſpect. We truſt that we ſhall be honoured with the kindneſs and favour of your highneſs.

CHAPTER VIII.—We remained at Mauritius one month and eighteen days, and having embarked from thence on a ſhip on the *7th of March* 1798) we arrived in ſafety at Courial. We embarked at the Mauritius on Thurſday in the evening. General Malartique, and all the chiefs, came on board to ſee us, and delivered into our hands the letters for the preſence: they urged the captain very ſtrongly to do every thing to promote our eaſe and contentment, and told him to carry us to Courial: the general, then addreſſing himſelf to us, obſerved, that the perſons who had formerly come on the part of your highneſs, had carried off a great deal of money on falſe pretences; that they had expended large ſums without effecting any thing: that he had, therefore, ſent General Chapuis for the purpoſe of remaining at the preſence; alſo General Du Buc, for ſuperintending naval affairs; and Monſ. Des Moulines, for the purpoſe of diſciplining the troops: that he had, in addition to theſe, ſent ſailors, gunners, and others, to accompany them. He mentioned theſe particulars verbally: and obſerved that the remaining circumſtances would appear from his letter to the preſence. Thereon all the guns of the ſhip, and of the other ſhips, having been fired, the general returned to his houſe, and the anchor of the ſhip being weighed, we proceeded towards Courial: having taken on board ſome perſons at Bourbon, we proceeded ſtraight to Courial.

The ſhip on which we were, arriving near the Lacadives, took a patamar, in which there were ſome Malabar men; and we aſked from whence they came? they ſaid, from Cannanore; We aſked what news there was from Tellicherry, and whether there were any Engliſh ſhips there or not? they replied, that there were two ſhips there, the Raymond and Woodcote. Immediately on hearing this news, the patamar was releaſed, and the ſhip was ſteered towards Tellicherry. Every body, however, objected; obſerving, that as the vakeels were on board, it would be improper to go to Tellicherry for the purpoſe of fighting. The captain of the ſhip replied, that after receiving accounts of the Engliſh ſhip, ſhould he not go in queſt of them, he ſhould be highly culpable, and deſerve to be put to death: he would, therefore, by no means acquieſce.

Accordingly, on Friday the 19*th of April*, 1798, we arrived at Tellicherry

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licherry, and found one ship at anchor there. Near the evening another ship had come into the road of Tellicherry, when on a sudden, a violent storm arose, and the lightning striking the ship, she was dashed to pieces on the shore—one man was killed by a stroke of the lightning, and eight were wounded.

At this time another English ship, which had come from Bombay, made her appearance, and entering the roads of the port, came to an anchor. Neither of the ships had yet furled their sails, when the French ship, on board of which we were, went in between the two English ships which were in the roads of Tellicherry, and came to an anchor. She called out to each of these ships to haul down their colours; upon which both ships fire off their guns, and an engagement ensued. The ship which had been previously at anchor, struck her colours, and the one which had come from Bombay, getting up her anchor, was making off; but she was also taken and brought back.

Passing by the fort and battery, the two prizes and our own ship, were anchored in the river *(or sea.)* The number of the prisoners, chiefs and others, taken in the prizes, amounted to about 500 Europeans. Having put our own men on board their ships, we confined their crews on board our own ship.

In the morning, a Sirdar came on board our ship from Tellicherry, and a French Sirdar set off for Tellicherry. What conferences were held by them, or what arrangement they made, we did not ascertain: some few of the English were detained, and the remainder were set at liberty. Both the prizes were dispatched to the island of Mauritius. We heard that the two ships were worth five lacks of rupees, and that the goods, money, effects, and different articles, were valued at five lacks. The remaining persons having been sent off to Tellicherry, the next day we weighed anchor, and pursued the route to Courial. At this time a two-masted ship hove in sight, and we went in. Having come up with her, we asked what ship it was? They replied, Tippoo Sultaun's. Under whose charge? They said, that she was under an *officer* named Shaik Shahaub-ud-deen. The people of the ship further mentioned, that she had sailed for Muscat, and having been driven back from thence by a storm, they had repaired to this quarter. The mate and *captain* of the ship, had on board three thousand bags of rice, and there was also a little black pepper. The French Captain was desirous of sending the ship to the Mauritius; but we represented to him, that the ship had come there in consequence of a storm, and that it was not at all proper to send her to the Mauritius, since she in fact belonged to the Khoodadaud Sircar. The captain observed, if this ship belonged to the sircar, why had she come to Tellicherry, for the purpose of selling rice? We replied, that this was best known to our prince. They put eight soldiers on board the ship, and carried her to Courial.

We arrived at that place in forty-nine days from Mauritius, and landed on Wednesday at noon, the *26th of April* 1798.

On our arrival at Courial, we heard that an English ship from Bengal, bound to Bombay, had come to Courial, where a French ship was at anchor under English colours: that the English, taking her for one of their own ships, had come in for water, and requested the other to assist her to proceed to Bombay by supplying her with

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with water. The French ſaid that they would ſupply her with water, and ſend her to the place of her deſtination. The captain at the ſame time told the ſirdars of his own ſhip, immediately on the arrival of the ſirdars *(the Engliſh)*, to ſeize the ſhip. Accordingly, having put people on board the ſhip, they diſpatched her to the Mauritius. We heard, that the ſhip had on board Bengal goods to the value of five lacks of rupees.

Courial is diſtant from Mauritius 900 coſs, but by the route of *(name illegible)* it is 1100 coſs; Paris is diſtant 2000 coſs from Mauritius.

Having attentively aſcertained theſe accounts, we have committed them to writing: ſhould any errors have occurred in the courſe of writing them, we ſhall be forgiven. (Signed) MAHOMMED IBRAHIM.

Copy of two Letters addreſſed to Admiral Sercey and General Malartique, diſpatched on the 13th of October 1798.

Health to General Malartique, my old and faithful friend! Your agreeable letter, every word of which was calculated to ſtrengthen the foundations of friendſhip, was received at the preſence, brought by the generals Chapuis and Du Buc, and it afforded me inexpreſſible gratification.

Theſe two generals whom you have ſent, appear to be men of very noble qualities, and excellent diſpoſitions, men of reſource and experience, wiſe, and well-wiſhers to both governments—With a view therefore to communicate various neceſſary points of importance to our friendſhip, I have diſpatched to your country, by the way of Tranquebar, Gen. Du Buc with two chiefs of the Khoodadaud Sircar. As both yourſelf and the whole French nation have for a great length of time been the cordial friends of the Khoodadaud Sircar, I truſt, that in conſideration of this circumſtance, you will always continue to gratify my heart by informing me of your welfare.

Previouſly to the preſent period the heavy loſſes in money, territory, and men, which the Khoodadaud Sircar ſuſtained in conſequence of his friendſhip and connexion with the French nation, are very well known, and it is therefore unneceſſary to mention them. At this time too, the Engliſh having heard of my ſending the vakeels of the ſircar, for the purpoſe of obtaining accounts of your welfare, are again preparing hoſtilities. The particulars of this diſturbance, as well as of all points relating to me, will be fully made known to you from the verbal communications of Dudemaine, and the letters of General Chapuis. You are Frenchmen! your fidelity and good faith in the performance of your engagements are eſtabliſhed: it is moſt certain that you will not in any manner be guilty of the ſlighteſt neglect in demonſtrating your good wiſhes towards the Khoodadaud Sircar.

Dated the 13th of October 1798.

A letter to the ſame effect was alſo written to Admiral Sercey.

On the back of the original:

Drafts of letters to the Directory of France, with a copy of the *inſtructions* for the vakeels of the ſircar, conſiſting of eleven articles.

Account of money diſburſed for the expences of the vakeels, &c.

Account of jewels, khelauts, and guns granted by the preſence to the ſirdars.

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Secret Correſpondence between ZEMAUN SHAH, *King of Cabul, and the late* TIPPOO SULTAUN.

THE following Numbers, from No. 21 to No. 29, inclusive, comprize a part only of the voluminous Correſpondence between the late Tippoo Sultaun and the Court and Agents of Zemaun Shah, found in the palace of Seringapatam. This Correſpondence, it appears, commenced before the war between Tippoo Sultaun and the Engliſh, which terminated in 1792; and the ſame ambitious and hoſtile views againſt the Britiſh power in India have marked it, from its commencement to its cloſe.

The preſent ſeries commences with the deputation of two Ambaſſadors, on the part of the Sultaun, to Zemaun Shah, in the year 1796, for the expreſs purpoſe of encouraging that Prince to proſecute his deſign of invading Hinduſtân, and to form a plan of co-operation for the ſubverſion of the Britiſh power in India. Many letters belonging to this ſeries are omitted, becauſe they were thought unneceſſary to elucidate the Sultaun's views, ſo completely developed by thoſe which are now printed.

The papers, Nos. 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26, are tranſlations of drafts in the Perſian language, recorded in a book found in the wardrobe of the late Tippoo Sultaun's palace at Seringapatam. The book contains drafts of letters to Zemaun Shah, to his miniſters and agents, to the chiefs of Balochiſtaun and Cutch, and the miniſters of the latter, &c. to the number of 22, from the year 1793 to 1799. They are not authenticated; but, as the original anſwers to ſome of them are in the poſſeſſion of Government (though not inſerted in this collection), and, in particular, as the anſwer of Zemaun Shah (No. 29) to Tippoo Sultaun's letter to him (No. 22) recapitulates the ſubſtance of the latter, there can be no doubt that letters were actually diſpatched in conformity to the addreſs and tenor of the drafts in queſtion; and the miſſion of ambaſſadors, in both inſtances, as intimated in the following correſpondence, is authenticated by written documents, and has been confirmed by verbal evidence.

It appears, that Tippoo Sultaun wrote two diſtinct letters, in reply to that of the Grand Seignior, of which a tranſlation is inſerted in the printed correſpondence, of the Governor General with the Sultaun. One of thoſe anſwers, which was tranſmitted by the Sultaun to the Right Honourable the Governor General, for the purpoſe of being forwarded, appears in a tranſlated form in the printed correſpondence above alluded to. The other (forming No. 30 of the following ſelection) was forwarded by ambaſſadors diſpatched by the Sultaun to Conſtantinople.

No 21.

Tranſlation of Inſtructions from Tippoo Sultaun, to Meer Hubbeeb Oolla, and Meer Mahommed Rezza, ſent on an Embaſſy from Zemaun Shah.

In the name of God, the moſt Merciful, the Compaſſionate!

(L. S.) *Seal of Tippoo Sultaun.*

Hookumnaumah, or Inſtructions addreſſed to Meer Hubbeeb Oolla, and Meer Mahommed Rezza.

It is proper that, on your departure from the capital, you proceed to Jemaulabad, and that, with the advice of the aſſof of that place, you take ſhipping in company with Jewan Doſs, the banker attached to the factory of the comptrollers of commerce, and proceed from thence by ſea to Cutch. You will land at the port of Munderah, where is ſituated the factory belonging to the Khoodadaud Sircar, and make yourſelves particularly acquainted with the ſtate of buſineſs at the factory, and with the conduct of the derogahs, head officers in the execution of their orders.

Having viſited Rajah Roydhun, the chief of Cutch, you will deliver the *honorary dreſs* and letter for

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for him, which have been entrusted to your charge. At your interview with the rajah, and the rajah's brother, and the minister Futteh Mahommed, you will make professions of friendship and cordiality, and lay the foundation of a firm alliance.

You will obtain from the rajah, and the other officers, a house at Mindy, for the purpose of establishing a factory on the part of the Khoodadaud Sircar, and deliver it over to the charge of Ghoolaum Mahommed Abdool Mujeed Khan, and Jewun Dos, officers belonging to the commercial department. You will write a particular account of the situation and circumstances of the two factories and of the rajah, and other matters, and transmit it, under your seals, to the presence, through the derogahs of the factory. If the derogahs in question shall have acted contrary to their orders, you will reprimand them, and bring them back to a right line of conduct, that they may not again deviate from their instructions.

(Signed)

You will give notice to the merchants of Cutch, and the places in its neighbourhood, and you will give them a written voucher for the purpose, that the dealers in mares and horses, who may bring them for sale to the ports of the Khoodadaud Sircar, will be exempted from duty; and that the duties on other articles also, which they may bring for sale, have been taken off: that the horses will be purchased at *Mangalore*, and payment be made in ready money, unless they prefer receiving their value in rice. Two declarations to this effect from the presence are committed to your charge; you will deliver them to the servants of the two factories in Cutch, that they may be shewn to the merchants—three letters also, addressed to the assos of Jemaulabad, Waujidabad, and Maujidabad, on the subject of the remission of the duties on the horses and goods of the merchants of Cutch, are sent with you; and you are desired to deliver them to the assos in question.

(Signed)

As long as you remain at Cutch, you will every day pay a visit to the rajah, as well as to his officers: An honorary dress has been conferred on the rajah's brother, and one on Futteh Mahommed; which you will accordingly deliver to them—You will mention privately to the rajah of Cutch and Futteh Mahommed, that you are come, agreeably to the orders of the presence, for the purpose of establishing a factory in the country of Nusseer Khan; that you have no other object than to give encouragement to the merchants of foreign ports with the ports of the Khoodadaud Sircar; that, as horses are necessary, as one of the means of prosecuting holy wars, you are desirous of procuring a greater number for the soldiers and warriors engaged in this service, and that you are come to make some arrangement for this purpose. Having made this kind of representation, you will remain ten or twelve days; and, visiting all the public officers of his government, you will be careful to inspire them with hopes of the favour of the presence, and render them subservient to the will of the Khoodadaud Sircar.

(Signed)

Proceeding from Cutch on a hired ship, you will repair to the

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port of Keranchy, and from thence to ——, which is the place of reſidence of Nuſſeer Khan; and landing at the diſtance of one ſtage from that place, you will addreſs a letter to Nuſſeer Khan to this effect: "That you are come to his highneſs with letters and an honorary dreſs from the preſence, and that you will have the honour to communicate to him the commands with which you are charged from the preſence."

Having written to this effect in an appropriate manner, you will, on the receipt of his anſwer, proceed to the city of Nuſſeer Khan; and paying your reſpects with the cuſtomary ceremonies of the place, you will preſent the honorary dreſs and letter, in trays; you will each preſent an *offering* of five Hydery rupees, and one Ahmedy *; and you will offer, on the part of the preſence, the ſalutations preſcribed among the followers of the faith; and at the ſame time making the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of friendſhip, addreſs him to this effect: "That you had been ordered to wait upon his highneſs; and after being favoured by him with a guard, you were deſired to proceed to Ajim *(or Perſia)*; and having ſeen all the curioſities of that country, and viſited the tombs of the illuſtrious, you were commiſſioned to bring back with you the different rarities and choice productions of the country."

You will make a repreſentation to this effect; and, after two or three interviews, you will obſerve to him, that countries belonging to the followers of the faith are united by one common intereſt; that in the Khoodadaud Sircar ſundry perſons form an aſſociation, and carry on a commerce under the denomination of Mullick-oo-Toojar; that they beg to repreſent to his highneſs, that if he will be pleaſed to favour them with a place for a factory at the port of Keranchy, and give them the neceſſary aſſurances, they will eſtabliſh a factory at that port, and carry on a commerce, paying his highneſs the eſtabliſhed duties, according to the cuſtom of his government; that the Mullick-oo-Toojar had accordingly addreſſed a letter to his higneſs on the ſubject, and preſented an honorary dreſs, which are ready at his ſervice.

Having made a repreſentation to this effect, you will deliver the letter and dreſs; and taking his cowl *(or engagement)* and an order to the haukim *(or governor)* of Keranchy, with reſpect to the aſſignment of a place for a factory, you will proceed to that port, and fix on the ſpot accordingly.

From thence you will proceed, either by land or water, with the greateſt prudence and circumſpection, to the country of his majeſty Zemaun Shah, and on your return alſo, you will viſit Nuſſeer Khan, and on your arrival at Keranchy, you will ſelect a reſpectable perſon from among the merchants, for the purpoſe of conducting the buſineſs of the factory, and deliver over the place to his charge.

(Signed)

On your arrival in the country of Zemaun Shah, you will repair to the ſeat of government, which is at Cabul, and, halting at the diſtance of one ſtage from the city, you will addreſs a letter to the vizier and diſpatch a meſſage with it, by the *head* of the meſſengers, to this effect: that you had come to attend *(his majeſty)* on the part of the Khoodadaud

* A coin equal to about a gold mohur.

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Khoodadaud Sircar, in the capacity of ambaſſadors, and waited his majeſty's pleaſure.

When the miniſter ſhall ſend for you, you will repair to Cabul, and take up your reſidence at the place which he may point out. At your interview with him, you will carry the letter and *honorary dreſs* with you, and preſent them to him in trays; you will each preſent an offering of five ahmedies, and, according to the cuſtom of that government, you will pay the proper compliments, and, if it ſhould be cuſtomary to ſit down, after waiting a little and receiving the commands of the vizier, you will do ſo; ſhould it, however, be cuſtomary to ſtand up, you will remain ſtanding; then, taking the letter and dreſs from the trays, you will place theſe at ſome diſtance in front of the vizier, and after the reſpects and compliments of the Sircar Khoodadaud, in the manner preſcribed among the followers of the faith, you will make many profeſſions of friendſhip; obſerving, that all true believers are brethren; but you will pay at the ſame time due attention to the reſpective ranks of the parties. After having converſed together, you will repreſent, that "you are Syuds the deſcendants of Fatimah *;" that you have repaired to the preſence of his highneſs, and are ready to obey his commands; and that you entertain hopes, through his means, to be honoured with permiſſion to pay your reſpects to his majeſty.

You will addreſs yourſelves to him in this manner, and having, through the vizier, obtained admiſſion to the preſence of his majeſty Zemaun Shah, you will place on the trays the letter, the dreſs, jewels, and the ſaddles, and then preſent them in the manner which the vizier may deſire, and agreeably to the cuſtoms and etiquette of the court; you will alſo, according to the eſtabliſhed forms of that court, offer the proper compliments, and ſtand up with your hands folded together. When you ſhall receive an order to ſit down, you will ſeat yourſelves accordingly, or whatever may be the etiquette of the place, you will be careful to obſerve it.

Having thus paid your court through the vizier, in the manner which is proper for ambaſſadors, you will repreſent, that "you having come a diſtant journey from the exalted preſence, have preſented yourſelves before his majeſty; that many affairs of importance have been entruſted to you, which, at his majeſty's leiſure, you would repreſent to him."

Dated *March* 1796.

Written by Syud Hoſſain.

(Signed)

The firſt time of your attending the court of his majeſty Zemaun Shah, you will each of you preſent an offering of eleven ahmedies.

(Signed)

An eſcort of nine ſoldiers is ſent with you, for the purpoſe of guarding the articles belonging to the Sircar. You will take care that they perform their duty, and that they keep their arms clean and bright; that they regularly attend at the five daily prayers, and that they perform their ablutions, and offer up holy ejaculations upon the parade. You will, at the different ſtages, hire bullocks, or other carriage, according to the cuſtom of the country, for the purpoſe of tranſporting four ſuits of clothes

* Fatimah was the daughter of Mahommed.

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for each of them, at the expence of the Sircar; and you will also hire the neceſſary carriage in the country, for the conveyance of the baſkets containing *bononary dreſſes*, and other articles belonging to the Sircar, which you will carry with you.

(Signed)

For the payment of the wages of the different ſervants who accompany you, you will receive 750 farookies; and you will pay them their allowances accordingly, agreeably to the eſtabliſhed rates.

In addition to this, you will receive for your contingent expences 500 imaumies, the value of which is ſtated in the account, and you will take them with you.

Thirty-four ahmedies of gold have alſo been given you, for the purpoſe of enabling you to offer the nuzzurs *(or offerings)* mentioned above. You will take ten ſilver hyderees from the 500 imaumies before ſtated, and agreeably to the foregoing directions, preſent them as nuzzurs.

(Signed)

No. 22.

*Tranſlation of a Paper intitled "Propoſition to his Majeſty Zemaun Shah *."*

The imbecility and ruinous condition of the kingdom of Delhi, are more obvious than the ſun—As therefore, Delhi, which is one of the ſeats of government of the Mahommedan faith, has been reduced to this ſtate of ruin, ſo that the infidels altogether prevail, it is become proper and incumbent upon the leaders of the faithful, that, uniting together, they exterminate the infidels.

I am very deſirous of engaging in this purſuit; but there are three ſects of infidels in the way of it; and although, when we are united, their is little ground for apprehenſion, yet the union of the followers of the faith is neceſſary. If that ornament of the throne, that conqueror of kingdoms, ſhould adopt [*one of*] two plans for effecting this, it will tend to the glory of the faith. One of them is as follows:

That your majeſty ſhould remain in your capital, and ſend one of your noblemen, in whom you have confidence, to Delhi with an army; that this perſon, on his arrival there, ſhould make the neceſſary arrangements, and, after depoſing the infirm king, who has reduced the faith to this ſtate of weakneſs, ſelect from among the family ſome one properly qualified for the government: he ſhould remain one year for the purpoſe of ſettling the country, and, taking with him the chiefs of the country, who are Rajpoots and others, direct his ſtandard towards the Deccan, ſo that the Brahmans and others on the road may come forward and preſent themſelves to him; whilſt I, from this quarter, with the aid of God, will raiſe the ſtandard of holy war, and make the infidels bow down under the ſword of the faith: after theſe ſhall have been ſacrificed to the ſword, and no longer exiſt, the remaining infidels will be nothing. Afterwards, the ſettlement of the Deccan may be concluded in any manner which ſhall be mutually agreed upon.

The ſecond plan is this:

If none of your majeſty's noblemen

* This appears to be a memorandum of a plan of co-operation between Tippoo Sultaun and Zemaun Shah, which the ambaſſadors of the former were inſtructed to propoſe to the latter.

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men ſhould be ſufficiently in your confidence, or equal to the undertaking, and if your majeſty ſhould be entirely at eaſe with reſpect to the ſtate of your country and government, it is propoſed that you ſhould in perſon proceed to Delhi, and, having made the neceſſary arrangements there, eſtabliſh one of your confidential ſervants in the office of the vizier, and return to your own capital. The perſon who may be ſelected for the office of vizier, muſt be a man of addreſs and enterprize; that, remaining a twelvemonth with his army at Delhi, he may be able to bring under ſubjection the chiefs of the neighbouring country. The ſecond year your majeſty ſhould alſo ſend from your capital a ſmall army as a reinforcement: ſo that the vizier appointed by you, as above-mentioned, may proceed with the chiefs of Hinduſtân towards the Deccan; ſhould thoſe infidel Brâhmans direct their power to that quarter, by the grace of God the hands of the heroes of the faith in this part of the world ſhall be raiſed for their chaſtiſement. After their extirpation, it will be proper to enjoin the vizier acting on your majeſty's part, to fix upon a place of rendezvous, and there to meet me, that the proper means may be adopted for the ſettlement of the country.

You are to make a propoſition to his majeſty to the above effect, and requeſt him to determine upon whichever of the two plans he may prefer, and then furniſh you with a written engagement accordingly, under his majeſty's hand and ſeal, adding, that if his majeſty will be pleaſed to give both of you permiſſion, and have the goodneſs to ſend a confidential perſon with you, you will repair to the preſence of your ſovereign, and having alſo obtained from him an engagement in writing, correſponding with the inſtrument above alluded to, you will return with the confidential perſon above-mentioned to the preſence of his majeſty: but that, ſhould his majeſty deſire one of you to remain with him, one of you will continue in attendance accordingly, and the other will proceed with his majeſty's confidential ſervant to the Deccan, and return with the writing from thence to the preſence of his majeſty.

No. 23.

Tranſlation of the Draft of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Zemaun Shah.

[The letter commences with an invocation to the Deity, and to Mahommed, &c. as uſual in the correſpondence of perſons of the rank of Zemaun Shah and Tippoo Sultaun. As the idiom of the Engliſh language will not admit of an adequate tranſlation of the figurative expreſſions uſed upon theſe occaſions, and as it is not in any degree eſſential to inſert them, they are wholly omitted: for the ſame reaſon, the complimentary titles and deſignations applied to Zemaun Shah throughout the letter, are for the moſt part left out in the tranſlation.]

Thanks to God, that at this happy time I have the ſatisfaction to hear that your majeſty, the ornament of the throne, the promoter of religion, the deſtroyer of heretics and oppreſſors, &c. employs your whole time, and exerts every faculty, in the ſupport of the enlightened religion, and is wholly devoted to its cauſe. The report of your majeſty's piety, juſtice, religious zeal, and courage, ſo grateful to the feelings of all the followers of the faith, and eſpecially to me, has afforded me inexpreſſible joy and ſatisfaction: in return for this, near a hundred thouſand of the followers of the faith, nay more, aſſemble every Friday, the ſabbath of the Muſſulmans, in the two moſques

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moſques of the capital, called the Aulah and the Aſkah moſque; and after preſcribed forms of prayer, ſupplicate the beſtower of all things, according to the words of ſcripture, "Grant thy aid, O God, to thoſe who aid the religion of Mahommed, and let us be of that number at the laſt day; deſtroy thoſe, O God, who would deſtroy the religion of Mahommed, and let not us be of their number at the laſt day;" and pray that the Almighty will render your majeſty, who is the ſupporter of the faith, and all its followers, victorious and ſucceſsful over their enemies: I confidently truſt, that the Almighty, in conformity to his holy word, "He who prayeth unto me, his prayer ſhall be granted," will liſten to their ſupplication, and render your majeſty, who is the defender of the faith, and one of its brighteſt ornaments, ſucceſsful and victorious.

Your majeſty muſt doubtleſs have been informed, that my exalted ambition has for its object a holy war. The fruit of this juſt deſign has been, that in the midſt of this land of heretics, the Almighty protects this tract of Mahommedan dominion like the ark of Noah, and cuts ſhort the extended arm of the abandoned heretic. The report of your majeſty's zeal and piety render me, and all the followers of the faith, moſt anxious to open a perſonal and direct communication of ſentiments with your majeſty; but the obſtacles to this are fully apparent to your majeſty; and therefore, upon the principle (as laid down in the law) that it is ſufficient that two perſons ſhould have the honour to ſee * the new moon, in order to eſtabliſh its actual appearance, the reſpected Meer Hubbeeb Oolla, and Meer Mahommed Rezza who are among the higheſt in rank in the Khooda-daud Sircar, and are worthy of admiſſion to the preſence, are now ſent as ambaſſadors to your majeſty's imperial court, with letters (which, according to the ſaying "a letter is half a meeting," may be conſidered as an invaluable ſubſtitute for perſonal communication;) in order that I may be gratified, not only by obtaining accounts of your majeſty's proſperity, ſucceſs, and glory, but enjoy the pleaſure of ſeeing your majeſty as it were by ſubſtitution; and that the foundations of friendſhip and attachment, which are productive of benefits, both ſpiritual and temporal, may be ſtrengthened and improved; and alſo, that the perſons above mentioned may have the honour to repreſent to your majeſty my ſentiments upon ſome important ſubjects, and the circumſtances of the enfeebled condition of the faith in the regions of Hindoſtân, which I have entruſted to their verbal communication. But beſides this, I would propoſe, if it meets your majeſty's appro-

* The Mahommedan months are lunar, and their commencement reſpectively depends upon the actual appearance of the moon's firſt quarter. As the intervention of clouds or vapours often obſcures the moon at one place when it is viſible at another, the evidence of any two perſons, declaring that they have ſeen it, is deemed ſufficient to eſtabliſh the fact of its appearance, and the firſt day of the month (or moon) is aſſumed accordingly: ſhould the moon, however, not be ſeen before the 31ſt of the month, the following day is conſidered as the firſt of the enſuing. It is a common practice among the Muſſelmen of high rank, to ſalute the appearance of the new moon by cannon, and to ſend to each other congratulatory meſſages upon the occaſion: hence the figurative alluſion in the text will be eaſily underſtood.

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approbation, that two persons of rank may constantly reside at your majesty's court, to be the channel of correspondence, and the means of improving mutual harmony and attachment.

Under the sacred exhortation, "Bestow presents among one another," I beg leave to send, by the persons above mentioned, a few of the articles of this country, as is due among those who are connected by the ties of religion: I confidently trust that your majesty will gratify me by accepting them, and honour the ambassadors by admitting them to the presence, and by hearing what has been entrusted to their verbal communication, and that you will dispatch them back again to this quarter with the utmost expedition.

[Here follows a list of the presents.]

No. 24.

Translation of a Draft of a Letter from the late Tippoo Sultaun to Moolla Abdool Ghuffar Khan, one of the principal Ministers of Zemaun Shah.

[After the usual complimentary address, adapted to the relative rank of the parties, the letter proceeds as follows:]

The receipt of your agreeable letter, which reached me through Ram Sohauy, moonshy, in the service of his majesty Zemaun Shah, and through my vakeels *(meaning those stationed at Delhi)* afforded me the highest satisfaction, and recalled you to my recollection. You wrote that from the impulse of that cordial attachment which superseds the necessity of outward forms, you had availed yourself of a proper opportunity to represent my circumstances in the fullest manner to his majesty, and that his majesty had been pleased to signify in reply, that when the victorious standard should be displayed in the direction of Hindustân, it was his majesty's design to honour me with marks of his boundless favour, and to promote the important objects in view. This has impressed my mind with a renewed sense of your kindness. In conformity to the declaration of God and his apostle, "that, in this world, of causes and effects there is nothing more estimable than union and friendship," it has long been my earnest desire, to establish an alliance and cordial attachment between the two Sircars: but in proof of the saying, "every thing depends upon its appointed season," the accomplishment of this design has been suspended for want of opportunity; thanks to God, that, through your intervention, this object has now been accomplished in the most satisfactory manner; the bonds of attachment have now been drawn a thousandfold closer than my heart had conceived. The pen is incapable of describing my gratitude for this: with a view to display this my gratitude and to cement the foundations of friendship and attachment two persons, true Syuds by birth, who are among the highest in rank of the servants of the Khoodadaud Sircar, are now deputed with a letter, calculated to inspire friendship, addressed to his majesty, the defender of the faith, Zemaun Shah. Please God, they will have the honour of paying their respects to you. I hope that you will be pleased to give your attention to several points involving concerns both of a spiritual and temporal nature, which have been committed to their verbal communication; and having procured them the honour of an introduction to the presence of his majesty, that you will enable these ambassadors to represent to him the points which have been entrusted to their verbal report.

May

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May your days of prosperity and success be perpetual!

[Here follows a list of presents.]

No. 25.

Translation of the Draft of a Letter from the late Tippoo Sultaun to Ghoolaum Mahommed, the agent of Zemaun Shah.

Your pleasing letters have reached me in succession, and their contents have been understood.

Your having represented in terms of commendation the circumstances of the Khoodadaud Sircar to the Nabob Moolla Abdool Ghuffar Khan; your having conveyed to him also the letters of my vakeels *(meaning those stationed at Delhi)* and your procuring and transmitting a letter to my address from him, has impressed me with a high sense of your cordial attachment and zeal. The letter from the Nabob Moolla Abdool Ghuffar Khan, and your own friendly address, reached me through Moonshy Ram Sohauy and the vakeels of the Khoodadaud Sircar, afforded me boundless satisfaction, and their contents gave new life to my regard. I am confident that, continuing in the same manner to observe the dictates of cordial attachment, and what is calculated to promote the faith, for which there is the sanction both of God and his Apostle, you will use your best endeavours to fulfil the objects of my heart; to increase cordial friendship and strengthen the bonds of sincere attachment. This answer to your friendly letter, and my reply to that of the Nabob Moolla Abdool Ghuffar Khan, are now forwarded by the respected Meer Hubbeeb Oolla and Meer Mahommed Rezza, who are among the highest in rank of the servants of the Khoodadaud Sircar, and who are deputed to cement the foundations of union between his majesty Zemaun Shah and my Sircar. Through the aid of Providence, these two persons will arrive with my letters *(to the ministers)* and my address to his majesty, and will have a meeting with you. True attachment requires of you to obtain for them access to the nabob above mentioned, and enable them to pay their respects to the presence; when they will represent to his majesty the sentiments and wishes of my heart, which have been intrusted to their verbal communication. I am confident that you will use your best endeavours to promote the accomplishment of my wishes, and to obtain for my ambassadors, as early as possible, leave to return to this quarter, with the full accomplishment of the object of their mission.

Believing me always anxious about you, constantly gratify me by letters denoting your welfare.

No. 26.

Translation of the Draft of a Letter from the late Tippoo Sultaun to Zemaun Shah, dated the 5th February 1797.

[After the usual address and exordium, as adverted to in No. 22, the letter proceeds as follows:]

By the favour of God, your majesty, the ornament of the throne of power and greatness, has for the most part occupied your time in extending the religion of the Prophet, in destroying the foundation of heresy and infidelity, and in establishing the basis of the true faith; and continues so to do. The fame of this, has amply pervaded the world. These circumstances, which are as well known from east to west, as the sun in the centre of the heavens, suggested to my mind that, agreeably

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ably to the command of God and his Apoſtle, declared in theſe words, "Slay the diviſor of the Godhead," we ſhall unite in carrying on a holy war againſt the infidels, and free the region of Hinduſtân from the contamination of the enemies of our religion. The followers of the faith in theſe territories, always aſſembling at a ſelect time on Fridays, offer up their prayers in the words, "O God, ſlay the infidels who have cloſed thy way! Let their ſins return upon their own heads, with the puniſhment that is due to them!"

I truſt that Almighty God, for the ſake of his beloved, will accept their prayers, and, through the merit of a holy cauſe, proſper our mutual exertions to that end. And through the influence of the words, "Thine armies ſhall conquer," will render us victorious and ſucceſsful. Through the aid of the Giver of all victory, in reward of my meritorious reſolution to proſecute a holy war (which is the proper end and object of life to thoſe who adorn the throne of religion and dominion) I have ever been happy in the fruits of his unbounded goodneſs, and have continued ſafe under the Divine protection, and ſtill remain ſo. The proof of this is, that the dominion of the Khoodadaud Sircar, which is ſurrounded by infidels, has ſtood aloof, like the ark of Noah, keeping the enemies of the faithful in effectual check. The words of ſcripture "impurity and purity are not equal, however the prevalence of the former may excite aſtoniſhment," are hereby verified.

Prior to this, two reſpectable Syuds, Meer Hubbeeb Oolla and Meer Ghoolaum Rezza, were deputed to your majeſty, on the part of the Khoodadaud Sircar, by ſea, with the utmoſt expedition; through the guidance of the Almighty, they will have the honour of paying their reſpects to your majeſty, and will repreſent the points which have been entruſted to their verbal communication; your majeſty will alſo receive detailed accounts from your majeſty's agent Ghoolaum Mahommed Khan, of affairs to the ſouth and eaſt, and alſo the circumſtances of this quarter.

May the ſun of dignity and ſplendour riſe from the horizon of ſucceſs and glory!

No. 27.

Tranſlation of the Draft of a Letter from the late Tippoo Sultaun to Wuffedar Khan, one of Zemaun Shah's principal Miniſters; dated the 5th of February 1797.

[After the uſual complimentary form of addreſs, the letter proceeds as follows:]

Your moſt friendly and agreeable letter, every word of which was replete with the ſentiments of attachment and regard, together with letters from the Nabob Moolla Abdool Ghuffar Khan, and Ameen-ul-Moolk have reached me, and have afforded me great pleaſure.

You write that the Nabob Moolla Abdool Ghuffar Khan, ſubmitted the friendly addreſs of the Khoodadaud Sircar to his majeſty's peruſal, and impreſſed it word by word upon his majeſty's mind; that his majeſty was extremely gratified, and had directed you, the Nabobs Noor Mahommed Khan, Ameen-ul-Moulk, and Moolla Abdool Ghuffar Khan, to diſpatch friendly letters to me. This has afforded me a degree of pleaſure and delight, that is not to be deſcribed. The knowledge alſo of his majeſty's determination to proceed to Hinduſtân, has inſpired my ſoul with confidence. May the Almighty, in his bounty, bring to effect our mutual deſires! You further

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ther intimate your requeſt, that, conſidering our intereſts the ſame, I ſhould commit to paper all that concerns me, and command your ſervices in any way that I can deſire. The ſum of my wiſhes is, that his majeſty, uniting with me, we ſhould proceed to chaſtiſe theſe abandoned infidels, and not ſuffer our preſent dominion to depart from our hands. Through the divine goodneſs, the hopes of the chief of the infidels being of themſelves conſumed and confounded by the avenging fire of the God of vengeance, with a little exertion, the ſouthern atmoſphere will regain complete purity. Prior to this, the two reſpected Syuds Meer Mahommed Hubbeeb and Meer Mahommed Rezza, were deputed by ſea (the wicked being entirely prevalent by land), charged with certain points which I have at heart, and which it is not proper to commit to writing. They will repreſent to his majeſty, the points which have been confided to them, and which will be conſidered as authentic. The faded ſplendour of the faith throughout India is evident in every article; to deſcribe it is ſuperfluous. May your days of proſperity and ſucceſs be perpetual!

No. 28.

Tranſlation of an Original Letter from Zemaun Shah to Tippoo Sultaun.

[After the cuſtomary invocation to the Deity and the Prophet, &c. and a figurative addreſs to the Sultaun, the letter proceeds as follows:]

Your letter, replete with ſentiments of friendſhip and regard, expreſſing your ſolicitude for the propagation of the faith, and extirpation of the abandoned irreligious infidels; informing us that in the moſques, after the concluſion of public worſhip, ſupplications are made at the throne of grace for the increaſe of our dominion, and the ſucceſs of our triumphant banners; referring us for a further expoſition of your ſentiments to the verbal explanation of your ambaſſadors Syud Hubbeeb-Oolla, and Syud Mahommed Rezza; ſignifying that you had ſent a few preſents by the ambaſſadors, requeſting that two perſons of your Sircar might reſide at our court, and ſtating other particulars of friendſhip, arrived in a moſt auſpicious ſeaſon, and added new ardour to our mutual friendſhip.

As the object of your well-directed mind is the deſtruction of the infidels, and the extenſion of the faith of the Prophet, pleaſe God, we ſhall ſoon march with our conquering army to wage war with the infidels and polytheiſts, and to free thoſe regions from the contamination of theſe ſhameleſs tribes, with the edge of the ſword; ſo that the inhabitants of thoſe regions may be reſtored to comfort and repoſe; be therefore perfectly ſatisfied in this reſpect.

With regard to your requeſt for deputing two perſons to reſide at our court, with a view to ſtrengthen the ties of friendſhip, we have to expreſs our acquieſcence.

We have ſent a few articles hereunder mentioned, as a memorial of our regard, by your ambaſſadors, who have explained to us the meſſage with which you had commiſſioned them.

Continue to gratify us, by communicating to us by letters your ſituation and ſentiments.

[Here follows a liſt of dreſſes, &c. ſent as preſents.]

No. 29.

Tranſlation of the Draft of a Letter from the late Tippoo Sultaun to

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to Zemaun Shah, dated the 30th of January 1799.

[The exordium, consisting of the usual invocation to the Deity and the Prophet, &c. together with the figurative titles and designations addressed to Zemaun Shah, are omitted.]

Your majesty's gracious letter, in reply to my friendly address, and which was brought by Syud Hubbeeb Oolla and Syud Mahommed Rezza, the ambassadors of the Khoodadaud Sircar has been received, has given increase to friendship, and augmented the sources of joy and satisfaction. Your majesty was pleased to write, that it was the object of your mind to crush the infidels and to propagate the religion of Mahommed; please God, your majesty would soon proceed with a conquering army to prosecute a holy war against the infidels, polytheists, and heretics, and free the religion of these regions from the contamination of those shameless tribes, that the profanation of polytheism should be done away by the exertions of the relentless sword, and repose and happiness be restored to the inhabitants of this country, and desiring that I would set my mind at ease upon every point. This has been fully understood, and I have also been informed word by word of what your majesty was pleased to confide to the verbal communication of the ambassadors; all which afforded me boundless satisfaction.

It is my hope and my prayer to the Almighty, that the oppressions of the infidels and polytheists may be destroyed, by the avenging sword of those who have been selected by God to exercise dominion, and of the warriors in the field of conquest; and that these regions may acquire prosperity and splendour by maintaining the cause of religion.

At this time, the English having received intimation of the arrival of the ambassadors of the sircar at your highness's court, and of the firm connexion established between the two states, have taken umbrage, and in concert with the infidels and the turbulent, taken up arms against me*; and they have written †, that they entertain the design to subvert the religion of Islaam. "Many are the words that proceed from their lips, but their words are nought but lies." Please God, they shall become food for

* Vide No. 20, where Tippoo Sultaun ascribes the hostile preparations of the British Government, to his connexion with the French.

† It appears from the testimony of Hubbeeb Oolla, the late Tippoo Sultaun's head monshy, that this assertion is founded on the passage at the close of the 4th paragraph of the Right Honourable the Governor General's letter to Tippoo Sultaun, of the 8th of November, 1798; which points out to the Sultaun, the dangers to which he will expose his authority, the tranquillity of his dominions, the prosperity of his government, and the permanence of his religion, by his connexion with the French. Although Hubbeeb Oolla and Meer Saudik pointed out to the Sultaun, and proved by various arguments, that the passage in question was applicable only to the views of the French, yet, anxious to avail himself of even this shadow of a pretext to justify his rancour, he continued to maintain his own construction of the passage, and persisted in his resolution to insert this gross calumny in his letters to Zemaun Shah, to the Grand Seignior, and others. The numerous instances of the Sultaun's duplicity, and virulent animosity against the English, leave no room for surprize at his wilful perversion of this passage. A copy of the Governor General's letter in question, was communicated to his highness the Nizam; who, as a Mussulman, cannot be supposed to have observed with indifference, a declaration, pointing equally to the destruction of his power, as to that of Tippoo Sultaun: his highness, however, expressed his highest approbation of the whole of the Governor General's letter of the 8th November 1798.

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for the unrelenting ſword of the pious warriors. "Evil deſigns return upon the head of the inventors." We are labourers in the way of the Lord, and obedient to the command of God—we have no ſupport, but the aid of the King of the world, who is great and powerful, and the true apoſtle, the head of the true religion, the deſtroyer of former abominations. Placing my dependance upon thoſe tidings of joy; "Often doth God permit the inferior number to overpower the ſuperior." I am prepared to exert the energies of my mind and of my faculties, inwardly and outwardly, to carry on a holy war. Agreeably to the command of God, believing it a duty of religion, to communicate affairs of great importance, when the intereſts of religion are one and the ſame, the Syuds before mentioned, are now a ſecond time diſpatched to your majeſty's court, for the purpoſe of repreſenting all circumſtances fully and perſonally; and from them, your majeſty will be amply informed of every thing. Impelled by a ſolicitude for the deſence of religion, which is incumbent upon all the princes of Iſlaam to feel, let your majeſty diſplay your grateful endeavours both by word and deed, to repel theſe abandoned infidels. "God will aid the pure heart and pious."

No. 30.

* *Tranſlation of the Draft of a Letter from the late Tippoo Sultaun to the Grand Seignior.*

[The following memorandum is written in the firſt leaf of the book which contains the original of this tranſlation.]

"In this book are entered the drafts of the letters which were written to the Grand Seignior, Zemaun Shah, King of Cabul, and Futteh Ally Khan, King of Eeraun, under date *the 10th February* 1799.

[After the cuſtomary invocation to the Deity and the Prophet, and a ſeries of pompous titles addreſſed to the Grand Seignior, the letter proceeds as follows:]

Your higneſs's auguſt letter, written on *the 23d September* 1798, which was conveyed through the Engliſh ‡, honoured me by its gracious arrival, was the means of glory and diſtinction, and the productive ſource of boundleſs favour. Its contents added ſtrength and firmneſs to the foundations of union and attachment; and its gracious expreſſions gave ſtability to the fabric of friendſhip.

With reſpect to what your highneſs wrote, of the invaſion of the venerated land of Egypt by the devoted French, by treachery and deceit, notwithſtanding the obſervance of long ſubſiſting friendſhip on the part of your highneſs. The objects of that irreligious, turbulent people; the determination of the Ottoman Porte to employ the moſt vigorous meaſures to repel that rebellious race; of my aſſiſting and joining my brethen Muſſulmans in the general cauſe of religion, and defending the regions of Hinduſtân from the machinations of this enemy; that I would communicate to your highneſs whatever ſubject of complaint I might have againſt the Engliſh, when by the aid of God and your highneſs's good offices, thoſe complaints ſhould be removed to my ſatisfaction, and the grounds of

* Tippoo Sultaun tranſmitted to the Governor General, a letter addreſſed to the Grand Seignior (*vide* the correſpondence between Tippoo Sultaun and the Governor General), pretending that it contained the whole of his reply to the letter from the Grand Seignior. It now, however, appears that Tippoo Sultaun had privately diſpatched this virulent inveſtive againſt the Britiſh Nation to Conſtantinople, by ambaſſadors extraordinary.

‡ Over this word is written, "*The Governor of Madras.*"

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of opposition and estrangement be exchanged for the desirable objects of harmony and union. This, which your highness did me the honour to write, has been understood.

By the favour of God, and the benevolence of the Prophet, all the followers of the faith hold fraternity in religion; particularly the exalted Ottoman state and the Khoodadaud Sircar (between which, regard and attachment are established firmly as columns, and of which friendship and union, repeated tokens have been interchanged) are aiding and assisting each other. As this labourer in the way of the Lord, is a brother in the faith, is obedient to your highness's all-powerful will, and does not conceive any difference to exist between us; I beg you will communicate to me what your highness's exalted mind conceives will be conducive to the welfare and interests of the followers of the faith. As the French have made themselves your highness's enemies, they have made themselves so to all the followers of the faith. God is the protector and defender of the land of Hindustân; next to him, this suppliant at the Almighty Throne, does not, and will not neglect the defence and service of the people. I am fully confident that your highness will be disposed to afford your assistance and support, in all matters, to us labourers. All Hindustân is overrun with infidels and polytheists, excepting the dominions of the Khoodadaud Sircar, which, like the ark of Noah, are safe under the protection and bounteous aid of God. It is my hope from the supreme King of Kings, that as at the appearance of a second Adam, the religion of Islaam will obtain exclusive prevalence over the whole country of Hindustân, and that all the sinful heretics will with the utmost ease become the prey of the swords of the combatants in the cause of religion. Be it known to those who stand at the foot of the imperial throne, that the treachery, deceit, and supremacy of the Christians in the regions of Hindustân, are beyond the power of expression. A summary elucidation of this, will be found as follows:

A person, by name Daood Khan, an Afghan, was appointed to the subahdarry of Arcot, on the part of the Emperor of Delhi. About that time, the French and English, each with one of their detested ships, and a few *infidels* on board, came to the coast, expressly for the purpose of trade; bringing with them some of the products of their country, such as knives, scissars, needles, china and glass-ware, for sale. After presenting several articles to the deluded subahdar, as an *offering expressive of submission*, they requested the grant of a spot of ground, sufficient for a single house, for their residence, in order that they might import the products of Europe, paying the proper duties, and there remain with a dozen of their people. The subahdar complied with their request; and there the English resided for some time.

It happened, that the exalted firmaun of Behauder Shah, son of Allumgeer, Emperor of Shah Jehanabad *(Delhi)* addressed to Daood Khan, arrived, directing him to leave a trusty dewan in Arcot, and repair himself to the presence. In conformity to the Emperor's summons, Daood Khan repaired to Delhi, leaving Saadut-oolla Khan as his deputy. Owing to the negligence and folly of the ministers at Delhi, Saadut-oolla Khan became a traitor, and usurped the dominions of the country. About that period, the English and the French applied to the subahdar for the grant of a

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little ground round about their houses; to which the subahdar, from his want of foresight, and from his innate folly, consented; and accordingly granted them the ground which they asked. After this, both these nations erected small forts, and stationed about a hundred men to garrison them. "Where a country is abandoned by its prince, every village becomes a principality." The relations and followers of Saadut-oolla Khan, each took possession of *districts*, and erecting fortresses, established their abode. At the same time, the French and English taking with them some of the products of Europe, repaired to the districts of the relations and followers of Saadut-oolla Khan, and contracted friendship with them; and under this cover, obtaining a complete insight into their characters, their mode of living, the structure of their forts, the administration of their territories, and the condition of their forces, they entertained from four to five hundred men of that country, and waited their opportunity. In the mean time Saadut-oolla Khan died. After his death, his relations and adherents, who were very numerous, quarrelled among themselves, and one of them, by the name of Sufder Ally Khan, entered into an intrigue with the infidels of Poonah, and solicited military succours. Agreeable to his request, an army of the Poonah infidels, consisting of 50,000 horse, under the command of Rugghoo Futteh Singh, invaded the province of Arcot; where Sufder Ally Khan suffered his father Ally Dooast Khan to be slain in battle by the infidels of Poonah. After this, these infidels seeing the dissentions which prevailed amongst the adherents and relations of Sufder Ally Khan, plundered all the inhabitants of that country, without discrimination of friend or foe; carried off a hundred thousand men and women prisoners to their own country, and sold them to slavery: they also took prisoner Hoossain Dooast Khan, known by the name of Chunda Khan, who was the husband of Sufder Ally Khan's sister, and carried him to Poonah. In the mean time, Mortiza Khan, the governor of Vellore, and husband of another sister of Sufder Ally Khan, enticed the latter to his house, and put him to death. After this event, Nizam-ul-Moolk, the vizier of Delhi, who had made himself master of the Deccan, arrived in the province of Arcot, and appointing Anwar-ud-deen Khan, subahdar of that province, on his own part gave in charge to him the two infant sons of the late Sufder Ally Khan, with injunctions to protect and educate them, and then returned to the Deccan. After this, Anwar-ud-deen Khan incited the Afghans to murder one of the children. A short time after, Chunda Khan who was in confinement at Poonah, bribing the infidels with a sum of money, obtained his release, and arrived in the province of Arcot, whence he proceeded to Pondicherry, a factory belonging to the French, where he took refuge: he there procured a body of French troops, with which he marched against Anwar-ud-deen Khan, with a view to reduce the province of Arcot. In the mean time, Anwar-ud-deen Khan sought the assistance of the English, who then held a factory at Cheenaputtun. *(Madras.)* Accordingly the English joined him with a body of troops—In proof of the words, "He who affordeth assistance to the oppressor, shall fall under subjection to the very man he assisted,"—both these persons becoming the objects of the divine anger, sought assist-

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ence from these two infidel tribes, and proceeded to hostilities—It was so decreed, however, that Anwar-ud-deen Khan fell by the hand of Hoossain Dooast Khan. After this, Mahommed Ally Khan, son of Anwar-ud-deen Khan, giving up both his worldly and spiritual concerns, to the direction of the English, and making them his protectors, prepared for hostilities against Chunda Khan. In the mean time, Nizam-ul-Moolk died, and was succeeded by his son Naussir Jung; whom Mahommed Ally Khan invited to join him: but before his arrival, Naussir Jung's nephew, Hidauyet Mohee-ud-deen Khan, fled with a small body of troops to Pondicherry; and the French collecting a force which consisted of about a thousand men of their own nation, and about four thousand sepoys, proceeded with the troops of Hidauyet Mohee-ud-deen Khan, against Naussir Jung; who joined with Mahommed Ally Khan, after sustaining repeated engagements with the French, laid siege to the fortress of Ginjee, which is situated on a hill, and was then in possession of the French. The latter entering into a collusion with the sirdars of Naussir Jung's army, attacked it in the night. After the alarm was given, Naussir Jung mounted his elephant; when a man named Bahauder Khan, an Afghan in his service, had the baseness to kill him by a musket shot, and causing his elephant to be driven close to that of Naussir Jung, cut off his head and stuck it on the point of a spear: upon this event, the French set up Hidauyet Mohee-ud-deen Khan as his successor, and accompanied by a body of their own troops, under the command of an officer named Bussy, directed his march towards Hyderabad. In the course of their march, they halted at the fort of Ryacottah, where the traitor Bahauder Khan, and the French troops commanded by Bussy, quarrelled about the division of the plundered treasure and jewels, and an engagement took place, in which Bahauder Khan, and the other cursed Afghan chiefs, were slain, and precipitated to hell. Hidauyet Mohee-ud-deen Khan also fell in this engagement by a musket shot. The French then conferred the succession on the worthless Silaubat Jung, second son of Nizam-ul-Moolk, and proceeded with him to Hyderabad; whereby the whole of the Deccan may be said to have come under the authority of the French at Hyderabad. The French Christians (who amounted to near 1200 men) in a state of intoxication, in open day, entered the houses of the votaries of Islaam, and violated numbers of their women. Many of the females of the nobles ripped up their own bellies, and threw themselves into wells. Hence all the inhabitants of Hyderabad conceived enmity against the French.

In the mean time Nizam Ally Khan, son of Nizam-ul-Moolk, imprisoned his elder brother Silaubut Jung, and established himself in his room. A short time afterwards, when the utmost disagreement had taken place between the people of Hyderabad and the French, the worthless Bussy marched from that city with his troops, and returned to Pondicherry. During these transactions Mahommed Ally Khan, in conjunction with the English, carried on the war against Chunda Khan, who was cordially the friend of the French. The armies of both the infidel nations contended for the province of Arcot, and after many battles and much bloodshed, the English and Mahommed Ally Khan, having pledged their faith to him, and under that sanction made him their

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prisoner, put him to death, and obtained possession of the whole of the Arcot province, yielding a yearly revenue of near four crores of rupees.

When the English had thus established themselves in Arcot, they turned their views to the conquest of Bengal. To this end, with the same treachery and deceit which has been above described, they applied to the Viceroy of Bengal also for a spot of ground; and having obtained possession of sufficient for a single house, they there stationed their people as for the purposes of trade, and waited their opportunity. About this time the viceroy of Bengal died, and contentions arose among his children and relations; the English taking part with the one, they subdued the other; and rendering that other entirely dependent upon them, obtained possession of the whole dominion of Bengal, a territory consisting of four subahs, and yielding an annual revenue of twenty crores of rupees. Not far from thence is a place called Lucknow, the ruler of which was Mirza Amauni * *(Asoph-ud-Dowlah)*, son of Shujah-ud-Dowlah. By intrigue and chicane with him, they *(the English)* intruded themselves into that country also. What is more extraordinary is this: lately, Mirza Amauni sent an ambassador to Zemaun Shah, the King of Cabul. This circumstance coming to the knowledge of the English Governor General†, who resides at Calcutta, he proceeded thence on a visit to Mirza Amauni, and having leagued with the ministers of that country, caused Mirza Amauni to be poisoned, violated the chastity of his widow, and plundered his house of money and jewels, to the amount of twenty crores of rupees: throughout the territory of Bengal, wherever there were men of learning, science, and rank, the English have forcibly taken prisoners their wives and daughters, violated their chastity, and carried them off to their own islands and country: seizing the youths of the class of Syuds ‖, devotees, and learned men, and obliging them to eat the flesh of swine, proclaimed it by beat of tomtom ¶. In the country of Bengal, and in all other places where their authority prevail, they set up swine butchers, and cause them to sell the flesh of hogs publicly in the streets and markets.

All this power and authority have the English acquired in the space of forty years.

About twenty years ago, during the life-time of my late reverend father, Hyder Ally Khan, disputes occurring among the worthless sirdars of the Poonah infidels, Rogoonaut Row, the uncle of Narain Row, the head of the Poonah state, treacherously murdered his nephew; the turbulent spirit of the chiefs, however, obliged him to seek refuge at Bombay, a place in the possession of the English.

The English obtaining from him money and jewels to a large amount, detached an army with Rogoonaut Row for the reduction of Poonah: The Poonah ministers deceitfully selected a child, of two or three days old, from their own class, proclaimed him as the genuine offspring of the murdered Narrain Row, and as the successor to the *throne*, and assembling an army, marched to oppose the English and

* This is the name by which the late Vizier Asoph-ud-Dowlah was called during the life-time of his father.
† Lord Teignmouth.
‖ The Syuds are those descended from the Prophet.
¶ A species of drum—Proclamations are usually made in India by beat of drum.

Rogoonaut

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Rogoonaut Row: finding themselves unable to cope with the English, they repeatedly sent letters by ambassadors of rank to the presence of his late highness *(Hyder Ally)* soliciting his assistance. His highness prudently considering, that although it is declared "Heretics are impure," yet that it was more advisable to afford than refuse his assistance to the infidels belonging to the country (because the supremacy of the English was the source of evil to all God's creatures); with a view to the aid of Poonah, marched to Madras with a vast army: many engagements ensued, and many places fell; and Madras itself was near being taken; when it pleased God that his highness should end his days in that expedition, and he died in the vicinity of Arcot. After this event, I continued the war; and after many victories, and the capture of numberless prisoners, the English sent their ambassadors, humbly, and by engagement and oath, to sue for peace. Although I was not myself disposed to grant them peace, yet by the earnest advice of the nobles of the Khoodadaud Sircar, I consented. Four or five years after, when ambassadors from the Khoodadaud Sircar arrived at the Sublime Porte*; and after representing the sentiments of friendship, returned to the presence. The English receiving information of this circumstance, with hearts inflamed, immediately conceived, that all the tribe of Islaam were about to league together for their destruction. They knew too, that they had given your highness proofs of their evil disposition, and therefore, uniting to themselves Nizam Ally Khan, and the infidels of Poonah, they waged war against the Khoodadaud Sircar for four years. At length, near a hundred thousand of the followers of the faith, had determined to slay their wives and families with their own hands, and rushing upon the infidels, drink the cup of martyrdom, and plunge the infidels into hell! The counsellors, the lords, and the respected sages of Islaam, all agreed, that this attack upon the dominions of the Khoodadaud Sircar, was in consequence of the deputation of ambassadors with letters to the Sublime Porte, and therefore, that it was advisable by any means to accommodate matters for the present; to communicate to your highness all that had occurred, and joined with your highness's aid, proceed to exterminate the infidels. I approved the representation of my faithful servants, and surrendering three crores and thirty lacks of rupees in treasure, and half my country (which was all a dead loss to me) put an end to the contest.

The English having adopted a determined resolution to subdue the whole of Hindustân, and to subvert the Mussulman religion, and having united to themselves Nizam Ally Khan, and the infidels of Poonah, have for five years past been devising the means; accordingly they have lately written in plain and undisguised terms, that it is their intention to destroy the religion of Islaam: "Evil designs return upon the heads of the inventors." The infidels of Poonah, in consequence of the disagreements prevailing among the ministers at Delhi, have subverted that country, and having destroyed its houses, have erected their own temples on their ruins:

* Tippoo Sultaun, in his letters to the French, ascribes the enmity of the British power to his friendship for them; in his letters to Zemaun Shah, he ascribes it to his having deputed ambassadors to that Prince; and here he imputes it to his delegation of an embassy to the Ottoman Porte.

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they have possessed themselves entirely of that kingdom, whilst a poor sightless individual of the royal family of Delhi, whose servants put out his eyes, is seated in his house in a state the most abject. The resources of his maintenance are fixed from the sale of the fruits of his gardens; and he is obliged to pay the price *(of that maintenance)* by paying adulation to those treacherous infidels. Near five hundred thousand of the infidels of the district of Calicut, Nuzzurabad, Zufferabad, and Ashrufabad, who were wavering on the precincts of obedience, have been converted at different times. Praise be to God, that the whole energy of the well-directed mind of this labourer in the way of the Lord, on whose forehead is engraved the motto, "They dread not the terrific day of judgment," is continually exerted to support the religion of Mahommed. Accordingly, having lately been informed of the excessive commotions excited by the son of Abdool Wahaub*, in the neighbourhood of Mecca the holy, I immediately addressed letters to the supreme minister Yoosuf Vizier, to the Shereef of Mecca, and the servants of the holy receptacle *(meaning the place at Medina where Mahommed is buried)*, purporting that it was my intention to send a considerable force under the command of one of my approved sons, and desiring them to write to me a particular account of the situation of affairs in that quarter. For the illustrious Kaaba, is the object of veneration to the followers of truth, and the object of the regard of the All-powerful; and to do services thereunto, is productive of blessings both in this world, and in the world to come.

The respected and accomplished Syuds, Syud Ally Mahommed, and Syud Modaur-ud-deen, are now nominated and deputed with this friendly letter, to represent various points of great importance, and to communicate the sentiments of my mind, and with instructions to remain in attendance on your majesty during three years. I trust that they will be honoured by admission to your highness's presence, and have an opportunity of a personal conference, and of stating to you my sentiments, and that their representations will obtain full credit with your highness. May the victorious banners of Islaam be ever prevalent, and every trace of heresy and infidelity be wiped away!

[A letter to the same effect as the foregoing, was also written to Zemaun Shah; several alterations however, which were necessary to adapt the letter to the situation of Zemaun Shah, are inserted in the margin of the draft.]

(True translations.)

N. B. EDMONSTONE, *P. T.*

* Abdoul Wahaub, is the name of an enterprizing Mahommedan Sceptic, who some years since established a new doctrine, the foundation of which is, the abjuration of the signal honours which are paid to Mahommed. His doctrine does not extend to a denial of the Prophet's mission, but it places him in the condition merely of a messenger of the word of God, possessing in himself no title to the adoration of mankind. This man obtained very numerous proselytes, who traversed with him the countries of Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, propagating their tenets by the sword. His son has succeeded him.

Proceed-

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Proceedings of a JACOBIN CLUB, *formed at Seringapatam by the French Soldiers in the Corps commanded by* M. DOMPARD.

[First printed by order of the Right Honourable Governor General in Council, dated Fort St. George, 12th August, 1799.]

May 5th, 1797, 5th year of the French Republic.

THE French Citizens under the orders of Citizen Dompard, in the pay of Citizen Tippoo, the victorious, the ally of the French Republic, to the number of fifty-nine, being anxious to concur, with all their strength and with all their power, in the administration and establishment of the French Republic, and to ascertain their own rights, assembled for the attainment of that object, after having obtained the permission of their commander, in the parish church, on the day and year above mentioned.

Citizen Francis Ripaud, a lieutenant in the Navy of the French Republic, made the following speech:

"CITIZENS! Ye are all Frenchmen; your separation from your mother country has deprived you till this day, of the knowledge of your rights as free citizens. You have begun to know them in striking the white flag, which the nation held in execration, but which was the idol of your errors. There still remains a duty for you to fulfil, that is, to hoist the national colours, and to instruct yourselves in your rights. To learn what you owe, and what is owing to you. It is the duty of a republican to instruct his fellow citizens from his own feeble lights: I present to you the rights of man. It is from those rights that you will draw the republican virtues which are to aid you in subduing the effects of your former habits; to assist you in accomplishing this end, I shall submit to you some constitutional ideas; and as you live in an anarchy which must fill with horror every worthy man who loves and respects the laws, I submit to you a plan of laws, to be discussed article by article, and which, after being promulgated by your decree, shall have the full force of law. I have only to observe, that you should never depart from the republican laws, nor weaken them, nor transgress them.

"It is customary, when the people are met in a primary assembly, to nominate the eldest citizen provisional president; to appoint two scrutineers, two secretaries, and two masters of the ceremonies. The president then explains the motives for the meeting, and desires that a president may be appointed, with the several officers already mentioned, to enlighten you as to your rights, and to recall you to the respect due to the sovereignty of which you compose a part, to preserve order, that each may speak in his turn, freely and without interruption, on the subject only which is offered for debate. If a citizen has a happy thought, he will ask leave to speak: on a motion for order, all debate will cease; after the citizen shall have finished his speech, and the ground of the motion being heard, if it is foreign to the question, the president will tell him so, and the discussion will be renewed."

Business was begun, by forming the primary assembly. Citizen Contoir, as the eldest in years, was named provisional president; the Citizens Vreniere and Dachiret, secretaries; Citizens Dompard and Provoi, tellers; and Citizens Juon and Abraham, masters of the ceremonies.

The president announced the motive for assembling the people to be, for instruction on constitutional principles, and for framing laws conformable to the laws of the Republic; and that it was necessary to begin by the nomination of a president by vote.

Citizen Francis Ripaud, having been chosen president by a majority, took his place, and gave the kiss of peace and fraternity to Citizen Contoir. The election of secretaries then followed; and Citizens Vreniere and Dachiret were chosen. The choice of tellers, fell on Citizens Questin and Julian: thence proceeding to the election of masters of the ceremonies, Citizens Dompard and Charrier were chosen.

The president opened the sitting, by reminding us of our duties; of the love we owe to our country; and recommending a speedy reform of our old habits. He then read the rights of man, which was followed by a lecture on republican princi-

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ples, and by a plan of laws; all which was received with joy and acclamation. It was resolved to adjourn the present assembly, to the 7th instant, at three o'clock in the afternoon, in order to read again the principles of the constitution; and the discussion of the plan of laws, article by article, to be the order of the day.

Citizen Thouvenir, having requested leave to speak, said:

"Citizens! I speak in the name of my brethren—Yes, citizens, we have been in error—we knew not our duties, nor our rights, nor the standards which our nation displayed; we have made our recantation, and expressed our sorrow to Citizen L'Escale, who was unable to answer us; and the political interests of Citizen Tippoo, did not admit of changing our standard. This is the real cause of our error, which cannot therefore appear criminal in the eyes of the nation: but it would now be highly culpable to display any colours, but those of our dear country; to which our hearts are entirely devoted, which we swear we will die to support, and to defend the sacred rights of citizens and of the constitution. We call for the burning of every thing that relates to royalty and to the ancient government; this is also the desire of our brethren in arms."

The assembly decreed, that every thing which related to royalty, and to the ancient government, should be burned on the day on which the national flag should be displayed, and the oath to the nation taken.

The president thanked brother Thouvenir for his patriotic ardor, and requested him to maintain that zeal which formed the glory of every freeman.

The assembly then rose, and was closed on the day and year before mentioned, with hymns to our country. In proof of which we have signed these presents, after having heard the same read.

(Signed by 31.)

On the 8th May 1797 (the 5th year of the French Republic), after having heard mass, the citizens composing the French party near Seringapatam, assembled peaceably, and without weapons, in the church. In conformity to the resolutions of the primary assembly of the 6th instant, the president opened the sitting, by reading the proceedings of the last, which we had all signed; and a citizen having asked leave to speak, said,

"Citizen Ripaud! We are filled with gratitude for the good instruction which you have given us. you have filled us with satisfaction; receive our acknowledgements, and administer to us the civic oaths which our brethren the French Republicans have pronounced; you have enlightened us regarding our rights; but alas! we have promised nothing to our mother country since the revolution; as our hearts are devoted to her, we wish to swear it."

All the citizens arose with acclamations, and supported the motion with a burst of feeling truly patriotic.

Another citizen then demanded to be heard, and requested Citizen Ripaud to give them some form of the laws of equality:

"Of what use is it (said he) to swear to respect the laws? It is necessary to have laws, in order to respect them. We live in an anarchy that must make a man of worth shudder; we must have laws to control us."

Citizen Ripaud having quitted the chair, and returned the cap to Citizen Contoir, as the most ancient in years, demanded to be heard, and said,

"Citizens! The patriotic zeal which you have shewn, fills me with a joy difficult to be expressed. Nothing can be more sublime than the sentiments of joy which you have manifested. Though you are the last Frenchmen who have sworn to defend your country, the ardour you have shewn convinces me, that you will not be the last to strike home at her enemies. Your request is as just, as it is lawful; in order to be governed by the laws, it is necessary for Frenchmen to swear to own no superior but the law which they have made themselves. I have laboured to satisfy you, being persuaded that I shall not meet with ingratitude; the punctual observation of what you are about to swear, will form your happiness. Can I refuse you? As I esteem and love you, I am ready to assist you with my feeble lights."

He then resumed the chair, and pronounced before the hotel, and under the national standard, this oath:

"I swear, before the portion of the French people here assembled, to support the republican constitution, to defend it, and my country, with all my strength, and with all my powers; to submit to the laws decreed by the

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the convention, and to those which we shall frame, or to die in arms at my post, in the defence of the sacred rights of a citizen; to live free, or perish!"

Upon this the citizens were called upon in succession, and pronounced, individually, the oath, according to the roll.

After the citizens had taken the oath, and the president had given them the fraternal embrace, he said,

"Citizens! The oath which you have just pronounced, and the kiss which I have given, are those of the whole French Nation. Evil to him who shall be perjured! You are now returned to and connected with your brethren the French, as they are united to you through my organs; They are your support, as you are theirs. Remember that your strength will consist in your union. That all hatred, and anger must be annihilated. Henceforward you must become a family of brethren. The love of your country must be the first principle of all your actions, then will you be truly worthy of the oath which you have taken.

"You have requested a form of laws—behold it!—you are at liberty to adopt or to reject the articles, as you may deem proper; but remember, that those articles which you may adopt, it will be beyond your power to infringe, because, by your adoption, you will have given them the force of laws. As the law has nothing above it, you ought to deem nothing below you but guilt, and nothing above you but that law, which is the characteristic of your virtues. Seeing that it is now noon, we will adjourn the sitting until two o'clock in the afternoon of this day, for the discussion of the proposed articles of the law."

Being re-assembled at two o'clock, the president announced that the discussion would begin by reading the first article, which was unanimously agreed to.

PRELIMINARY LAW.

Military punishment to be inflicted by the Council of Discipline. The Council of Discipline is to be composed of seven citizens of all ranks. Four voices against three are sufficient to warrant the execution of the law, whether it be for protection or for punishment.

THE LAW.

ART. 1. Every chief who shall not execute the law strictly according to the letter, who shall evade or transgress it, or who shall not execute the sentence pronounced by the Council of Discipline, is unworthy of command. He shall be cashiered, and suspended from all the functions of a citizen for two years. In case of refractoriness, he shall suffer five years confinement in irons, and be held unworthy of all employ.

The following articles were then considered, and unanimously adopted.

ART. 2. All citizens, of whatever rank, must pay immediate obedience when called upon by the law, or be subject to forty-eight hours imprisonment, over and above the punishment which they may be liable to for the crime committed by them. Resistance shall be punished by eight days confinement in irons, and rebellion by a confinement of three months in irons.

3. No citizen can be tried but by a regular Council of Discipline, and there must be two witnesses to establish the crime set forth.

4. As the law has no punishments but what are absolutely necessary, every Citizen, in whatever situation, must obey his superior without reply, or incur the penalty of the law.

5. A superior who shall ill-treat his inferior, shall, for the first offence, be put in arrest eight days; for the second, fifteen days; for the third, two months suspension from the service, from command, and from pay. [This law has been modified, from two months suspension, to eight days in irons.]

6. Every inferior who shall not instantly obey his superior, when commanded by him in the name of the law, shall first be punished for the crime of which he may be guilty; and secondly, be put in irons forty-eight hours, for his disobedience to the law. Should his disobedience be attended by murmurs, abuse, or threats, the delinquent shall be kept in irons for three months.

7. Every superior who shall threaten to strike his inferior, even though he should not execute his threat, shall be cashiered, and deprived of the rights of a citizen for one year.

8. Every inferior who shall threaten to strike his superior, even though he should not execute his threat, shall suffer one year's imprisonment in irons. [This law was modified to three months instead of one year.]

9. Every superior who shall strike his inferior, shall be confined one year in irons, and shall be held unworthy of any civil or military office.

10. Every inferior who shall strike or lift his hand against his superior, shall be condemned to death.

11. All crimes which are not cognizable by the Council of Discipline, and are classed under the correctional police, are to be under the cognizance of the major commandant of the place, who shall inflict the punishment of twenty-four hours imprisonment for the crimes hereafter stated, *viz.* 1st, For offences against good manners: 2d, For disturbing any religious ceremony, and insulting its ministers: 3d, Ill language and blows between individuals: 4 h, Disturbance of good order and the public tranquillity, raising tumult, and making a noise at unseasonable hours, without permission.

12. Every citizen who shall hold unbecoming language on the subject of the constitution, tending towards royalty or the ancient system, shall be cited before the Council of Discipline, and for the first offence be put

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put in irons for ten days; for the second six months; and for the third banished, as unworthy of being a Frenchman. Should his designs be counter-revolutionary, he must be put to death.

13. Every citizen who shall betray any weakness before the enemy, or who shall endeavour to inspire his fellow-citizens with fear, and prevent their coming to action, shall be put to death.

14. All conspirators and traitors to their country shall be put to death.

15. All trepanners, enlisters, and deserters, assisting the enemies of the Republic, who may be seized, shall be put to death.

16. All cowardice or weakness in the presence of the enemy, which may tend to tarnish the national glory, shall be punished by ten years confinement in chains on the public works. This law applies to commanders, officers, subalterns, soldiers, volunteers, and sailors.

17. Every citizen deserting his colours in war time, and joining the enemy, shall, when seized, be put to death.

18. Every citizen emigrating with his property, shall, when seized, be condemned to twenty years confinement in chains on the public works.

19. Every superior commanding French Republicans, who shall basely surrender to an enemy, even of superior force, shall be put to death; and those under his orders, shall be punished with all the rigour of the law.

20. Every citizen has the right of convoking the Council of Discipline through the citizen commandant, without being under the necessity of assigning his motives for the convocation; and the commandant must comply on the spot with such requisition by a single citizen, or incur the rigour of the law himself.

21. Every citizen who shall convoke the Council of Discipline, and shall not produce proofs or witnesses in support of the charge, shall be confined in fetters eight days.

22. Every citizen who shall charge another citizen with cowardice or knavery, without being able to prove his allegation, shall be punished by thirty days confinement in fetters.

When the Council of Discipline have formed their decision, it must be notified to the commandant (who is never to attend their deliberations), and who is to see the sentence immediately carried into execution; then returning into the hall of audience, all the citizens composing the Council of Discipline are to rise up uncovered, and holding up their hands, the president will say aloud, "We swear upon our conscience and our honour, that having scrupulously adhered in our deliberations to the rules prescribed to us by the law, we have found ——— accused of ———, not guilty: Or, that we have found him guilty, but pardonable: Or, that we find him to have committed the act, but that it is not criminal: Or, that we have found him guilty, and that the law condemns him."

The judgment of the Council of Discipline shall be given publicly: every citizen has a right to be present, whilst behaving with decency and respect towards the laws.

Every military man, of whatever rank, of the troops of the line, or belonging to the marine, provided he is not of the same corps as the delinquent, is eligible to become a Member of the Council of Discipline.

The Council of Discipline shall be formed as soon as the laws proposed shall have been, by the majority of the votes of the citizens, established as existing laws; when every citizen must submit to them, without exception. This council will be renewed every six months; it is for the citizens to be careful in their choice of their judges.

The assembly then proceeded to the nomination of the members of the Council of Discipline. The ballot being closed, Ripaud, Vreniere, Questin, Julian, Dachiret, Thouvenir, and Kerodicq, were named by a majority, and accepted the office.

"We, the citizens and French Republicans forming the party under the orders of citizen Dompard, having understood the proposed laws, do voluntarily submit ourselves to be judged according to them; and to be henceforth governed by the principles and by the laws of equality which we have made. In attestation of which, we have signed these regulations, that they may have full force and validity. In the French camp, near Seringapatam, the 16th of May, 1797, the fifth year of the French Republic, one and indivisible."

A citizen demanded leave to speak, and said,

"Citizens!

"I desire that the infamous white flag may be burnt, and that we may sing the hymn to our country, as a mark of our sense of the happiness we have enjoyed this day."

The motion being unanimously approved, the president adjourned the sitting to the following Sunday, the 15th May 1797, the fifth year of the French Republic, at the conclusion of mass.

The 15th of May 1797 (the fifth year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.) A memorable day for all the citizens forming the French party commanded by citizen Dompard, serving with the prince Tippoo, the ally of the Republic; who having obtained his orders, by their joint solicitations, for hoisting the national flag, displayed it accordingly, at six o'clock in the morning, to the sound of all the artillery and musquetry of the camp.

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camp. After this august ceremony, citizen Ripaud, representative of the French people with the prince Tippoo; citizen Dompard, commandant; citizen Vreniere, an officer; with eight citizens artillery-men, repaired to the parade of the city of Seringapatam, where the citizen prince waited for them.—On their arrival he ordered a salute of two thousand three hundred cannon, five hundred rockets, and all the musquetry; and the fort of Seringapatam fired five hundred cannon. The prince then said to citizen Ripaud,

"Behold my acknowledgment of the standard of your country, which is dear to me, and to which I am allied; it shall be always supported in my country, as it has been in that of the republic, my sister! Go, conclude your festival!"

Citizen Ripaud replied, in stating all that his heart suggested, on the gratitude which he felt in thus witnessing the prince's friendship for the republic. Citizen Dompard also declared the sentiments of his heart, and the assurances of friendship which all the citizens of the camp bore towards the prince.—They then retired, and proceeded to the parade, where the troops and the national guard waited for them. On their arrival three standards were brought from the French hotel, under a piquet guard; and silence being obtained, the tree of liberty was planted, surmounted by the cap of equality; and citizen Ripaud pronounced the following discourse:

"French citizens! free men! my brethren! my friends! well may ye on this day return thanks to Providence, and to that benevolent Being, who has conferred on you the blessing to behold the national flag, and the tree of liberty surmounted by the cap of equality, cherished and adopted by all free men, by the French Republicans your brethren, your supporters, and your friends.—What glory to ye, O Frenchmen! to behold it displayed, resolved and sworn to support it, or to die in arms in its defence, and that of your liberty, your rights, and what is most dear to you, your country. O Frenchmen! my brethren, do ye not feel with me that pure joy which fills the heart, and leads you towards those standards, and that cherished tree, which twenty-five millions of men have, like you, sworn to maintain? Do ye not feel, I say, that virtuous inclination known alone to freemen, which leads you to swear that ardent love characteristic of the republican warrior? Yes! dear, a thousand times dear to my heart, I swear to support thee, O standard! and thou cherished tree, to the last drop of my blood; and if I prove perjured, may the Divinity consume me; may he annihilate me, if I even harbour the thought. As ye are the sole objects of my warmest sentiments, I swear to defend ye, or to die for ye! Yes, I swear it! [Here all the citizens repeated, "Yes, we swear it."] Having promised ye all the duties which I owe ye, pardon me, glorious objects, if I proceed to pay homage to the manes of our brethren who have perished in your defence. What do I say! In support of your glory!

"What horrors seize me! a religious sensibility overawes me! my knees fail! my blood freezes! I behold the shades of thousands of gallant warriors, the proud defenders of their country, crying to us for vengeance!

"I behold the measure of barbarity and atrocity filled! O God! I tremble with horror! What! I behold those victims of the ferocious English, sawn in pieces between planks! Women, the victims of their brutality, murdered in the same moment! O extreme of horror! My hair bristles up! I see babes at the breast stained with the blood of their unfortunate mothers! I see the wretched infants expiring with the same wounds as their unhappy mothers! O extremes of horror and villany, what indignation do ye excite! But be persuaded, unhappy souls, that we will revenge you! Perfidious and cruel English! remember there is a God, the avenger of guilt, who inspires us to wash out with your blood the atrocity you have committed upon our brethren, and their unfortunate companions! Let thy innocence be thy consolation, O plaintive soul! we swear to revenge you! (Yes, I swear.)

"Citizens! my brethren! with what horror the supporters of tyranny ought to fill you. It is those cowards, those false Frenchmen, who have caused all the crimes in France. The army of La Vendée, and that of Jesus, who with the white flag, and their lilies, the host in one hand, and the dagger in the other, have, like the infamous English, assassinated and massacred the boldest defenders of your rights. Revenge our brethren, the victims of their own patriotism! Let every thing that has the least relation to the old constitution be burnt on the spot. If we cannot be revenged on them, let us be so on their cherished idol—the white flag! Let them tremble at discovering, that in India, in the midst of the world, there are republicans who have sworn to exterminate them! They will tremble, no doubt, at the name alone of Frenchmen! Pale with affright, when they behold them! they will be three-fourths beaten. To accomplish this, it is necessary to possess the republican virtues, to know how to conquer, or to die, for our country, and to possess the conduct of freemen. You, our

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our commander! It is your duty to watch over our safety and our happiness, and to maintain our rights; you are no longer to live in an apathy which ill suits the new station you fill. You must overcome your former habits. You must vanquish every fault, and place your happiness in supporting the laws, in the benevolence of your heart, and in the goodness of your mind. You possess great qualities, and are worthy to be a republican Your courage is well known, but you have a weakness; get rid of this enemy to yourself; endeavour to know your rights, and you will learn how glorious it is to command your equals and brave republicans.

"I address the officers, and the subalterns. Courage is not alone sufficient; mildness, yet with the preservation of respect, is requisite. Though you have the happiness to command your equals, the laws must be supported, and they imperious y prescribe it. You must instruct yourselves and your brethren, in arms, as much as possible; to enable them to defend their rights, their liberty, and your country. If you have faults, you must conquer them; then you will become genuine republicanss worthy to command us.

"I address you, ye defenders of our country! Citizens! if your superiors have duties to fulfil towards you, you have no less to fulfil towards them. You owe them obedience and respect. If, citizens, you wish to become always victorious, it is by these means alone you can attain it. Obedience constitutes the glory of a French republican. You have an important duty to fulfil.

"Proud of being the equals of those who command you, proud of being free, proud of possessing a flag, and a tree, which have overthrown all who have attacked you, I commit them pure and spotless into your hands. It will be your glory to preserve that purity. You have just sworn to die for them, Call constantly to mind that the most perfect sign of your welfare, is the flag of that victorious nation, which commands and gives law to her enemies. Thirteen nations have assailed her. Eleven of these have accepted her laws, or her protection. The other two, will soon sink under her irresistible power. France has sworn: it is sufficient—she will be obeyed. Her proud defenders are never deaf to her voice, and are submissive and respectful to her will. She commands—she shall be obeyed. Already I behold the ardour which possesses me communicated to your hearts! How sublime is the voice of our country! How noble is the ardent love which it inspires! Great God! Yes, thou readest in my heart the glory of this day. I am entirely satisfied. Oh, Frenchmen! how happy ye have made me by your love for that which is dearest to my heart, our country. It is displayed in your countenances; come with me, plant the tree cherished by us, and by all our brethren. It is the emblem of our constitution, of our duties, of our rights. May it be ever present in your remembrance, and you owe it to yourselves, to call to mind what you owe to your brethren.

He (Ripaud) then proceeded to make each citizen pronounce the oath, as follows:

"Citizen, do you swear hatred to all kings, except Tippoo Sultaun the victorious, the ally of the French Republic—war against all tyrants, and love towards your country, and that of Citizen Tippoo."

All exclaimed unanimously, "Yes! we swear to live free or die!"

During the taking of the oath, a salute of 84 cannon was fired, and when it was finished, two standards were committed to the care of sepoys who had taken the oath, and that of the Europeans was sent to the French hotel under an honorary guard.

The arms were piled, and the people repaired to the church, where the proceedings of the 8th of the present month were signed; they then returned to the parade, and sung round the tree and the flag, the hymn to our country. At the passage, "holy patriotic love," a salute of the whole artillery was fired. The day was passed in festivity, and the night concluded with a ball.

In attestation of which we have signed these presents, the day and year before mentioned,

(Signed by 28.)

On the 22d May, 1797 (the fifth year of the French Republic,) at ten o'clock in the morning, the citizens composing the French party, commanded by citizen Dompard, with Francis Ripaud, Le Dalle, Bompart, Debay, Minaud, citizens of the national guard, being all assembled in the parish church at the conclusion of high mass, in order to be instructed in republican principles, and to deliberate on their rights; the sitting was opened, and the proceedings of the last sitting were read; which being concluded, the president desired to know, if any person wished to make remarks upon them: the silence which

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which followed being taken as a mark of approbation, they were closed, and signed by each individual with his name or customary mark. A citizen having obtained leave to speak, observed, that the proceedings stated, that the flag was kept by a guard of honour; that this was not the case, but that he desired it might be so. This motion was supported unanimously, and the commandant ordered a guard accordingly.

Another citizen then requested leave to present two new citizens, and that they might be permitted to take the oath. The president observed, that the proposed citizens were not versed in republican customs, and that some time was necessary for their instruction; the assembly accordingly granted them eight days.

The president then recommended to the brethren to live in friendship and harmony; and having asked if any one wished to speak, he adjourned the sitting to the next Sunday, and it was closed by patriotic hymns. On the day and year before mentioned.

Proceedings of the Primary Assembly, held this day, the 22d of May, 1797 (the 5th year of the French Republic), at ten o'clock in the morning, of the citizens composing the French Republican party at Puttun. (Seringapatam.)

All being assembled at the usual place of the sittings, at the conclusion of high mass in the parish church, peaceably and without weapons, to deliberate and to learn their rights, the president opened the sitting by reading the proceeding of the 29th May; the lecture being finished, the president put the question, whether it should be closed; which being done, a citizen demanded to be heard, declaring that he spoke only to be instructed.

"What! (said he) citizens! is it on the benediction of the standards that the commandant shall be absent? Ought he not to swear to preserve them pure and spotless? Ought he not to be the first among us to exhibit the republican resolution to live free or to die? And is this the day on which his duties are to be performed by proxy? Is it not rather the seeds of ancient habits still fermenting in him? Is such the conduct by which he is to lead us to happiness and to glory, or to sink us again in that anarchy from which we emerged but yesterday?"

The citizens applauded the speaker, and shewed a proper indignation; when the voice of the president at once awakened in them a sense of their error, in condemning a citizen unheard: he said, that like themselves, he had felt some indignation at the conduct of the commandant; that in the conviction of reclaiming him, he had wished to ascertain the cause, and had found him laid on his bed. Their minds then resumed their ordinary course.

The president pronounced a discourse on republican manners; on the relaxation from principles; on the disorder and anarchy which had assumed an air of controling the republican principles.

Every citizen applauded his discourse. The oath was administered to two citizens, Anthony Joseph and Francis de Escavaille, who took their places. The citizen Marck being come to take the oath, was referred to the eighth day, that his admission might be duly deliberated.

On a call to order by the president, of those citizens who had attended the debates in arms, and disobeyed the orders of a superior officer, which none but citizens ignorant of their privileges could be guilty of, citizen Thouvenir confessed his fault, stating that it proceeded from his ignorance, and it should not again occur.

The whole assembly, feeling the propriety of this conduct, in the avowal

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avowal of a fault for the purpose of self correction, and giving a lesson of virtue to fellow citizens, applauded highly an acknowledgement so truly republican.

The sitting was closed by patriotic hymns, and adjourned to the following Sunday, for a lecture on the laws and constitutional principles; and taking into consideration the general interests, and improving the condition of the poor, should there be any such. Decreed the day and year before mentioned.

On the 4th of June, 1797 (the fifth year of the French Republic), at the requisition of citizen Le Grand, the council was assembled at half an hour past seven in the morning, when the president having learnt the motive for their convocation, made his report thereupon to the council, who having deliberated, referred citizen Le Grand to the provisions of the 11th article of the law, as the misdemeanour in question was in no way cognizable by the council; by whom these presents are signed at the hour, day and year before mentioned.

(True trans.)

G. G. KEBLE, *F. T.*

Recent Discoveries in the Pacific Ocean.

Early in the present year, the Hunter, in her passage from New Zealand to Calcutta, fell in with two strange islands, and a very extensive range of shoals, which not appearing in any chart extant, are presumed to be discoveries, and are thus communicated by Captain Fearn:

"A small island, of a conic figure, and considerable height, lat. 22° 24′ south, longitude 171° 50′ east, lying nearly east, distant about 12 leagues from Mathew's Rock, which was seen at the same time. It is named Hunter Island.

A beautiful little island, perhaps four miles long, latitude (by double altitude) 00° 20′ south longitude 167° 18′ east. This solitary spot was found extremely populous; although the nearest known land is placed by the charts above six equatorial degrees distant. The want of a meridional observation may have caused some error in latitude; but, it is hoped, not a great one. I named it Pleasant Island.

"On the morning of the 16th of November, 1798, the Hunter made Browne's Range, bearing in the N. W. and being unable to pass to the eastward of them, and bore away to leeward. On approaching the south point of the southernmost (Parry's) island, it was perceived that a long narrow reef, or shoal, projected from that point under water, till it joined a low sand island, which shewed itself about six miles W. ½ N. from Parry's Isles. This sand key was succeeded by other keys and shoals, forming an uninterrupted chain of about 35 miles long, by the south side of which the Hunter ranged within a mile, and frequently half that distance, without a sign of soundings. After running this track from an early till a late hour of the day, with the velocity of seven and eight miles an hour, in a direction westerly to N. W. the course became clear; but the extent of this remarkable danger is yet unknown, as, when it deviated from our track, we could trace it, taking a northerly direction, till lost from our mast-head in the horizon.

"By a lunar observation taken in sight of Parry's Isle, I agree, to a mile, with Captain Butler of the Walpole, in making its longitude 192°, 52′ east of Greenwich. Its latitude being 11°, 21′ north.

"On

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"On this chain, which occupies so large a space W.; W. N. W.; N. W. (and perhaps more north), from Parry's Isles, there stands two sand islands, or keys, having trees or shrubs on some parts of them. These I have presumed to call East and West Danger Islands—expressive of their native and relative position. They form an appendage to Brown's Range, which bounds them on the east."

Tippoo Sultaun's Palace.

A letter from Seringapatam, dated 26th May, mentions, that, of the jewels, not above 6 or 7 lacks of pagodas worth had been then valued: and as to the merchandize, viz. muslins, shawls, and various rich cloth, they were reckoned at the enormous amount of 500 camels load.—The Sultaun's throne being too unwieldly to be carried, had been broken up: it was a howdar upon a tyger, covered with sheet gold; the ascent to it was by silver steps, gilt, having silver nails, and all the other fastenings of the same metal. The canopy was alike superb, and decorated with a costly fringe of fine pearls all round it. The eyes and teeth of the tyger were of glass. It was valued at 60,000 pagodas. It was said that a dividend, to the value of about a million sterling, would soon be made; part of it, to the amount of 17 lacks of pagodas, in cash; the rest in jewels: a committee had been appointed for the arrangement of it.

Other advices from Seringapatam, dated 27th May, state, that in breaking up the throne, which its bulk and weight rendered necessary, the sheet of gold with which it was covered was found to weigh 40,000 pagodas; the silver work about it, the supporters of the canopy, and the fringe of pearls which went round it, were valued at 10,000 pagodas more. Every inch of the howdah contained an Arabic sentence, chiefly from the Koran, superbly stamped, being raised and polished in the most beautiful manner. A gold figure of a bird, covered over with the most precious stones, was screwed to the roof of the canopy: its beak is a large emerald; its eyes, carbuncles; the breast covered with diamonds; and the wings, which are expanded as if hovering, completely lined with diamonds: on the back are many large jewels, well and fancifully disposed; the tail, which resembles a peacock's, is also studded in the same manner: the whole so arranged as to imitate the plumage, and so closely set that the gold is scarce visible.

A number of tygers were found in the palace-yard, which were ordered to be shot, for fear of accidents.

Information having been given that a quantity of jewels were concealed in the seraglio, application was made to Colonel Wellesley, the commandant, for permission to search, which being granted, and the proper notice given to remove the women from the apartments which it was the intention to search, the gentlemen deputed on the occasion proceeded to inspect them; but were disappointed in every respect—for they did not find any thing of value. It was discovered afterwards, that Tippoo never entrusted his women with the keeping of their jewels. There were in all, including some of the wives and ladies of the late Hyder, and those of Tippoo's family, with their attendants, *six hundred and fifty* females in the palace.

Three horses had been presented to the Coorga Rajah by Generals Harris, Stuart, and Hartley, the former

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former selected from the late Sultaun's stud. General Harris had also presented that chieftain with a silver mounted howdah of an elephant, and a silver-mounted palankeen, which had been also part of Tippoo's property.

The number of men actually under arms at the assault of Seringapatam, was 2494 Europeans, and 1882 Natives—total, 4376.

Lieutenant Colonel Dunlop received his wound in a personal conflict with one of Tippoo's sirdars, who assailed him with his scymitar about half-way up the breach, making a desperate cut at the Colonel, which the latter was so fortunate to parry, and instantly returned with a cut that laid his antagonist's breast open: the sirdar, although mortally wounded, made another blow at Colonel Dunlop, which struck him across the wrist of the right hand, and nearly cut it through. The sirdar then instantly reeled back, and fell on the breach, when he was bayoneted by the soldiers as they passed. Colonel Dunlop still went on at the head of his men, until he ascended to the top of the breach, where he fell, from the loss of blood, and was carried off to the rear by some soldiers.

Cannanore, 27th May, 1799.

The forlorn hope was led by a sergeant of the light company of the Bombay European regiment, who volunteered his services on the occasion. His name was GRAHAM. He ran forward to examine the breach, and, mounting it, he pulled off his hat, and with three cheers called out, "Success to Lieut. Graham," (alluding to his having a commission, if he survived); on which he rejoined his party, and remounted with them, with the colours in his hand. Upon reaching the rampart, he stuck the colour-staff in it, exclaiming, "D—m 'em, I'll shew them the British Flag!" and was at that instant shot through the head, dying like a hero as he was. I am sorry to say, he has left a European widow and five children to lament his fate.

The following are some particulars relative to the conduct of Tippoo Sultaun, on the day of the assault and capture of Seringapatam.

Extract of a Letter from Camp at Seringapatam.

I send you the following particulars, relative to the conduct of the late Tippoo Sultaun on the 4th May, collected chiefly from the Killadar of Seringapatam, and from accounts given by some of his own servants.

The Sultaun went out early in the morning, as was his custom daily, to one of the cavaliers of the outer rampart of the north face, whence he could observe what was going on both sides. He remained there till about noon, when he took his usual repast under a pandal. It would appear, that he had at that time no suspicion of the assault being so near; for when it was reported to him that our parallels and approaches were unusually crowded with Europeans, he did not express the least apprehension, nor take any other precaution, but desiring the messenger to return to the west face, with orders to Meer Gofhar, and the troops on duty near the breach, to keep a strict guard.

A few minutes afterwards he was informed, that Meer Gofhar had been killed by a cannon shot near the breach; which intelligence appeared to agitate him greatly. He immediately ordered the troops that were near him under arms, and his personal servants, to load the carbines which they carried for his own use, and hasten along the ramparts towards the breach, accompanied by a select guard and several of his chiefs, till he met a number of his troops flying before the van of the Europeans, who, he perceived, had already mounted and gained the ramparts. Here he exerted himself to rally the fugitives, and uniting them with his own guard, encouraged them by his voice and example, to make a determined stand. He repeatedly fired on our troops himself; and one of his servants asserts, that he saw him bring down several Europeans near the top of the breach.

Notwithstanding these exertions, when the front of the European flank companies of the left attack approached the spot where the Sultaun stood, he found himself almost entirely deserted, and was forced to retire to the traverses of the north ramparts. These he defended, one after another, with the bravest of his men and officers; and, assisted by the fire of his people on the inner wall, he several times obliged the front of our troops, who were pushing on with their usual ardour, to make a stand. The loss here would have been much greater on our part, had not the light infantry, and part of the battalion companies of the 12th regiment, crossing the inner ditch, and mounting the rampart, driven the enemy from them, and taken in reverse those who, with the Sultaun, were defending the traverses of the outer ramparts.

While any of his troops remained with him, the Sultaun continued to dispute the ground, until he approached the passage across the ditch to the gate of the inner fort. Here he complained of pain and weakness in one of his

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his legs, in which he had received a bad wound when very young; and, ordering his horse to be brought, he mounted: but seing the Europeans still advancing on both the ramparts, he made for the gate, followed by his palankeen, and a number of officers, troops, and servants. It was then, probably, his intention either to have entered, and shut the gate, in order to attack the small body of our troops which had got into the inner fort, and, if successful in driving them out, to have attempted to maintain it against us, or to endeavour to make his way to the palace, and there make his last stand; but as he was crossing to the gate, by the communication from the outer rampart, he received a musket ball in the right side, nearly as high as the breast: he however still pressed on, till he was stopped, about half way through the arch of the gateway, by the fire of the 12th light infantry from within, when he received a second ball close to the other. The horse he rode on, being also wounded, sunk under him; and his turban fell to the ground. Many of his people fell at the same time, on every side, by musketry, both from within and without the gate.

The fallen Sultaun was immediately raised by some of his adherents, and placed upon his palankeen, under the arch, and on one side of the gateway, where he lay, or sat, for some minutes, faint and exhausted, till some Europeans entered the gateway. A servant, who has survived, relates, that one of the soldiers seized the Sultaun's sword-belt, which was very rich, and attempted to pull it off: that the Sultaun, who still held his sword in his hand, made a cut at the soldier with all his remaining strength, and wounded him about the knee; on which he put his piece to his shoulder, and shot the Sultaun through the temple, when he instantly expired.

No less than three hundred men were killed, and numbers wounded, under the arch of this gateway, which soon became impassable, excepting over the bodies of the dead and dying.

About dusk, General Baird, in consequence of information he had received at the palace, came with lights to the gate, accompanied by the late Killadar of the fort, and others, to search for the body of the Sultaun; and after much labour, it was found, and brought from under a heap of slain, to the inside of the gate. The countenance was no ways distorted, but had an expression of stern composure. His turban, jacket, and sword-belt were gone; but the body was recognized by some of his people who were there, to be the Sultaun; and an officer who was present, with the leave of General Baird, took from off his right arm the talisman; which contained, sewed up in pieces of fine flowered silk, an amulet of a brittle metallic substance of the colour of silver, and some manuscripts in magic Arabic and Persian characters; the purport of which, had there been any doubt, would have sufficiently ascertained the identity of the Sultaun's body. It was placed on his own palankeen, and, by General Baird's orders, conveyed to the court of the palace, where it remained during the night, furnishing a remarkable instance, to those who are given to reflection, of the uncertainty of human affairs. He who had left his palace in the morning, a powerful, imperious Sultaun, full of vast ambitious projects, was brought back a lump of clay; his kingdom overthrown, his capital taken, and his palace occupied by the very man (Major-General Baird) who, about fifteen years before, had been, with other victims of his cruelty and tyranny, released from near four years of rigid confinement in irons, scarce three hundred yards from the spot where the corpse of the Sultaun now lay.

Thus ended the life and the power of Tippoo Sultaun. It will require an able pen to delineate a character, apparently so inconsistent; but he who attempts it must not decide hastily.

MADRAS, *July* 3, 1799.

MEETING AT THE EXCHANGE.

A meeting of the inhabitants was held this morning at ten o'clock, at the Madras Exchange, pursuant to advertisement, for the purpose of proceeding to the Admiralty House, with the Address voted on the 26th ult. to the Right Hon. the Governor-General.

Major General Ross, the Chairman of the Committee, reported to the meeting, that in consequence of the resolutions entered into when they last met, the Committee had waited on the Earl of Mornington, to know when it might be convenient to his Lordship to receive the Address—when his Lordship was pleased to appoint this morning for that purpose:—That the Committee had also requested of his Lordship, in compliance with the wishes of the meeting, that his Lordship would be pleased to sit for his picture, to be placed in the Exchange; and that his Lordship had graciously condescended to comply with their request: that the Committee had selected Mr. Hickey, as the artist, on that occasion. It was then proposed by General Ross, that the gentlemen there assembled should proceed with the Address, which was carried accordingly.

Soon after the Committee, attended by the Gentlemen of the Settlement, had arrived at the Admiralty.

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miralty-house, they were introduced to the Right Hon. the Governor-General, who was accompanied by Lord Clive, the Members of Council, Lieut. Gen. Stuart, and the Officers composing the suite of the Governor-General; when Mr. Oakes read and presented to his Lordship the following Address:

To the Right Honourable the Earl of MORNINGTON, *K. P. Governor-General, &c. &c.*

MY LORD,

We the undersigned Inhabitants of Madras, impressed with a deep sense of the glory and advantage derived to the British Empire from your Lordship's administration, beg leave to approach your Lordship with our sincere congratulations on the successful termination of the war with Tippoo Sultaun.

The dawn of your Lordship's government opened to us the early prospect of restoring the national interests in India to that security and elevation which had been acquired by the victories, justice, and wisdom of the Marquis Cornwallis. The removal of a power, festering in the centre of our possessions, and corroding one of our most important alliances, evinced as well your Lordship's foresight of the dangerous cloud which was collecting under the councils of France, as the decision and energy with which your Lordship prepared to meet the impending storm.

A prudence less penetrating, or a vigour less active, might have been appalled at the difficulties of supporting a war against the kingdom of Mysore; but it was the peculiar energy of your Lordship's mind, to anticipate the growth and maturity of those difficulties, to estimate the true extent of our own power, to seize the critical period of action, and to create resources, by inspiring a confidence and energy correspondent to the extent and importance of your Lordship's measures.

The result of those measures we now view with triumph and exultation, in the complete subversion of the power of Tippoo Sultaun; whose enmity and determined inveteracy rendered peace undesirable, and whose infatuated attachment to the implacable enemy of England rendered war unavoidable. The rapidity with which this great event has, under Providence, your Lordship's wisdom, and the gallantry of the army, been achieved, have left on our minds impressions of admiration, at a conquest unequalled in its importance in the annals of British India.

The brilliancy of this contest has spread a blaze of glory over the meridian of your Lordship's Government; and from the extensive influence of its effects, we have a just confidence that your Lordship's career in India, will close by diffusing through Hindustân the calm of genuine peace and undisturbed tranquillity.

Feeling, in our immediate situation, the first consequences of your Lordship's success, we beg leave to offer your Lordship our warmest acknowledgements; and while we contemplate the benefits we now enjoy, we are unable to express our gratitude in terms adequate to our sense of the decisive termination with which the brilliant achievements of the Marquis Cornwallis, and the victory of Admiral Lord Nelson, have been crowned by the Earl of Mornington.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed by 192.*)*

To which the Right Hon. the Governor-General was pleased to return the following answer:

GENTLEMEN,

The zeal which distinguishes your congratulations on the prosperous termination of the late campaign in Mysore, is suitable to the character of British Subjects, animated by the glorious success of a just and necessary war, and by the happy prospect of an honourable and secure peace.

It would not become me either to depreciate the efforts which have been made for your defence, or to disclaim the share which my public duty required me to take in them. It would have been criminal in me to have neglected any precaution, or to have declined any exertion, which, in my judgment and conscience, appeared necessary to the important object of frustrating the avowed designs of the enemy, and of providing for the safety of the valuable interests committed to my charge. In the discharge of this duty I am happy to declare, that I have received the most cordial assistance from every class and description of the inhabitants of this settlement.

My acknowledgments of the honourable, generous, and disinterested support of Lord Clive, and of the zealous co-operation of the members of the Council, are not perhaps introduced with strict propriety on this occasion: but his Lordship will pardon my eagerness to offer to him a public tribute of my sincere gratitude, respect and esteem.

In all the principal civil and military officers throughout every branch and department of this Government, I have found an unanimous spirit of alacrity and diligence, equalled only by their eminent abilities and extensive knowledge. The same spirit has marked the conduct of the commercial houses, and of the banks established in this settlement. By their seasonable assistance I was enabled, in the most critical period of our military preparations, to avail myself of the resources of this presidency, to an extent unexampled in its history. By these aids, and by the extraordinary exertions of the Governments of Bengal and Bombay, I was empowered to call forth that gallant army, whose transcendant achievements have delivered the Carnatic from the perpetual alarm of invasion, and converted the strength of our implacable enemy into a new source of security and power to us and to our allies.

It is therefore in your energy and zeal, and in the co-operation of all the British Governments in India, that I trace the primary causes of our recent victories, and anticipate the sentiments of a peace, as propitious to our interests, and honourable to our national character, as the events of the war have been glorious to our military reputation.

Concord,

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Concord, unanimity, and prompt obedience, combined with a faithful and assiduous discharge of public duty, and a high sense of public honour, will render the supreme Government of those extensive possessions a grateful task in the severest trials of difficulty and danger.

With such an union of loyalty and public spirit, we may confidently expect to counteract every device and machination of our enemies; to detect their intrigues, to disappoint their treachery, to repel their violence, and to perpetuate the British empire in India on the solid foundations of humanity, valour, justice, and power.

(Signed) MORNINGTON.

GARRISON ORDERS.

MADRAS, *June* 3, 1799.

His Majesty's 10th and 51st regiments, and the Madras militia, to be under arms at half past four to-morrow morning, and to form a square on the general parade, for the purpose of receiving the standard of the late Tippoo Sultaun, taken on the 4th of May in the fort of Seringapatam, and also the colours of the French Republic, taken on the same day from the French corps in the service of that Prince, and arrived at this presidency under charge of Lieut. Harris, of his Majesty's 74th regiment.

The flank companies of his Majesty's 10th regiment will meet Lieut. Harris before five o'clock, at the bridge leading to the Wallajah gate; and after the Right Hon. the Governor-General has passed into the fort, they will escort the standard and colours to the centre of the parade, where they will be received with presented arms.

The standard and colours having been presented to the Governor-General, his Lordship will proceed with them to the church; and after they have been deposited at the altar, the flank companies will return, and take up their stations on the parade.

Prayers being over, a royal salute will be fired from the walls of the garrison, answered by the ships in the roads, and followed by three vollies from the troops.

The Governor-General having passed out of the fort, the troops are to return to their barracks, and two days batta will be distributed to all the non-commissioned and privates in garrison.

Major Taswell will continue the Madras militia under arms to-morrow morning, and their new colours will be presented to them by the Right Hon. Lady Clive.

The troops having paraded in conformity to the above orders, the Right Hon. the Governor-General, attended by the body-guard, alighted from his carriage upon the parade, at ten minutes past five o'clock: Lord and Lady Clive, Mrs. Harris and family, arrived a few minutes after. The whole of the civil and military officers were now assembled, either upon the parade, or in the balconies and windows of the adjacent houses, which, with the ramparts, streets, and all the avenues leading to the fort, were crowded with innumerable spectators, natives and Europeans.

The standard of Tippoo Sultaun, borne by Lieut. Harris, and the colours of the French Republic, carried by Majors Beatson and Allan, followed by the flank companies of his Majesty's 10th regiment, having now entered the square, were received with presented arms, the different bands playing a solemn march. On Lieut. Harris approaching within a few paces of the Governor-General, he addressed his Lordship in the following words:

"This standard, and these colours, taken from the enemy, under the consummate wisdom of your Lordship's councils, by the brave army commanded by Lieut. General Harris, his Excellency has honoured me by committing to my charge, and directing that I should lay them at your Lordship's feet."

His Lordship instantly embraced Lieut. Harris in an impressive manner, which excited the liveliest emotion of joy and gratitude in the spectators, and delivered his sentiments to the following effect:

"The zeal, perseverance, and manly fortitude of your father, and the matchless conduct of that gallant army, which, under his command, has relieved these possessions from the peril of foreign invasion, and restored us to a state of security and repose, have already my cordial acknowledgments, and obtained the just tribute of public gratitude and admiration. It remains for us to turn our hearts to the Author of all these signal blessings, and at the foot of the altar to offer up our humble thanksgivings to the Giver of victory, and the Guardian

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of the cause of justice, virtue, and faith."

The Governor-General then proceeded to the church, where the standard and colours were deposited at the altar. Solemn thanks having been offered to Almighty God, for having crowned our arms with such signal success, his Lordship returned to the parade, when Major Allan unexpectedly addressed him in these words:

"I have particular satisfaction, on this memorable occasion, in having it in my power to present your Lordship with a sword, worn by Tippoo Sultaun; a token which I trust your Lordship will regard as a mark of my personal respect, as well as a memorial of that glorious achievement which the army has accomplished under your Lordship's auspices."

His Lordship made this reply:

"The gift is peculiarly acceptable from an officer distinguished, throughout the whole campaign, by the most meritorious exertions of activity and valour, and particularly at the close of it, by the most generous efforts of humanity and compassion. I shall always remember with pleasure, the personal kindness of such a character towards myself; and I am happy to take this public opportunity of expressing my sense of those manly and amiable qualities which have appeared with such lustre, not only in the moment of difficulty and danger, but in that of victory and conquest."

PRESENTATION *of the* COLOURS *to the* MADRAS MILITIA.

Madras, June 4, 1799.

This auspicious and happy day, the anniversary of the birth of our beloved Sovereign, now rendered for ever memorable in every corner of the East, had long been fixed upon for the colours being delivered to the Madras militia. The Governor-General and Lord Clive, led Lady Clive to the front of this corps, when her Ladyship addressed Major Taswell in the following words:

"It is not without much diffidence that I venture to present myself upon this public and solemn occasion: but the request of the Madras militia is so honourable and flattering to me, that I have not hesitated to take upon myself the pleasing task of preparing and delivering to it its colours. The zeal and activity with which you came forward with your personal services, at a time when a war with a dangerous and implacable enemy called for such an exertion, and the progress which, under the active and vigilant superintendance of Major Taswell, you have made in discipline and military exercise; the known sentiments of loyalty to our Sovereign, which glow in your breasts; and your firm attachment to the prosperity and interests of Great Britain; make it hardly necessary that I should add the exhortations of my voice, to induce you at all times to guard, defend, and reverence those colours which I have now the honour to deliver; nor, I hope, will they lose any thing in their value, from being presented by a person, who, in the course of her life, has had frequent opportunities of seeing with exultation the gradual advances of the militia corps in England to their present degree of excellence, which it will be your ambition to emulate; and who, from her relative situation, will look to the institution of the Madras militia with the most cordial good wishes and respect.

"Could additional motives be wanting, to inspire you with that enthusiastic attachment which every corps should feel for its colours, they

may

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may be found in the particular circumstance attending this day. On this day we meet to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of a beloved King, under whose reign the prosperity of our country has been carried to a height unexampled in former times, and whose latter years have been employed in maintaining a glorious struggle against the destructive attempts of republican France, to subvert the order of things under which Europe had for ages flourished: and upon this day, for ever memorable in Madras, the Governor-General has received, and deposited at the altar, the colours of the capital of Tippoo Sultaun, whose power and dominion, in a short war of two months, have vanished and disappeared, before the wisdom of our councils, the vigour and extent of our equipments, and the irresistible valour and conduct of our officers and troops."

The Major, in a manner the most respectful and animated, made this reply:

"Madam, to the honour of being possessed with the banners now before us, I am to add the gratification we feel in their having been presented by your Ladyship; whose name, when looking up to them on the day of service, should we ever witness that moment, will be first in our minds, and will bring to our immediate recollection the deeds of a character that must act as a stimulus to our ardour, and encourage our attempts to follow so great and respected an example of military fame.

"We trust, should we ever be placed in a situation so honourable, we shall not discredit the very flattering notice which has been this day conferred upon us, and that we shall prove that our loyalty can only be surpassed by our public exertions as a corps, in our emulation, as individuals, to render ourselves worthy of the favour and distinction with which your Ladyship has been pleased, in this instance, to consider and mark our conduct; and I have the peculiar pleasure to express the warm acknowledgments of a corps that will ever bear in their memory an attention that has given them a credit, which it will be their study and pride constantly to preserve.

"To the personal observation with which your Ladyship has deigned to honour me, I shall not presume to speak, not having words to express the sense I must ever entertain of an opinion so far beyond my deserts; nor can I be so vain as to take to myself merit for acts that have so spontaneously occurred, from which I have derived so much satisfaction, and which is at this time so much increased by their having met with such high and respectable approbation."

The military ceremonies being over, the Governor-General leading Lady Clive, and Mrs. Harris led by Lord Clive, followed by all the ladies and gentlemen of the settlement, retired to the Government-house, where an elegant breakfast was prepared; and joy, gratitude, and exultation, appeared in every countenance.

At 12 o'clock, a salute of 61 guns, denoting his Majesty's age, commenced from the walls of the fort. On the first gun being fired, the colours of Seringapatam were hoisted upon the flag-staff, under the union, and continued flying until sun-set; a proud and lasting monument of the victory of justice and humanity over tyranny, treachery, and barbarity.

His Majesty's ships Intrepid and l'Imperieuse, and all the Hon. Company's ships in the roads, were decked in their gayest colours, and

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answered the different salutes from the fort.

The evening concluded with a splendid ball given by Lady Clive, at which a numerous and brilliant assemblage of the principal persons of the settlement united to tesify their pride, exultation, and admiration, of our unrivalled success.

VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.

At a meeting on Wednesday last, at the Exchange, in Bombay, a subscription was entered into for the relief of the families of those who fell before Seringapatam. A list of the sums subscribed we have the pleasure to subjoin:

Mornington,	1000
Clive,	700
T. A. Strange,	200
W. Petrie,	100
E. W. Fallowfield,	200
J. Webbe,	100
B. Roebuck,	100
P. Ross,	100
T. Cockburn,	100
T. Oakes,	100
W. Sydenham,	100
W. Raine,	100
B. Cochrane,	100
H. Brown,	100
F. Lautour,	150
M. Dick,	100
A. Grant,	100
A. Allan,	100
C. Baker,	100
R. Clerk,	100
J. Chinnery,	50
C. Cartwright,	25
W. Thomas,	20
B. Sulivan,	50
J. Rowley,	50
J. S. Hall,	50
G. Read,	50
N. Kindersley,	50
A. Cockburn,	50
T. De Souze,	20
George Lys,	20
A. De Fries,	50
J. Brodie,	50
J. B. Travers,	50
G. Buchan,	50
S. D. Totton,	25
J. Daly,	20
S. M. Moorat,	25
Henry Sewell,	50
G. Pickets,	20
C. Woodcock,	20
John Brown,	20
J. Hill,	20
D. Court,	10
F. Gahagen,	50
T. S. Ware,	20
J. H. Peale,	20
Cecil Smith,	20
T. Anstey,	50
C. Walters,	50
G. M. Baboom,	50
J. Hunter,	20
T. Stephens,	20
J. Shamier,	30
J. Arathoon,	20
J. Underwood,	25
T. Clark,	25
B. Bishop,	10
C. Hay,	10

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENT.

Whereas it is expedient to prevent foreigners of every description from landing at this Presidency, and its dependencies, without permission from the government,—the following rules are enacted for this purpose, and for the better regulation of the police of the port of Bombay in general.

1. No person whatever to be permitted to disembark from any foreign vessel, until such vessel shall have been inspected by the proper officer, and regular permission in consequence obtained.

2. For this purpose, official notice (according to the annexed form), under the signature of the Secretary to the government, is to be dispatched to all foreign vessels, on their approach to this harbour, informing their commanders of the foregoing resolution, and requiring them to prepare lists of their passengers, and ships companies, for delivery to the inspecting officer; which lists shall, if required, be authenticated by the affidavit of the commander and senior officer of each vessel respectively.

FORM.

SIR,

1. You are hereby informed of the resolution of the Governor in Council, that no person will be permitted to land from your vessel until she shall have been duly inspected by an officer appointed for this purpose. You are therefore to prepare a muster roll of your ships company, and of the passengers on board; which roll, under the signature of yourself and of your chief officer, shall be delivered to the inspecting officer, and shall, if,

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if required, be attested on oath before a Magistrate.

2. The inspecting officer is authorized to examine your crew and passengers according to the roll, which is to contain the names of each person on board, the time of their entry, the time and place of their embarking, their country, and the stations or character of each. To this roll you are to add the names of all places at which your vessel may have touched during the voyage.

3. Until you have complied with this order, you shall not be permitted to have communication with the shore; and upon your landing, you are to pay strict obedience to the printed regulations, which you will find at the office of the superintendant of Marine; in failure of which, your ship will not be admitted to any entry at any British port in India.

3. A vessel is to remain constantly stationed in the mouth of the harbour, to communicate, according to these regulations, with every ship under foreign colours, which may be entering, and to enjoin her to anchor until the inspecting officer shall come on board, and make the necessary inquiries; and a guard-boat is to remain alongside of each foreign ship thus importing, until removed by the proper authority, and, while there, to prevent any boat whatever from either getting on board of her from the shore, or from proceeding to the shore from the ship.

4. On the strange ship anchoring as above, the inspecting officer is to proceed on board, and to examine and muster the crew and passengers, according to the lists which shall have been prepared under the signature of the commander, and that of his senior officer.

5. If, on this muster, and such further examination as the inspecting officer shall deem necessary, he shall not observe any suspicious persons to be on board, he is to authorize the pilot to bring the ship to her moorings, and to return to the shore with his report to the superintendant of marine, enjoining the guard-boat alongside to exert its utmost vigilance, in preventing any person from quitting the ship, or proceeding on board of her.

6. In case the superintendant be satisfied with the report of the inspecting officer, he shall authorize the removal of the guard-boat, and the necessary communication with the ship; if not, the guard-boat is to remain, and a report to be made by him to the honourable the Governor.

7. Upon the guard-boat's being removed from alongside any foreign ship, importing in the manner specified in the preceding section, written notice thereof is to be immediately transmitted by the superintendant to the custom-master, who is then to send his boat on board, with such orders, and under such regulations, as relate to his department.

8. The guard-boat is to report to the inspecting officer, any violation of these regulations, which may be persisted in by any person or persons; and detain such boat as he or they may be on board of, until he receive his orders on the subject.

9. The captain or supercargo of every foreign ship importing into this harbour, shall, immediately on their landing, deliver into the office of the superintendant of police, a list of such of the officers and crew as it is intended shall reside on shore during the ship's stay; who, if he see no objection, shall thereon grant to each a printed certificate of their being permitted to remain on shore, taking hereon the instructions of the Governor, as from time to time may prove necessary.

10. The captain or supercargo shall farther leave at the police office, a paper with the signature of such officers of the ship (not exceeding three on board of each), whose authority shall, when countersigned by the superintendant of police,

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be a sufficient pass for such of the crew as may have occasion to be on shore for a time only, which time is to be signified in the pass.

11. All seamen and others belonging to foreign ships, and suspicious persons in general, not in possession of either a general or temporary pass as above, to be apprehended by the superintendant of police, and kept in custody; the captain or supercargo of the ship being charged with all expences attending their seizure and detention.

12. A register to be kept, in numerical order, for each month, in the police office, of all passes granted, for the purpose of reference.

13. Orders to be issued at the gates, and at the stations of other military guards, to prevent all foreign European seamen from passing or landing on the island, unprovided with a pass, countersigned by the superintendant of police.

14. If, at any time, the superintendant of police shall see cause to suspect persons thus landed of improper intentions, he is to apprehend and detain the same, and make report thereof to the honourable the Governor.

15. No commander of a foreign ship shall entertain on board any person, either as a part of the crew, or as a passenger, without a permit from the superintendant of marine, who is to act in granting the same under the order and sanction of the Governor.

16. When any foreign ship is about to depart from this port, the inspecting officer shall, previous to the embarkation of her commander, repair on board, and muster and examine the crew, according to the lists furnished on her first importation, and examine the officers and crew, as to such casualties as may have been reported during the continuance of the vessel in port, and require the permit from the superintendant of marine, for shipping such additional men or passengers as he may find on board.

17. In cases which shall appear to require, the inspecting officer shall search any foreign ships under suspicious circumstances; and is, upon all occasions, after his inspection shall have been completed, to station a guard-boat alongside of every foreign vessel, to prevent communication with the shore until she may sail out of the harbour.

18. After the inspecting officer has made his final muster, and examination of any foreign ship about to depart, a guard-boat is to be stationed along-side of her, and no person is to be allowed to go on board of her without a pass from the superintendant of marine.

19. As soon as the superintendant of marine shall have been satisfied, by the report of the inspecting officer, that these regulations have been complied with, he shall countersign the ship's port clearance, as the authority for her departure, as far as regards his department.

20. An immediate report to be made, by the superintendant of marine, of any foreign ship which may sail from the harbour without the regular port clearance; and the cruizer in the mouth of the harbour, upon an agreed signal from the light-house, is, as far as possible, to prevent any such ship from leaving the harbour without a pilot.

21. The officer in command of the vessel stationed at the mouth of the harbour, shall send one of his guard-boats, with an intelligent person, to inspect all dows, dingeys, or other vessels of that description, coming into this harbour; which person shall inquire of the naquadah or craney, what passengers, or if any Europeans whatever, be on board, and shall carefully examine such

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such vessel; and, if satisfied that no improper or suspicious passenger or other person is concealed therein, shall allow such vessel to proceed up the harbour, but otherwise to detain her until a report can be made to the superintendant of marine, who shall thereon act as he may deem necessary, reporting his proceedings to the Governor, and acting thereon as the latter shall direct.

22. No European foreigner, or even British subject, shall on any account be discharged from any ship under English colours, without the permission of the superintendant of marine; and when that permission has been granted, the discharged man is to be sent to the office of police, in order to have his name registered there, and a proper passport granted to him, as in the case of the seamen of foreign ships.

23. All merchant ships, whether English or foreigners, without distinction, shall, on their arrival, deliver in correct lists of their ship's company, and of all other persons who shall be on board, to the inspector of the port, who is to re-examine such lists on the departure of these ships respectively, and to report to the superintendant of police, how many of the European part of such crew do re-embark, and what has become of the remainder; which returns are to be regularly submitted by the last mentioned superintendant to the Governor, who, after being satisfied thereon, is to direct the superintendant of police to write to the custom-master accordingly, till which the vessel's port clearance is not to be granted. The object of this regulation being, to prevent foreign or British subjects improperly remaining on shore behind the ship that brought them, which, besides other inconveniencies, has frequently entailed undue expence on government.

24. Europeans not in the service of his Majesty, or the Hon. Company, landing from the Mahratta country, at any of the bunders under the custom-masters of Bombay, Mahim, Salsette, or Caranja, are to be detained at the custom-house, until a report can be made to the Governor, of the name, nation, profession, and reason of the party for visiting this island, unless such European shall be furnished with a pass from the Hon. the Governor, the Resident at Poonah or Hyderabad, or some person authorized to give such pass, in which case he is to be sent to the police, where his name is to be registered.

25. Nor is any European, of the foregoing description, to be allowed to go off at any of the said bunders without a pass, regularly granted by the local authorities who now are, or may be hereafter, authorized by government to issue them.

Published by order of the Governor in Council.

ROBERT RICKARDS, *Sec. to Gov.*

Bombay Castle, July 16, 1799.

ADDRESS *of the* BRITISH INHABITANTS *of* CALCUTTA *to the Right Hon. the* MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

ON Friday the 14th of February, 1800, an overland Express was received from India, by which we learn that the Marquis WELLESLEY returned to Calcutta on the 19th of September last. On the 21st of the same month, the following Congratulatory Address, on the glorious termination of the Expedition against TIPPOO SULTAUN, signed by near SEVEN HUN-

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HUNDRED of the principal Gentlemen of the Civil and Military Departments of Calcutta, was presented to his Lordship; to which he returned a most gracious answer; and consented, at their request, to sit for his picture.

[FROM THE CALCUTTA GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, SEPT. 21, 1799.]

THE Committee appointed to present the Address of the British Inhabitants of Calcutta to the Right Honourable the Governor-General, assembled this morning at the theatre, pursuant to the advertisement published in the Gazette of the 16th instant, for the purpose of proceeding with the Address to the Government House.

The Chairman reported to the Committee, that in conformity to their instructions, he had had the honour to wait upon the Right Honourable the Governor-General on his arrival at the Presidency, and to submit to his Lordship the proceedings of the inhabitants at the meeting of the 21st ultimo. That he had the highest satisfaction in informing the Committee, that his Lordship expressed, in the most flattering terms, how very much he was gratified by the kindness of the Inhabitants in the Address which they had voted him, and at their whole proceedings upon the occasion, and that he should have the greatest pleasure in complying with their request of sitting for his picture.

The Chairman farther reported, that the Right Hon. the Governor-General having appointed this morning at ten o'clock to receive the Address, he had, in consequence, published the advertisement, requesting the favour of the Committee, and such other gentlemen as might please to attend, previously to assemble at the theatre; and he now prepared to proceed with the Address, which was agreed to accordingly.

The Committee, attended by a numerous body of the gentlemen of the settlement, having arrived at the Government House, they were introduced to the Right Honourable the Governor-General, who was accompanied by the Chief Justice, the Commander in Chief, and by the officers composing the suite of the Governor-General, when the Chairman read, and presented the following Address:

To the Right Hon. RICHARD Earl of MORNINGTON, Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick, Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal, &c. &c.

MY LORD,

We, the British Inhabitants of Calcutta, impressed with a deep sense of the great benefits which the public interests have derived from the wisdom and energy of your Lordship's councils, in the glorious termination of the late war with Tippoo Sultaun, beg leave to present our sincere congratulations on the splendid events which have crowned your Lordship's measures with such rapid and complete success.

The fall of Tippoo Sultaun and his capital, the capture of his sons, the submission of his chiefs, and annihilation of his power, must secure to the Company's possessions the blessings of internal tranquillity; increase, beyond calculation, the resources, strength and stability of the British empire in the East; and, while they reflect the highest honour on the General and the army by whose brilliant victories your Lordship's objects have been accomplished, must transmit your Lordship's name with distinguished lustre to posterity.

The restoration of the injured race of princes, whose dominions their rebellious subject Hyder Ally had usurped, and whose immediate descendant your Lordship has raised from a prison to a throne; the liberal provision your Lordship has bestowed on the family and chiefs of our implacable and cruel enemy, the late Sultaun of Mysore; and the partition of the conquered countries, demand our warmest applause; and cannot but increase the confidence of the native powers, in the justice and clemency of the British nation.

To your Lordship's vigilance, energy and wisdom, Great Britain is indebted for all these great events; which, combined with the invaluable result of your Lordship's previous negotiations at the court of Hyderabad, have not only relieved the British possessions, and those of their allies, from the constant apprehension of invasion by a restless and ambitious prince, whom no moderation could appease, but must also extinguish every hope

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our inveterate enemies of France so anxiously cherished, of involving these happy countries in the calamities and horrors which they have spread over so many other regions of the globe; and will, we trust, under Divine Providence, essentially contribute to the final deliverance of Europe, from the chains which they have imposed, and to the ultimate object of every just and necessary war, a lasting, safe, and honourable peace.

We beg leave to offer our most respectful congratulations to your Lordship, on your safe return to the chief seat of government; where we earnestly hope you will long continue to preside, and add to those great and numerous claims on the public gratitude, which, by such important and distinguished services, your Lordship has already acquired.

We have the honour to be,
With the highest respect,
MY LORD,
Your Lordship's most obedient,
Humble servants, &c.

CALCUTTA, 21st August, 1799.

To which the Right Honourable the Governor-General was pleased to return the following Answer:

GENTLEMEN,

I receive this distinguished mark of your regard with sentiments of satisfaction and gratitude proportioned to my experience of your approved loyalty and public spirit, and of your just sense of the interests and honour of the British empire in India.

The prosperous termination of the late campaign in Mysore, is a proper subject of public congratulation: the British arms have seldom achieved a conquest of greater lustre or value, and never were employed in a cause of more urgent necessity, or of more manifest justice. The progress of our success has revealed additional justifications of our original appeal to the sword; and the final triumph of our arms has been enhanced by the satisfactory reflection, that the war, which terminated in the destruction of our enemy, originated in his implacable hatred, flagrant treachery, and unprovoked aggression.

Under the blessing of Providence favouring the justice of our cause, the rapid and uninterrupted course of our victories is to be ascribed to the admirable valour, skill, and discipline of the gallant officers and troops employed in Mysore; to the predominant influence of the British character in India; and to the intrinsic vigour of our extensive resources and established power.

It was my duty to make a seasonable use of these eminent advantages; and in the unanimity of our councils, in the zeal, talents, and happy subordination of every branch of the civil and military service throughout the British possessions, I found the principles of that spirit of alacrity and ardour, which accelerated the equipment of the army, and secured the early success of the war.

My thanks have already been offered to the governments and inhabitants of the presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, for the distinguished part which they have borne respectively in the late arduous crisis of affairs.

I am happy to avail myself of this public occasion to declare, that from this presidency I received the most effectual and timely aid, to an extent which fully justified my confident expectations of cordial co-operation from the respectable hands, which, during my absence, administered the Government of Bengal.

In reviewing the more immediate causes of our success, I cannot repress a tribute of gratitude to him who laid the foundations of that strength which it has been my lot to call into action. The name of the Marquis Cornwallis is inseparably connected with the fame and power of Great Britain in this quarter of the globe; and will continue to be an object of affection and reverence, as long as wisdom, fortitude, and integrity shall be respected, or any sense retained of justice, clemency, benevolence, public faith, or military glory. The final conquest of Mysore recalls the memory of that glorious war, in which the first shock was given to the hostile power of Tippoo Sultaun: it must never be forgotten, that under the auspices of the Marquis Cornwallis in that war, the supply and movement of our armies in Mysore was first reduced to a system of regularity and order; and our officers acquired that experience and skill so conspicuous in the able and masterly operations of the late campaign: Under the same auspices, the whole system of our defensive alliances in the peninsula of India was founded; and the national faith was maintained in a degree of purity and lustre, which inspired a general confidence in the British Government, and disposed the native powers to strengthen and cement their connexion with the Company on the solid basis of reciprocal interest and mutual security. This favourable disposition was confirmed by the prudence, integrity, and honour of my immediate predecessor; and in the important negotiations which it has been my duty to conduct, I have derived considerable assistance from the advantageous impressions of the British character, which I found deeply fixed in the minds of our allies.

Possessed of such powerful means, I have been enabled not only to prosecute the war with success, but to conclude the partition of our conquests on principles of moderation and equity, conformable to the laws, the honour, and policy of the British nation, and affording the most rational promise of permanent security to the possessions of the Company, and of general tranquillity to India.

To whatever situation the course of future events may call me, the assurances of your personal confidence and esteem must always be highly honourable to my character, and grateful to my recollection.

While the administration of this arduous government shall be entrusted to my hands, my earnest endeavours shall be constantly employed to secure and improve our recent acquisitions of territory, wealth, and power, and to guard the prosperity and happiness of these opulent and flourishing dominions, by such effectual precautions, as shall avert the arts and arms of France, and discourage her spirit of enterprize, or frustrate its ruinous effects.

(Signed) MORNINGTON.

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The following AUTHENTIC PARTICULARS *have been received by the last Dispatches from* MADRAS.

THE only impediment, of any importance, to the speedy and quiet settlement of the whole country assigned to the Rajah of Mysore, by the partition treaty, has proceeded from some disturbances which have arisen in the province of Bednore, but which are now happily quelled.

A partizan of the name of Dhoondia, originally in the service of the Patam State of Savonore (or Shanoor) having committed various depredations on the territories of Tippoo Sultaun, had incurred the resentment of that prince. Tippoo Sultaun, having contrived to secure the person of Dhoondia, compelled him to conform to the Mahommedan faith, and afterwards employed him in military service; but, either detecting him in some treacherous projects, or suspecting his fidelity, the Sultaun confined him in irons in Seringapatam, some time previous to the commencement of the late war. From this situation he was released, together with several other prisoners, on the 4th of May. He immediately fled from Seringapatam; and, being joined by a few of the Silledar cavalry of Tippoo Sultaun's disbanded army, took the direction of Bednore: in his way to which province, his force received some augmentation. Some of the Asofs and Kelladars in Bednore betrayed their trusts to him; and in this manner many of the principal places of the districts had fallen into his hands, before it was in the power of Lieutenant-General Harris to detach from the army a sufficient force to act against him. In the mean while, Dhoondia had laid the rich country of Bednore under severe contributions, which he exacted with the most unrelenting cruelty, perpetrating throughout the province the most atrocious acts of rapine and murder.

At length, a light corps of cavalry and native infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel James Dalrymple, of the Madras establishment, moved against Dhoondia, from Chittledroog, on the 21st of July, and overtook a party of his banditti, consisting of about 250 horse and 400 infantry. The shocking cruelties which these plunderers had recently committed, rendered it necessary to make a severe example: it was therefore determined to refuse them quarter, for the purpose of deterring others from similar enormities.

Dhoondia, having crossed the Jungbuddra Hurryhur, a fort on the east bank of that river, was taken, on the 30th of July, by a division of Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple's detachment.

While Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple attacked the banditti on one side, Colonel Stephenson was advancing into Bednore, in another direction, at the head of a light force, composed also of native cavalry and infantry. On the 31st of July, Colonel Stephenson crossed the Jungbuddra, and advancing against Simoga, took that place by assault, on the 8th of August. On the same day, the fort of Harnelly, situated on the west bank of the Jungbuddra, was taken in the same manner, by the detachment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple.

Both detachments having now effected the passage of the Jungbuddra, it was determined to make a combined attack on the camp of Dhoon-

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Dhoondia, which occupied a strong position near the town and fort of Shirkapoor. Accordingly, Lieut. Colonel Dalrymple, on the 17th of August, charged Dhoondia's cavalry, and drove them, with considerable loss, into a river, situated in their rear: our infantry, at the same time, attacked the fort of Shirkapoor, and carried it by assault. Dhoondia escaped, by means of a boat provided on the occasion.

Colonel Stephenson, the progress of whose detachment had been impeded by difficult roads, now assumed, as senior officer, the command of the united detachments, and immediately pursued Dhoondia so closely, as to compel him to take refuge in the Karhattah territory; within the limits of which, Colonel Stephenson, on the 20th of August, saw him encamp with the remnant of his banditti, which it would have been easy for Colonel Stephenson to have taken, or destroyed, had he been at liberty to pass beyond the boundary of the Mahratta dominion; but Colonel Stephenson, with great judgment and discretion, halted his army on the line-boundary, and signified to the Mahratta officer of the adjoining district, that the respect of the British government for the rights of the Mahratta state, precluded the further progress of our army.

Accounts recently received from Col. Stephenson, state, that Dhoondia Punt Goklah, a chief commanding a division of the Peshwah's army, had plundered Dhoondia's camp, within a few hours after it had been pitched within the territory of the Mahrattas; had carried away all his elephants, camels, bullocks, and guns; and entirely deprived him of all means of future depredation. The province of Bednore will be completely delivered from the banditti which had acted under Dhoondia's command; for although they continued to retain some posts in the country at the period of his flight, those posts will certainly be evacuated on the approach of the British troops.

The judicious and spirited conduct displayed during the late operations against Dhoondia, as well by Colonel Stephenson, as by Lieut. Colonel Dalrymple, must attract particular attention; as well as the great activity and energy which has marked this movement of the troops, within so short a period after their late brilliant successes, and in the midst of a season of the year which has hitherto been supposed to render military operations impracticable.

Excepting the fort of Jemaulabad, near Mangalore, for the reduction of which, after the rains, great preparations are making, the whole of the possessions of the late Sultaun of Mysore have quietly submitted to the British government.

CURIOUS PARTICULARS *relative to the* CAPTURE *of* SERINGAPATAM.

[From an authentic Account, dated Yariahguauilly, 2d June, 1799.]

WE entered the territories of Tippoo Saib, from Ryacottah, on the 5th of March, and encamped before Seringapatam on the 5th of April; and it may be considered as a fortunate circumstance, that the Sultaun did not employ his whole force against us, instead of turning his attention to the Bombay army.

The cumberous baggage and numerous

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merous attendants on the Nizam force, as well as that of the European troops, the immense quantity of public stores and provisions, the long train of ordnance with above forty thousand Benjarries, formed altogether, such an host as not to admit of being covered by our effective force; so that if Tippoo had employed his powers, with the military skill which he was supposed to possess, he might, without hazarding an engagement, by desultory skirmishes, distant cannonades, and other hostile movements, have so harrassed our infantry, and weakened our cavalry, that a great part of our baggage, stores, and ammunition would probably have fallen into his hands, and the army been greatly impeded in its march to the place of destination: and, moreover, as the rainy season was approaching, there is reason to believe, that had the Sultaun employed the force he possessed, with equal judgment and activity, the immediate object of the campaign might have been defeated.

It had, indeed, been for some time reported, that Tippoo was become subject to fits of mental derangement, and the whole of his conduct seems to justify that opinion. He had dismissed all his faithful friends, who had served him long, and had served him well, from his councils; and had called into his service men of little experience or capacity, who won his favour by flattering his caprices, and practising an unresisting submission to his will. The former had always discouraged their master's disposition to connect himself with France, as pregnant with the mischief it has since produced; while the latter promoted it for no other reason, but because it flattered his hopes of gratifying his resentment against the British power in India. His treasures were immense, and his army was not only numerous, but in a high state of discipline and equipment. However, by not employing the one, and misemploying the other, his fall has been precipitated, his capital taken, and his country conquered, in a manner, and with a rapidity of good fortune, which was equally improbable and unexpected.

His powerful empire, which had been shaken and diminished by the military skill and political sagacity of the Marquis Cornwallis, is now razed, as it were, to its foundations, and the house of Hyder Ally degraded from the usurped power which it had maintained during a period of forty years. The importance of this event to the power and commerce of Great Britain in the East, is not within the reach of ordinary calculation. From every appearance of the improving state of Seringapatam, the cultivation of the country, the number of its inhabitants, and the advancing progress of its military establishment, that capital would, in a short time, have been impregnable; and the power of Tippoo Saib would have been at least equal to the combined strength of the European settlements in India.

The Sultaun certainly was not inactive; but his activity was misguided, and became inadequate to its object. He destroyed the villages, and laid waste the country in front of the army; but by not sufficiently spreading the tracks of devastation, his purpose for distressing our army was defeated, as General Harris, by a slight deviation from the common road, reached his destination at the time he wished, and without any material interruption. From the late plentiful rains, and the peculiar construction of the tanks, which could not be entirely drained, there was no deficiency of water:

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water: and though the usual attempts had been made to poison it, by steeping in it the bruised branches of the milk hedge-tree, no very obnoxious effect was produced: for though no prohibition, or bodies of guards, could prevent the men or cattle from slaking their thirst at these tanks, very little inconvenience was felt: as very few of the people suffered any disorder whatever from the poisonous impregnation. The sickness that did, at any time, appear among the troops, arose from the heat of the sun, extreme fatigue, irregular refreshment, and especially among the common men, from the intemperate use of every species of vegetable they could find, and particularly of the sugar-cane.

The action which Tippoo risked on the 27th March at Malavelle, with the right wing of our army, was as ill conceived, as it was ill conducted; because, having the choice of his ground, he ought either to have received us with his whole force, or to have avoided every kind of regular engagement.

By turning to the left on the second day after this action, instead of crossing the river, as Tippoo appears to have expected, we gained a flourishing and highly cultivated country, which, most fortunately, his destroying hand had not touched. After a march of about fourteen miles, we reached the Cavary, without the least molestation, and got possession of the large fort of Soocilly, which was full of cattle, grain, and forage; and commanded an excellent ford, which the army, with all its equipment, passed in one day, without any loss or interruption. Even to the very vicinity of Seringapatam, General Harris had the choice of his route; so that he was enabled to sit down before it, with all his resources for the siege undiminished.

The evil most to be dreaded on this service, and a tremendous evil it is, was famine; and which the Sultaun had the means of producing, if he had been wise enough to have employed them. The whole of our draft and carriage bullocks, public and private, died, and rice had risen to three rupees the seer, on the day when the city was stormed. It was not till nine days after that event, that the detachments commanded by Colonels Read and Brown, could arrive with supplies; notwithstanding all the cavalry, and a brigade of native infantry, had been detached under the command of General Floyd, to favour their junction; so that if we had not succeeded in our attempt, the consequence would have been fatal to the army; and that we were not repulsed, was owing to the incomparable conduct and intrepidity of the troops, as well as to the judicious means employed to support and protect their extraordinary efforts.

It is not necessary to enter into the detailed progress of the siege. It may, however, be proper to remark, that, notwithstanding the errors committed by the Sultaun in defence of the place, nothing less than the vast combined army in our service, could have carried the enterprize with success. The extent of posts we were obliged to occupy on both sides of the river, required the whole force of the Coast and Bombay armies; besides the troops necessary to dislodge the numerous swarms of the enemy. As this service was entrusted chiefly to European officers, who were appointed to the various branches of it, not by selection, but in regular succession, opportunities were given, as they were

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were universally employed, to display the skill and bravery of the British military character.

The act of storming displayed a most animating and unrivalled picture of British bravery. The columns of grenadiers dashed, as it were, across the river, at noon day, despising the difficulties of the passage, to mount the breach, which could have been practicable alone to their irresistible force and bravery. The impetuous spirit which led them on, in the face of a very heavy and continued fire of cannon and musketry, the rapidity with which they ascended the ladders, and the impetuous courage which drove the affrighted enemy from the walls, soon combined to place the British colours on them. The enfilading batteries of the Bombay advanced post were of signal service, as they deterred numbers from disputing the breach, who might otherwise have kept up a galling fire upon it. The hour of attack also was fortunate; it being one at noon, when numbers of the besieged had retired to take refreshment, though enough still remained to have repelled less daring assailants. The Sultaun, who had hitherto commanded his troops, was also retired to refresh himself; but on hearing the alarm, he hastened back, when finding that the grenadiers had entered the breach, and seeing his people falling all around him, he made for a sally-port, where, amidst a crowd of fugitives, he was overtaken and slain. It is not yet known by whose hand this tyrant of the East was laid low; and it is supposed that the jewels which he always wore about his person, and were now become the spoil of the fortunate soldier, whoever he might be, that was his conqueror, are too precious to be hastily acknowledged.

The following particulars were related by Bejeb Seehib, one of the sirdars who came with the hostage princes to Lord Cornwallis. He constantly wore a ruby ring, which was esteemed by him as the most valuable in his treasury. His turban also was always adorned with a jewel of great value; and a pearl rosary was a continual ornament of his person. The pearls of which it consisted, were of uncommon size, and beauty. They had been the collection of many years, and were the pride of his dress. Whenever he could purchase a pearl of extraordinary size, he never omitted the opportunity; and made it supply, on his rosary, the place of another inferior in form and beauty. Neither of these precious articles have appeared since the Sultaun's death. His body was found late in the evening, beneath a heap of others brought together in one promiscuous slaughter. It had been shot in the temples, and was otherwise wounded, as it appeared, with a bayonet. After it had been properly identified, it was delivered to the survivors of his family, and interred in the sepulchre of his father Hyder Ally, with the solemnity and ceremonial belonging to his rank and station. It is not among the customs of the European nations to war with the dead, or such a tyrant, whose peculiar aversion was exerted against, and inveterate cruelty exercised on, the Europeans, whenever they were so unfortunate as to become subject to his tyranny. The rooted and barbarous antipathy which he manifested against the European prisoners of all ranks, in a former war, seems to have accompanied him to the last. About twenty unhappy stragglers from our army had fallen into his hands in the course of our march, whom he ordered to be put to death; and among them a little drummer

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drummer boy of the Scotch brigade. Even his ſmall motley band of French auxiliaries execrate his memory as a moſt cruel tyrant, and repreſent with bitter imprecations, the ignominy and hardſhips to which he ſubjected them.

The carnage on this occaſion is very much to be lamented, though it was much leſs than might have been expected in a large city entered by ſtorm, and filled with people, whoſe oppoſition was continued in the ſtreets and from the houſes, and where no incentive was wanting to gratify luſt, rapine, and revenge. But it ſhould be for ever remembered, to the honour of the general officer who conducted the aſſault, and others who ſeconded his humane efforts, that the effuſion of blood was very ſoon reſtrained, and under circumſtances of provocation which ſufficiently proved, if proof were ever wanting, the humanity of the Britiſh character. Nor, in the courſe of that plunder which the laws of war allow, in certain caſes, to the conquerors, was any defenceleſs inhabitant killed, nor any woman treated with wanton brutality.

That the French republicans obtained the quarter which they ſo ill deſerved, muſt be imputed to accident rather than to any diſpoſition in their favour. The party had ſhut themſelves up with the defenders of the palace till the firſt burſt of violence was paſt, and, mixing with them, partook of the mercy by which they were preſerved. Their appearance, in every reſpect, was extremely mean; though their commander, (for there was an elderly man among them who certainly bore ſome ſort of ſuperior commiſſion,) diſplayed ſomewhat of the military veteran in his appearance.

The two ſons of Tippoo who had been hoſtages at Madras, comforted themſelves with a decent and manly reſignation to their fate. They were ignorant of their father's death until the body was found, it being believed by them, as it was ſuſpected by us, that he had eſcaped. Tippoo was ſo infatuated as not to entertain an apprehenſion of the cataſtrophe which befel him. He conſidered himſelf as in a ſtate of perfect ſecurity in his capital, where he retained all his family and treaſures, inſtead of ſending them off to remote ſtrong-holds, where they might at leaſt have been preſerved from a victorious enemy. His principal people, and all the inhabitants, poſſeſſed the ſame confidence; ſo that no preparations had been made for concealment or for flight. The plunder of the town was conſequently very great, and many of the ſoldiers, both native and European, poſſeſſed themſelves of very precious effects in gold and jewels. Conſiderable fortunes are alſo ſuppoſed to have been made by perſons of higher rank, in the way of purchaſe.

The houſes of the chief ſirdars, as well as thoſe of the merchants and ſhroffs, were completely pillaged; while the women, alarmed for their perſonal ſafety, emptied their coffers, and brought forth whatever jewels they poſſeſſed. Fortunately, however, for the army in general, the palace was ſecured, and all the riches it contained reſerved for the army at large as captured property. They are immenſe, and conſiſt of jewels, gold and ſilver plate, rich ſtuffs, and various other articles of great price and rarity. The quantity of money yet diſcovered, though great in itſelf, is by no means equal to what might have been expected from the known extent of Tippoo's revenues and expenditure. Many lacks of ſpecie it is ſuppoſed are not yet found; and it is equally probable that they never will be recovered.

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This enormous mass of wealth appeared to be arranged without taste or judgment. All the various and extensive buildings, except the zenana and the state durbars, were appropriated for its reception. A succession of quadrangles, with their ranges of storehouses and galleries, were filled with those articles which were the least susceptible of injury. The jewels are kept in large dark rooms, strongly secured, behind one of the durbars, and are deposited in coffers. In the same manner is preserved the greater part of the gold plate, both solid and in fillagreen; of which last manufacture there is an almost endless variety of most beautiful articles. The jewelry is set in gold, in the form of bracelets, rings, necklaces, aigrettes, plumes, &c. &c. In an upper and very long apartment is contained the silver plate, solid and fillagreen, of all dimensions and fashions. In one of the galleries are two elephant howders, entirely of this metal. There are many pieces of massive silver plate richly inlaid with gold, and a few with gold and jewels. The greater part of this treasure must have been the plunder of the unhappy Mysore family, and of many other inferior rajahs, which Tippoo and his father Hyder have amassed, after the extermination of their respective possessors. Two of the most capital articles are, however, of his own purchase, and are deposited in two small rooms on each side of the hall of audience. The one is a throne, estimated at a lack of pagodas, and the other is a howder of equal value. The repositories of curious and costly fire-arms and swords are equally astonishing, and some of the latter most magnificently adorned with gold and jewels; the greatest part of these have been presents, and several of them are of English manufacture. Among the palankeens of state were found those which had been presented by the Marquis Cornwallis to the two young princes who were hostages with him, which appear never to have been unpacked. There were also several door posts of ivory, of exquisite workmanship. To this succession of treasure may be added various extensive warehouses filled with the richest furniture, and most costly carpets. In short, there was every thing that power could command, or money could purchase, in this stupendous collection. Telescopes of every size, spectacles of every sight, with looking-glasses and pictures in unbounded profusion; while of china and glass ware, there was sufficient to form a large mercantile magazine. But amidst the confusion that appeared in the arrangement, there was an unexpected degree of regularity; the whole being accurately registered, and every articlebe aring its correspondent label. Tippoo, whose desire of hoarding was insatiable, passed the greatest part of his leisure hours in reviewing this various and splendid assemblage of his riches.

Nor is this all. Tippoo, with his tyrannic nature, blended the love of literature, and was possessed of a very large and curious library. The volumes are kept in chests, each having a separate wrapper; so that they are in general in excellent preservation. Some of these, which have been examined, were very richly adorned, and beautifully illuminated in the manner of the Roman missals. This library, which contains many thousand volumes, will, it is imagined, be presented by the army to the English nation, and will form the finest, most curious, and valuable collection of Oriental learning, and history, that has been introduced into Europe.

The collection of military stores rivals

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rivals the arſenal of Madras. The ordnance mounted on the works were very numerous. The quantity of ordnance and muſket ammunition expended during the ſiege muſt have been immenſe, from the conſtant heavy fire which was maintained, and which, from the variety of its bearings, could never be ſilenced. The gunpowder, to the manufacture of which great attention appears to have been paid, was better than ours: ſome of the ſhot were thrown from the walls conſiderably within our lines, which were at the diſtance of two miles. All his braſs ſix-pounders, which were fifty-one in number, are ſaid to be Engliſh; the others were, in general, caſt in his own foundery, and curiouſly ornamented. One braſs forty-two pounder, and one braſs ſixteen-inch howitzer, with a great number of his iron ordnance, are of Engliſh manufacture; and it is ſaid, that he did not ſucceed ſo well in caſting iron as braſs ordnance. Tippoo had eſtabliſhed powder mills on the European conſtruction; but as they were without the walls, and on the ſide of our approaches, he had deſtroyed them. There is a paper mill alſo, within the fort, on a large ſcale. The ſtores of grain ſurpaſſed all credibility. In the ſtables there were found only a few fine ſtallions and breod mares; his cavalry being at this time in the field.

The body of the fort appears as large as Tritchinopoly, but its defences and outworks are infinitely more extenſive; and as the moſt laborious additions were continually making to it, there is little doubt, when its inſular ſituation is conſidered, that it would have been in a ſhort time rendered impregnable. Its population is very great, and the moſque lately erected is a magnificent ſtructure: but neither the ancient Myſore palace, nor the pagodas, are on a grand ſcale. The ruins of the pettah, or citadel, form a very ſtriking ſpectacle: they occupy more ground than the fort and black town of Madras, including the vacant ſpace, and cover the greateſt part of the iſland. It is cloſely built, and in regular ſtreets, and nothing remains but the walls of the houſes. It is, however, a pleaſing reflection, that its former inhabitants ſtill exiſt, and are returning by degrees to reſtore their former dwellings: the deſerted villages will alſo be ſhortly re-inhabited; and there is every reaſon to believe that the fertile environs of Seringapatam will ſoon be ſeen to flouriſh in a renewed ſtate of cultivation. One material miſchief will not, however, be eaſily remedied, which is the draining off the vaſt body of water of the Mooltutillera lake; it was kept up by natural mounds, and by means of ſluices a large tract of country was watered. It is about twelve miles from Seringapatam; and the army is encamped near its bed. Its ordinary depth is about forty feet; and Tippoo had employed a vaſt number of people for ſeveral weeks, and under his own inſpection, to make a breach in the mound, which is really tremendous, being an hundred feet deep, and as much more in breadth and thickneſs.

Of the two gardens in the iſland, the Haulbaugh, and the Dowlet Baugh, the former has been already deſcribed: the latter, being cloſe under the walls of the fort, was not in our poſſeſſion in the laſt war. It contains a large, ancient, and handſome manſion; but has neither tomb or mauſoleum. It formed the head quarters of the commander in chief. On one end of the building was repreſented, as may be ſuppoſed, in a miſerable ſtyle of painting, the

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defeat of Colonel Baillie, which the painter repreſented with every exaggeration that might flatter the vanity of the conqueror. The haulbaugh was employed as a field hoſpital.

The houſes of Seringapatam are very ſpacious, and well conſtructed; but the interior embelliſhments are without variety, and as gaudy as blended colours and gilding can make them. The ſtreets are like thoſe of Tanjore, but contain a larger proportion of houſes of two ſtories. The ſituation of the ancient capital of the Myſore dominions, muſt have been originally choſen on account of its ſtrength, as its diſtrict is naturally barren. It is indebted for its population and fertility to the moſt perſevering induſtry in procuring the means of watering it. The water-courſes from the river, as well as the diſtant lakes and tanks, in all directions, are ſtupendous works. The principal ones are finiſhed with ſtone, with bridges at convenient intervals.

The chief ſirdar, Kummer-ud-Deen Khan, ſurrendered himſelf at our out poſts, on the fourth day of the capture; as did Tippoo's eldeſt legitimate ſon, and Hyder Saib, his eldeſt illegitimate ſon, who commanded a ſeparate army. All the ſircar's horſes were ſhortly after delivered up, and there has been ſelected a ſufficient number of them to complete the king's regiments of dragoons ſerving on the coaſt, as well as the company's eſtabliſhment of native cavalry. Upwards of two thouſand of an inferior deſcription were transferred to the Nizam. The draft and carriage bullocks, with the camels and elephants, have alſo been ſurrendered; ſo that the army will be immediately furniſhed with every neceſſary equipment. To crown the whole, the diſperſed and affrighted natives are returning in great numbers to their former ſituations.

As a proof of the mental derangement of the late Sultaun, which his ſubjects in general confirm, he neglected for ſeveral months paſt the war department, and particularly that branch of it which related to the maintenance of thoſe animals which are ſo eſſentially neceſſary to it; an object to which his father Hyder, throughout his reign, and himſelf till very lately, had paid ſuch unremitted attention: ſo that his bullocks and his horſes, his elephants and his camels, were almoſt ſtarved, and the people who had the care of them in long arrears of pay: This, too, at a time when he muſt have expected to be attacked by us; and had actually invited an army of French auxiliaries, who were deſtitute of every kind of equipment, and muſt neceſſarily have been provided by him with the means to render their ſervice effectual. Nor is this all: After he had formed thoſe plans of ambition which brought on his ruin, he deprived twelve thouſand fighting men of thoſe lands which they held by military tenure, and annihilated at once ſo large a portion of his ſtrength at the very moment when his empire was threatened with that deſtruction which has ſo rapidly overtaken it.

THE CELEBRATED CAVERN AT ELEPHANTA.

We learn from Bombay, that part of one of the three gigantic figures in the ſubterraneous cavern of the famous Elephanta, has from ſome unknown cauſe lately been thrown down: a circumſtance which even

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even the Portugueze themſelves, when formerly inſpired by bigotry, on making themſelves maſters of this place, could not effect, though they brought field pieces to their aid. This famous iſland is very frequently viſited by ſelect parties from Bombay, who view with ſurprize one of the moſt extraordinary caverns in the world. This vaſt excavation is hewn out of the ſolid rock, exhibiting a ſubterraneous temple eighty or ninety feet long, by forty broad, ſupported by two regular rows of equidiſtant pillars; and at the end of this aſtoniſhing cavity ſtand the three ſtupendous figures above alluded to, the *face* of one of which is at leaſt five feet in length.

The floor of this vaſt apartment is generally covered with water, which cannot ſoak away or drain off; and from this circumſtance it is conjectured the late fall has been occaſioned.

Fac ſimilies of the inſcription of this cavern have been made by that ingenious artiſt Mr. Wales, who has employed himſelf in making deſigns of the excavations and ſculptures at different parts on the weſtern ſide of India. Although theſe inſcriptions have not yet been decyphered, there is every reaſon to hope, that the learned Mr. Wilford, who has already ſucceeded in explaining ſome other Sanſcrit inſcriptions, will be able, with the aſſiſtance of the ancient ſages of Benares, to diſcover the characters in which they are compoſed.

An ACCOUNT ſhewing the Amount of the IMPORTS to, and EXPORTS from, the ſeveral Preſidencies in India, for three years paſt, ſo far as the ſame can be made up from the Materials in the Poſſeſſion of the East India Company; diſtinguiſhing what has been Imported and Exported through the channel of the Shipping of the Company, or on the account of private Traders; alſo what has been Imported or Exported by the Shipping of other Countries.

BENGAL IMPORTS.	By the Comp^{y}'s Ships, or Ships under Engliſh Colours.		TOTAL.	By Ships under Foreign Colours.	TOTAL.
	On the Co^{y}'s Account.	In Private Trade.		In Private Trade.	
1795-6.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
From Europe	202,331	281,087	483,418	313,130	796,548
From India	44,400	uncertain.	44,400	*549,365	593,765
From America	——	——	——	172,887	172,387
	246,731	281,087	527,818	1,035,382	1,563,200
1796-7.					
From Europe	219,393	206,828	426,221	130,262	556,483
From India	29,998	†174,000	203,998	245,808	449,806
From America	——	——	——	179,774	179,774
	249,391	380,828	630,219	555,844	1,186,063
1797-8.					
From Europe	211,194				
From India	43,411				
	254,605				

The accounts of the imports in private trade for 1797-8 are on board the Buſſbridge, not yet arrived (9th July 1799) from St. Helena; calculating by the import duties collected, the amount was £.522,000.

* Including Manilla, China, New South Wales, and Penang; the Imports on the Company's ſhips, or ſhips under Engliſh colours, not diſtinguiſhed.——† Eſtimated.

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BENGAL EXPORTS.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1795-6.					
To Europe	1,278,709	975,420	2,254,129	548,975	2,803,104
To India, the Cape St. Helena, and China	[a] 127,781	[b] 447,020	574,801	174,678	749,479
To America	——	——	——	226,121	226,121
	1,406,490	1,422,440	2,828,930	949,774	3,778,704
1796-7.					
To Europe	482,839	589,199	1,072,038	371,454	1,443,492
To India, the Cape St. Helena, and China	[c] 329,992	[d] 208,800	538,792	314,980	853,781
To America	——	——	——	296,991	296,991
	812,831	797,999	1,610,830	983,434	2,594,264
1797-8.					
To Europe	1,620,695				
To India, the Cape, St. Helena, and China	[e] 188,578				
	1,809,273				

The accounts of the exports in private trade for this year are on board the Bufbridge, not yet arrived from St. Helena; calculated by the export duties collected, the amount was £.1,573,308.

[a] Including Treasure £.94,485.
[b] To Manilla included.
[c] - - - Do. - - 252,405.
[d] Estimated.
[e] - - - Do. - - 118,774.

The current rupee valued at 2s.

By the Company's Ships, or Ships under Engliſh Colours on the Company's Account.

FORT ST. GEORGE IMPORTS.

	1795-6	1796-7	1797-8
Europe	£.134,944	152,560	195,178
India -	[f] 116,899	[g] 229,008	[h] 158,010
	251,843	381,568	353,188

BOMBAY IMPORTS.

	1795-6	1796-7	1797-8
Europe	£.60,141	226,379	210,034
India, &c.	25,228	19,158	
	85,423	245,537	210,034

FORT ST. GEORGE EXPORTS.

	1795-6	1796-7	1797-8
Europe	264,182	768,855	394,662
India -	[i] 33,718	[i] 33,602	[k] 40,683
	297,900	802,457	435,345

BOMBAY EXPORTS.

	1795-6	1796-7	1797-8
Europe	172,061	115,571	315,141
India, &c.	32,615	28,354	27,804
	204,676	143,925	342,945

[f] Treasures from Bengal included - - £.97,817
[g] Do. - - Do. - - - - 220,952
[h] Do. - - Do. - - - - 124,274
[i] Chiefly ſalt to Bengal.
[k] Salt to Bengal 24,496l. Treaſure to Amboyna, &c. 15,947l.

The Pagoda valued at 8s.

The Bombay rupee valued at 2s. 3d.

(Errors excepted.) W. WRIGHT,
Auditor of Indian Accounts.

Eaſt India Houſe, 9th July 1799.

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To the EDITOR *of the* ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER.

LONDON, *Feb.* 1, 1800.

SIR,

Tho' a considerable time has elapsed since my rencontre with the tyger, yet it is sufficiently impressed on my memory to enable me to comply with your request, and to relate the most particular circumstances.

On the 15th January 1776, being chief of the council of revenue of Dinagepore in Bengal, Rajah Bidenaut sent to inform me, that his huntsmen had surrounded a tyger with a net, at about two miles distance, and invited me and the gentlemen of the factory to see some royal sport. I accepted the invitation, and, accompanied by all the Europeans present, (to the number of 15 or 16,) went after breakfast to the sport, where I found the rajah had erected a temporary stage for our accommodation. The space enclosed by the netting might be about thirty yards square, full of briars and underwood, and very long grass. It was a considerable time before the rockets and crackers which were thrown to rouse the tyger had any effect: at length, however, he sprang up, and with a tremendous roar made a violent effort to escape: but the netting withstood his endeavours, and the multitude of spear-men, &c. who received him with weapons of all descriptions, obliged him almost instantly to retire again into the thickest part of the cover. It was not long, however, ere he made a second attempt, and alarmed, probably at the fire and noise which surrounded him, with a fierceness and fury not to be resisted, he again sprang upon the netting; it gave way before him, and in a moment he was at large and in the midst of the mob, who were collected in great numbers to enjoy the sport. Thus situated, you will easily suppose he had little time to attack particular persons, but hastened to rid himself of such troublesome visitors as speedily as possible. It was therefore almost laughable to observe with what ease and expedition he put this man by to the right, and that to the left, marking with his claws the arms of one and the thighs of another, as happened to be in the line of his flight. He immediately made across some meadows, and soon reached another thicket, tho' not till almost every gentleman and many of the natives had discharged their muskets at him. By this time it was near four o'clock in the afternoon, and it was determined, against every suggestion of prudence and propriety, not to wait for the nets being placed round the copse, but to arouse and attack him without them. Elated with the sport, we neither took nor thought of precautions of personal safety, but pressed round the thicket with as little hesitation as if the enemy was already disarmed and at our mercy. Just at this time I saw him couched at a small distance from me; I fired my piece with good aim, and, as the animal did not attempt to move or alter his position, I concluded I had killed him. I had already put the bushes aside, and was proceeding on my hands and knees to creep in and bring the victim to the open plain, when my brother, (the present professor of Anatomy at Cambridge,) requested me to wait till he had given his fire, that we might make it certain no accident could happen: I objected to this over caution, as I thought it; saying, we should spoil the skin by making too many shot-holes in it: however, he fired his piece, and at that very same instant the

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the tyger ſprang upon me and bore me down. On the firſt moment of recollection I found him devouring my left arm; when, by the utmoſt exertion of my ſtrength and activity, I contrived to get upon my legs, tho' much incommoded by briars and underwood: the animal now ſucceeded in getting his two fore-feet round my body, and had my left arm faſt in his jaws; in this ſtate I ſhoved him inſtinctively as it were before me, till at length ſome friendly little buſh entangling his hind legs, he fell backwards, and in falling he quitted his hold of me. Being thus fortunately liberated from my enemy, he was creeping very quietly towards the edge of the thicket, intending, no doubt, to ſeek a ſafer aſylum; but this he was not permitted to do, for the fellows who, with their ſticks and ſtaves, and ſpears and drums, ſurrounded the copſe in every direction, feeling themſelves valiant from their noiſe and numbers, met him at the outſkirt, and literally beat him in again. Unfortunately for me he returned by the ſame courſe he went, and before I had time or recollection to move five ſteps from the ſpot in which he had left me, he again flew at and ſeized me by the right thigh, and this too at the moment when I began to congratulate myſelf with having eſcaped from his clutches: It was in vain that I kicked him and hauled him about, hanging as he did with all his weight on my thigh; but having recovered the terror of the firſt onſet, I was now perfectly collected, and aware of my ſituation. A large tree, ſome of whoſe branches approached very near the ground, was not many ſteps from me: I hauled my adverſary after me towards it, and laying hold of the firſt branch I could reach, I lifted myſelf off the ground by the ſtrength of my arms, ſo that he hung ſuſpended in the air attached to my thigh, by the force of his teeth only. It could not be poſſible for either of us to continue many moments in this extremity, and happy it was for me that, maimed and wounded, and faint as he was, he once more let go his hold, and, dropping on the ground, crawled away from me into a thick part of the copſe. I no ſooner ſaw the way clear, than in an inſtant I forced through thorns and briars, and all other obſtacles, and rejoined my friends, who had given me up for loſt. An examination of my wounds immediately took place, and we were agreeably ſurpriſed to find them chiefly confined to the fleſhy part of my arm and thigh, and that there were none mortal, though I was fainting from the loſs of blood. In ſhort, by means of the able and attentive aſſiſtance I had with me, I perfectly recovered the uſe of both arm and thigh in the courſe of a month. Some of my friends, exaſperated at what had happened, would not quit the field till they had fully revenged my ſufferings; and in the evening I had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the dead tyger brought to my houſe. The whole of the time I was actively engaged in this rencontre, I am ſure did not exceed three minutes; and although my deareſt friends, and fifty other people, were within five yards of me, it was not poſſible for either of them to render me the leaſt aſſiſtance, fearing, that any ſhot from a muſket, or ſtroke of a ſpear or ſabre, tho' intended to deſtroy my adverſary, in the quick ſucceſſion and change of place and attitude which fluctuated every moment, might fall upon me. I hope the above detail has not been too tedious, and that you will allow me to ſubſcribe myſelf, dear ſir, &c.

WM. HARWOOD.

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STATE PAPERS.

MINUTE *of Lord* TEIGNMOUTH, *the late Governor-General of India, of the* 13*th January* 1798,—&c.

WE are happy in having an opportunity to preſent to our Readers the Minute recorded by Sir JOHN SHORE (now Lord TEIGNMOUTH), the late Governor-General of India, on the ſubject of the Revolution in Oude, from a copy which was printed by order of the Houſe of Commons during the laſt Seſſion of Parliament.

The able illuſtration which this paper contains, of an event perhaps as momentous to the Britiſh intereſts in India, as any that has taken place ſince the Sovereignty of the Engliſh was firſt eſtabliſhed, renders it unneceſſary for us to enter into a circumſtantial detail of particulars, until the ſubject ſhall come to be viewed in the general and due courſe of the hiſtorical relation which forms a principal part of the project of our future annual labours.

The elevation of Vizier Ally to the muſnud of Oude, at the juncture when it took place, was an act of unavoidable neceſſity: the death of the late Vizier Aſoph ud Dowlah was ſudden and unexpected; and the ſucceſſion could not have been deferred without a riſk of ſerious diſturbances throughout the country. Vizier Ally, notwithſtanding the univerſal conviction that he was of ſpurious origin, was the acknowledged ſon of the deceaſed Nabob, and the preſumptive heir to his titles and ſtation: his elevation had the ſanction of the elder Begum, the mother of Aſoph, and the widow of Shujah ud Dowlah, and the apparent concurrence of the principal people at Lucknow; and on theſe grounds it received the acknowledgment of the Governor-General at Calcutta.

But the ſpurious birth of the young Nabob was too notorious to be paſſed over in ſilence: every peaſant believed it, and every voice proclaimed it. The offspring of a Frauſh * was an object of contempt; but, in the character of a Prince, he became terrible. Inveſted with power, he diſplayed the baſeneſs of his birth by the depravity of his morals. The wildeſt debauchery, boundleſs profuſion, cruelty, and unbridled luſt, marked his character and conduct. Such of the Nobles as had concurred in his elevation, repented of their acquieſcence; and even the Begum, his patroneſs, and Ahnas, her counſellor, which latter from the firſt was averſe to his title, trembled for their perſonal ſafety.

The Governor-General, who had early foreſeen the neceſſity of his preſence in Oude, repaired thither as ſoon as the ſeaſon admitted; and the reſult of his inquiries, and the ſteps he took in conſequence of thoſe inquiries, are detailed in the Minute

* A ſweeper.

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now submitted to the Public. The affair terminated in the depoſition of the Vizier Ally, and in the ſucceſſion of the eldeſt ſurviving ſon, the legitimate repreſentative of the much reſpected Houſe of Shujah ud Dowlah, to the general ſatisfaction of the people at large.

Next to the reaſons which induced the Governor-General to reſolve on ſo important a ſtep, the ability with which the revolution was conducted attracts our attention. And here we cannot avoid remarking, not only the wiſdom that planned, and the energy that executed, but likewiſe the humanity that governed the accompliſhment of his meaſure: the arrangements were made in ſo judicious a manner, that all reſiſtance was ſubdued without having recourſe to violence; and Saadut Ally aſcended a throne unpolluted by the blood of his fellow-creatures.

In the ſequel we find, that the reputation of the Company's Government for moderation, as well as for juſtice, was cautiouſly preſerved, in granting to the depoſed and moſt unworthy Vizier an honourable and affluent retirement, notwithſtanding the Governor-General was well aware of his character, which he had before depicted* to the Council in its true colours, and had pointed out to them his ſanguinary diſpoſition, in language almoſt prophetic of the fatal conſequences that followed.

Humanity, however, and moderation, when carried into exceſs, loſe their intended effect, and ceaſe to be a benefit. The recent murder of Mr. CHERRY, and the other Engliſh gentlemen at Benares, attended with circumſtances of unparalleled atrocity, cauſe us to lament that the diabolical perpetrator had not, on his firſt removal, been doomed to rigorous and well-merited confinement. We nevertheleſs find conſolation from reflecting what a far more dreadful cataſtrophe would have enſued †, had he been ſuffered to remain in power, and mature the ſchemes which he had laid with his aſſociates for the general extermination of all the English.

Few perſons, locally unacquainted with the Eaſt, are aware how intimately connected is the proſperity—we might almoſt add, the exiſtence, of Britiſh India, with maintaining a paramount influence in the country of Oude. It is not only the intereſt of the English to protect Oude from foreign foes, but likewiſe to watch over its internal adminiſtration, and guard it from the dilapidation of its own weak or vicious rulers. Our right of legiſlative interference has already been diſcuſſed and admitted in the trial of Mr. HASTINGS. Oude is the frontier barrier of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in their moſt vulnerable quarter. Conquerors of the Eaſt have always come from the North; we have more to apprehend from the Abdallies than from the French—from the warriors of Perſia, than from the combined force of all the Hindu potentates.

The late Governor-General, purſuing the ſteps of his noble predeceſſor, eſtabliſhed the adminiſtration of India on a ſyſtem of as much purity as, perhaps, the government of a country is ſuſceptible of. The energy of the preſent Governor-General has called its reſources into action. The valour of our Troops, and the glory of the Nation, never ſhone with more tranſcendant brightneſs than they do at this moment in India; and we have no doubt, that the name of MORNINGTON will be handed down upon the rolls of fame, and inſcribed by his grateful Country, on the ſame tablet that perpetuates the virtues of HASTINGS, CORNWALLIS, and SHORE.

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* See the following Minute.

† It has been aſcertained that Vizier Ally and others were engaged in a traitorous correſpondence with Zemaun Shaw, whom they had invited to Hinduſtan.

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Copy of the MINUTE *of the* GOVERNOR GENERAL *of* BENGAL, *of the 13th January 1789; with the Papers therein referred to: and alſo a Copy of the* TREATY *with the Vizier* SAADUT ALLY, *and of ſuch parts of the Diſpatches of the Court of Directors, and of the Board of Commiſſioners for Affairs of India, as have relation to this ſubject.*

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, 30th January 1798.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S MINUTE.

THE ſituation in which the Company have been placed by the death of the Nabob Vizier, and by the conſequences of that event, is as ſingular as it is unprecedented in hiſtory. By an extraordinary concurrence of circumſtances, the Company were compelled to be the arbiters of the diſpoſal of a kingdom; and it was impoſſible to form a deciſion on the claims to the ſucceſſion, between the reputed ſons of the deceaſed nabob Aſoph ud Dowlah, and the lineal deſcendants of his father Shuah ud Dowlah, free from great doubt and objection.

After the matureſt deliberation on the relative rights of Vizier Ally and Saadut Ally, taking them as the repreſentatives of the two families, I gave my opinion, not without heſitation, in favour of Vizier Ally's claim to the ſucceſſion, as the preſumptive eldeſt ſon and heir apparent of the deceaſed Nabob, on his acknowledgment of him as his ſon, corroborated by a ſeries of correſponding acts and declarations, and by the ſentence of the Mahommedan law ſupporting the validity of ſuch acknowledgment. The acquieſcence of the Begum, the apparent general conſent of the inhabitants of Lucknow, the danger of admitting reports, however notorious, in diſqualification of the hereditary rights of the princes of India, the injuſtice of declaring on ſuch grounds a numerous family of the deceaſed prince ſpurious, with other conſiderations, were auxiliary arguments in ſupport of our deciſion; nor did I think myſelf authoriſed to propoſe a reverſal of it on the information of Tehſeen Ally Khan, which, whilſt it ſtrongly confirmed the popular belief of the ſpurious birth of Vizier Ally, did not, as it then ſtood, amount to proof that he was not the ſon of Aſoph ud Dowlah, or poſitively the ſon of a Frauſh.

I have nevertheleſs ſince found it impoſſible to diveſt myſelf of the impreſſion excited by the univerſal belief and aſſertion, that Vizier Ally is of ſpurious origin; and of the apprehenſion ſo obviouſly connected with it, that the juſtice and reputation of the Company might ſuffer an imputation by a deciſion in his favour.

The arrangements which I had in view when I left Calcutta, had no reference, however, to an alteration of the ſucceſſion; but, under the ſtated impreſſion, I conceived it poſſible, that the repugnance of the inhabitants of Oude to the title of Vizier Ally might be ſuch as to force upon me the farther conſideration of it.

The miniſter met me at Juanpore; and the information which I received from him confirmed the details in my addreſs to the Vice-Preſident in Council of the 4th ultimo: But as our conferences embraced, not only the events which had taken place ſubſequent to the acceſſion of Vizier Ally, but the conſiderations which had occurred to me on the

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ſucceſſion, I ſhall firſt connectedly ſtate the ſubſtance of his communications on this laſt point, of my own inquiries in conſequence, and the reſult of them.

The miniſter informed me, without reſerve, that there was but one opinion on this ſubject, viz. That Vizier Ally, and all his reputed brethren, were, without any exception, ſpurious: that neither Vizier Ally, nor any of the ſons of the deceaſed Nabob, in the public eſtimation, had a ſhadow of right to the ſucceſſion; and that the title of Saadut Ally, by the rules of juſtice, was indiſputable: that it was no leſs true, that at the period of the elevation of Vizier Ally, no objection was made to it; but, ſoon afterwards, many of the principal people at Lucknow expreſſed their aſtoniſhment and diſappointment at his elevation, and the former miniſter, Hoſſein Reza Khan, had, both to himſelf and the reſident, declared his opinion, that the deciſion in favour of Vizier Ally had been haſty and inconſiderate: that, at preſent, few would be diſpoſed to declare their real ſentiments in oppoſition to the acknowledgment of Vizier Ally's title by the Engliſh Government, and to the inclination of the elder Begum, who was cloſely united with him: that Vizier Ally had, moreover, gained many partizans, particularly among the ſoldiery, by his profuſe liberality to them, and by the expectation held out to them of future benefits of the ſame nature; and that many others had been attached to him by the influence and ſupport of the Begum; but that theſe circumſtances had not changed the public ſentiments upon the juſtice of Saadut Ally's claim to the muſnud, however it might now be concealed: that, with reſpect to the ſhare which he had in placing Vizier Ally on the muſnud, it was dictated by circumſtances of emergency, which precluded a poſſibility of a reference to Calcutta, by the preſumptive title of Vizier Ally, as heir apparent and eldeſt ſon of the deceaſed ſovereign, by the general ſentiments of the people then preſent, including Europeans as well as natives, and, above all, by the deciſion of the Begum in favour of the reputed ſons of Aſoph ud Dowlah, inſtead of thoſe of Shujah ud Dowlah, whom ſhe pointedly rejected. He did not pretend to aſſert that Saadut Ally had any partizans, and he knew that enmity has long ſubſiſted between him and the Begum; that Saadut Ally, in fact, was extremely unpopular with all deſcriptions of people, particularly from his known parſimony.—This information, as far as it regards the univerſal opinion of the ſpurious birth of Vizier Ally, and that he had no right to the muſnud, was confirmed in moſt unqualified terms by a man known by the name of Burra Mirza, who was formerly darogah of the Dewan Khauneh under the nabob Shujah ud Dowlah, and of a reſpectable family and character.

The impreſſion made by this communication, of the truth of which it was impoſſible to doubt, was ill calculated to ſatisfy my conviction of the juſtice of our deciſion in favour of Vizier Ally. It ſhewed that the ſentiments of the inhabitants at Lucknow, who had expreſſed their ſatisfaction at the elevation of Vizier Ally to the muſnud, were, upon reflection, very different from thoſe which they had avowed in the preſſure of a moment of ſurpriſe and emergency; and the determination which I formed upon the communication of the miniſter, was, to proſecute inquiry as far as I could, without exciting ſuſpicion, as well regarding the birth of Vizier

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tier Ally and his reputed brethren, as with respect to the general sentiments of his right to the musnud, and his conduct subsequent to his accession.

In the determination, I availed myself of every opportunity which occurred during the course of a protracted journey, as well as after my arrival at Lucknow; and the information which I have been enabled to procure, may be reduced to the following summary:

The Parentage of Vizier Ally, and that of the reputed Sons of Asoph ud Dowlah.

The only positive information which I have on these points, was collected from Tehseen Ally Khan, and is contained in the papers referred to in the margin.* It is to be observed, that they have a reference to some prior and intermediate verbal communications.

The first contains an account of the children of Rehmut, the mother of Vizier Ally. The second, some questions, with explanatory answers of Tehseen Ally Khan. The third, a history of the other surviving children of the deceased Nabob.

From these and other communications, the following circumstances are established: that the mother of Vizier Ally was a Fraushnee, or wife of a Fraush, now living: her name was Rehmut; and she exercised the employment of a Fraushnee, the lowest occupation of a menial servant, in Tehseen's house, where females, purchased by the Nabob, occasionally remained until the increase of their numbers made their removal into the Zenana necessary. Rehmut usually accompanied them there. Her monthly wages were four rupees. She was not confined to the Zenana, but quitted it daily, which is the custom of all others of the same description, and went to her husband's house. She was never admitted into the Zenana in any other capacity, nor considered in any other light during the course of her service. She had three children, the first a son, who died: the Nabob took him from his mother, paying five hundred rupees for him, and gave him the name of Mahommed Ameen. The second was also a son, and is now a Fraush in the department of Tehseen Ally Khan. The third was Vizier Ally. She had afterwards a daughter born in her own house; and may since have had some other children.

After the birth of Mahommed Ameen, Rehmut was discharged for some neglect of duty, but again pardoned, and re-admitted into service. During the interval of her dismission, which may have been two, or three, or four years, the second son was born. Mahommed Ameen and Vizier Ally were both born in the house of Tehseen Ally Khan. The mother, Rehmut, was not carried to his house to be delivered by the orders of the Nabob; he was not even acquainted with her pregnancy previous to the birth of Vizier Ally: Tehseen informed him of it, and the Nabob said, "I will take the child if she will let me have it for 500 rupees:" Rehmut consented, with a remark, that she came to lye-in at his house, that the Nabob might be induced to take the child as his own, in the expectation of receiving the same sum which was paid to her for Mahommed Ameen. The Nabob accordingly ordered Tehseen to pay her 500 rupees, and dismiss her, with directions never to send for her more, or allow her to come to his house again. —Tehseen's house adjoins the Ze-

* No. 1, 2, and 3.

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nana, but it is open to all the world: when the Nabob's women were kept there, they lodged in the upper apartments, which were quite private; Rehmut was never admitted into them but as a ſervant. Vizier Ally was born on the 15th Rubbee uſſaunee 1197 Hejira, in a room below ſtairs, open to public acceſs.

Tehſeen farther declares, that the women of the Zenana uſed to adviſe the Nabob to take children and bring them up, as he had none of his own. He allows, that the Nabob ever acknowledged Vizier Ally as his own ſon: but when he was angry with him, he uſed to allude to the lowneſs of his origin; and on theſe occaſions he ſaid, in preſence of hundreds, that he was not his ſon.

The particulars thus detailed were collected from inquiries put to Tehſeen at different times, and in a mode which I thought calculated to extract the truth. He underwent frequent examinations, both from the reſident and myſelf. The papers, No. 1 and 2, tranſlated, were ſworn to by Tehſeen in my preſence, and in that of the Perſian tranſlator.

The detail in No. 3, which does not include Vizier Ally, applies to fifteen children of the Nabob; thirteen of whom were born in the Zenana, of women purchaſed, and brought into it in a ſtate of pregnancy; and two were born out of the Zenana, and introduced into it when infants—It is as follows:

No. 3.

Particulars communicated to the Preſident, by Tehſeen Ally Khan, reſpecting the Sons of the late Nabob Vizier Aſoph ud Dowlah, now alive, Mirza Vizier Ally and Sherf Ally excepted, whoſe hiſtory, as far as it can be known, has already been detailed to the Governor General.

1. " Reza Ally, aged about fourteen years, was brought into the Zenana, when about ſix months old, by Rajah Jaoo Loll; his father and mother are unknown: the Nabob paid for him, through Jaoo Loll, one thouſand rupees. He was ever afterwards treated as a ſon of the Nabob, and was married, in the year 1795, to a daughter of his excellency's brother, Mirza Jungly.

2. " Huſſein Ally Khan, aged eleven years, was alſo brought into the Zenana, when a mere infant of about ten days old, by Rajah Jaoo Loll; his mother came into the Zenana with him, and is ſtill there. His father is unknown. He was purchaſed by the Nabob, at what price, my informer does not remember, and has been contracted in marriage, ſome years ago, to a daughter of Meer Neycen Khan, a relation of Huſſein Reza Khan, but the marriage ceremony was never performed.

3. " Ameer Ally Khan, about twelve years of age, was born in the Zenana; his mother was purchaſed by the Nabob through the agency of Rajah Jaoo Loll, a few months before her delivery, and is ſtill alive. His father is unknown. He was contracted many years ago (about nine) to a daughter of Mirza Jumma, the ſon of Mirza Ally Khan, uncle of Coſſin Ally Khan, but the marriage has not taken place.

4. " Shajet Ally Khan, aged ten years, was born in the Zenana; his mother was purchaſed when pregnant, through the means of Rajah Jaoo Loll. The father (as Tehſeen was told by the mother) was a Syed, or Nujeeb, but he knows not whether he is now dead or alive. He was contracted four years ago to a daughter of Ahmed Ally Khan, brother of Mirza Jumma, but the marriage ceremony has not been performed.

5. " Aſhoor Ally Khan, aged twelve years, was born in the Zenana; his mother was alſo purchaſed when pregnant, by Rajah Jaoo Loll, and is now alive. His father is unknown. He was contracted to a daughter of Mirza Enaiyet Ally, brother of the late Nabob, but there has been no marriage.

6. " Fuzzul Ally Khan, aged eleven years, was born in the Zenana; his father was a Shereef, from Mecca, and from him the Nabob purchaſed his wife, while pregnant of this boy, for a very large ſum. His mother is alive in the Zenana; but it is not known what has become of the father.

7. " Sufder Ally Khan, aged thirteen years, born in the Zenana; his mother is alive, and was purchaſed by the Nabob, about eight months before the delivery of the boy. His father is not known.

8. " Hoſſein

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8. "Hoſſein Ally Khan, aged about ten years, was born in the Zenana. His mother was purchaſed by the Nabob, about ſix months before his birth, and is now alive. His father is unknown.

9. "Amaunut Ally Khan, aged twelve years, born in the Zenana. His mother was bought by the Nabob, about ſix months before her delivery of this boy, and is ſtill alive. His father is unknown.

10. "Shajah Ally Khan, aged about eight years, born in the Zenana. His mother was a ſlave girl in the ſervice of ſome of the train of the prince Mirza Jewan Bucht, and was purchaſed when pregnant, about four months before her delivery. She is ſtill alive, but the father is unknown.

11. "Amaun Ally Khan, aged twelve years, born in the Zenana. His mother is alive, and was purchaſed by the Nabob, about ſix months before her delivery of this boy. His father is not known.

12. "Sauduck Ally Khan, aged five years, was born in the Zenana. His mother is ſtill alive, and was purchaſed by the Nabob about three months before ſhe was brought to bed of this ſon. His father is not known.

13. "Cauſſim Ally Khan, aged four years, was born in the Zenana. His mother was purchaſed by the Nabob; and was placed in the Zenana about three months and a half before the boy was born; ſhe is ſtill alive, but the father is unknown.

14. "One ſon, who has not yet received any name, but is diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Nomehaul, aged about two years and a half. He was born in the Zenana, his mother having been purchaſed by the Nabob, about five months prior to his birth; ſhe is ſtill in the Zenana, but the father is not known.

15. "There is alſo a ſecond Hoſſein Ally Khan, aged five years, who has always been kept in the Zenana to the northward of the Goomtee, formerly under the charge of Fouzdar Khan. This boy was born in that Zenana, and the mother is ſtill alive. Tehſeen ſays, that his mother was purchaſed by the Nabob when pregnant, but he knows not the exact time, as he had nothing to do with theſe apartments previous to Jaoo Loll's departure for Benares. His father is unknown. This boy was contracted, in January laſt, to a daughter of Sherf Ally Khan; the marriage has not taken place."

Tehſeen Ally Khan ſtates, that none of the eunuchs in the ſervice of the late Nabob, himſelf excepted, can ſpeak from perſonal knowledge to the above circumſtances; but that they are known to Jaoo Loll, and a man named Golaum Hoſſein, both of whom were in the habits of purchaſing women for his excellency. Golaum Hoſſein was turned out of the Nabob's ſervice for theft, and had his noſe cut off, when the Nabob went to Bhotool, about the month of May 1796. Tehſeen aſſerts, that the late nabob, Aſoph ud Dowlah, was in reality father of one ſon, named Bourhaun Ally Khan, who died at the age of two years and ſeven months, about eight or nine years ago. This boy's mother is alive; her name is Punna Bye, and Khetaub, or Titte Azimabadee. She was in the Zenana from the time of the nabob Shudah ud Dowlah, and never was permitted to ſee any other man except the late Vizier; ſhe is a Domeree, or Nauch woman. He alſo aſſerts that Aſoph ud Dowlah had another ſon, who died when only fifteen days old, when Colonel Hanney commanded at Goruckpoor. The child's mother is alſo dead. She was purchaſed at Delhi by a man named Mackinram, Major Polier's dewan; and to her care the preſent Nabob, Vizier Ally, was entruſted immediately after his birth. The Nabob erected a tomb to his memory at Maha Dewa Baug, five coſs from Fyzabad, on the oppoſite ſide of the Gogra. Her death happened eight or nine years ago. Her name was Fyzun Kiſſa Khaunum.

As it occurred to my recollection that another ſon of the deceaſed Nabob, and apparently older than Vizier Ally, had been publicly introduced by him as his ſon, I called upon the reſident for the particulars, which, with ſome information on the ſubject, are detailed in No. 4. I afterwards aſcertained

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the actual age of this boy to be between ſixteen and ſeventeen, and younger than Vizier Ally.

This is the only poſitive information I have been able to collect, reſpecting the reputed children of Aſoph ud Dowlah.

The following particulars will prove the ſentiments of many of the principal inhabitants at Lucknow on his elevation:—Huſſein Reza Khan obſerved to the reſident, ſoon after the acceſſion of Vizier Ally, that this important buſineſs had been haſtily and inconſiderately ſettled; to me he mentioned the prevailing reports to the prejudice of Vizier Ally's birth, with his own concurrence in the truth of them. He alſo informed me, as a corroborative circumſtance of the general opinion on this ſubject, that the marriage of the ſecond ſon, Reza Ally, with the daughter of Mirza Jungly, was compulſive on the latter, who had at the time conſulted him, and expreſſed his determination rather to put an end to his exiſtence than to ſubmit to the diſgrace of ſuch a connection; that his repugnance was ſolely overruled by his advice; and that, ſince the death of the Nabob, Mirza Jungly had taken back his daughter, with a determination to diſſolve the connection.

This account was afterwards confirmed by the nabob Immaumuddeen, brother of the younger Begum, widow of the deceaſed Nabob, who ſpoke of the conduct of Huſſein Reza, on this occaſion, in terms of reproach. The fact is notorious. In one amongſt many converſations which I had with the latter after my arrival at Lucknow, the courſe of it led to the following obſervations on my part, that I feared we had expoſed ourſelves to imputation by what had paſſed. His reply was, "you have not, but the Bhu Begum has; ſhe made the deciſion in a haſty moment, when her faculties were overpowered."

Tehſeen Ally Khan informed me, that the younger Begum ever refuſed to ſee any of the ſons of the late Nabob, and particularly Vizier Ally, when the late Nabob wiſhed to introduce him to her on the occaſion of his late nuptials. The propoſition was carried by Tehſeen himſelf, and the Begum declined it, with a civil anſwer to the Nabob, but with a remark to Tehſeen, that ſhe would not diſgrace the dignity of her family by admitting Vizier Ally into her preſence. The truth of this information was verified by the Begum's brother, and, without his explanation, might have been imputed to the general uſage of Hinduſtan, which does not permit the wives of princes to ſee other children of their huſbands by different women. The Begum herſelf, in a letter to the miniſter, received before my arrival at Lucknow, had uſed an expreſſion, that the ſucceſſion to the muſnud had taken place without inquiry or conſideration. I aſked her brother, the Nabob Immaumuddeen, the meaning of it. He then made the following communication in his own and ſiſter's name:—that Vizier Ally, and all the children of the deceaſed Nabob, were undoubtedly ſpurious; and that the elevation of Vizier Ally, whoſe father was a Frauſh, was a groſs injuſtice to the ſons of Shujah ud Dowlah: that if the Nabob had actually had a child of his own, the Begum, his ſiſter, would not have heſitated to take care of it; but that they were all baſe-born, which the elder Begum, as well as his ſiſter, knew, and had often mentioned. This was alſo ſtated by Tehſeen, who, with Almas and the Nabob Immaumuddeen, confirmed what had been repeated by many, that the late Nabob had often

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often himſelf called Vizier Ally baſe-born. Almas was abſent from Lucknow at the elevation of Vizier Ally: upon his arrival, he expreſſed himſelf without reſerve, that he had no title to the muſnud; and openly abuſed the confidential ſervants of the Begum for not preventing it. This was reported to the miniſter by others, and ſubſequently admitted by Almas himſelf.

The behaviour of the ſons of Shujah ud Dowlah is a confirmation of the popular belief, and of its impreſſion: they formally refuſed to attend the Nabob, or ſhew him any marks of external reſpect—a conduct which would never have been ventured, or tolerated, but under the univerſal impreſſion that his birth was ſpurious.

For the popular opinions on this ſubject, as affecting the right of the ſons of Shujah ud Dowlah, and the juſtice and reputation of the Company in acknowledging Vizier Ally, I refer to the ſentiments collected from the following perſons: Meer Abul Coſſim, nephew of Mocktar ud Dowlah, formerly miniſter; Mahommed Iſhauk Khan, vakeel of the prince Mirza Hajee, who reſides at Benares, and was commiſſioned by his maſter to carry a khebaut to Vizier Ally Khan; Abdul Lateef, vakeel of the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan, who has reſided for ſome months at Lucknow for the recovery of his health; Biſſember Pundit, repreſentative of the Berar Rajah; Mohobut Khan, ſon of the late Haphez Rhemut, reſpectable for character and conduct. Their opinions will alſo be found to corroborate the information of the miniſter, on this, as well as many other points.

Before I proceed to the inferences ſuggeſted by the preceding information, I think it proper to make ſome remarks on the characters, competency and evidence of the witneſſes to whom I have appealed; and as ſo much depends upon the evidence of Tehſeen Ally Khan, the credibility due to it muſt be weighed with the utmoſt attention. It is liable to two objections:—Firſt, That, having been latterly ill-treated by the Nabob, his evidence may be preſumed to be dictated by reſentment: Secondly, That it has variations which, if they cannot be reconciled or explained, ſubject his evidence to a ſuſpicion of falſehood or inaccuracy.

On the firſt point it is to be obſerved, that the account which Tehſeen originally gave to the reſident and miniſter, of the birth of Vizier Ally, was previous to any diſagreement between him and the Nabob, at a period when he was in favour with him, and when they were not without ſuſpicion that Tehſeen was ſecretly in his intereſt, from his daily communications with his father-in-law, Sherf Ally; and that the account which he then delivered, tended ſtrongly to confirm the popular belief that Vizier Ally was not the ſon of the Nabob, although it did not amount to proof that he was poſitively the ſon of his reputed father, a Frauſh.

It is farther to be obſerved, that the opinion of Vizier Ally's ſpurious birth, not only preceded his information, and all inquiries on the ſubject, but has ever and invariably exiſted from the moment of his firſt production by the late Nabob: Tehſeen's account, therefore, was not the ſource of it, but an explanation of the grounds of it, and goes only to ſubſtantiate the opinion which has always prevailed, although the circumſtances which gave riſe to it may not have been generally known, or in the elapſe of ſeventeen years may have been forgotten.

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If Tehſeen had been actuated by reſentment againſt Vizier Ally, his evidence would have been directed againſt him alone, and in favour of ſome of his brethren. It operates againſt all. This appears to me a ſufficient anſwer to the firſt objection, provided the ſecond, which ariſes from contraſting the account ſtated to have been delivered by Tehſeen to the reſident and miniſter, (and ſtated in my Minute of the 24th November) with that which he has detailed ſince my arrival at Lucknow, can alſo be obviated. In the former he is ſaid to aſſert, that Rehmut, the mother of Vizier Ally, both in the caſe of his birth, and that of the former ſon Mahommed Ameen, was ſent from the Zenana to be delivered in his houſe; and the inference which it ſuggeſted was this, that the Nabob certainly knew of her pregnancy, might ſuppoſe himſelf the father of the child, and conſigned the mother, during her delivery, to the care of Tehſeen; and under ſuch circumſtances, neither the low eſtate of the mother, nor the place of her delivery, as it then appeared, could have been admitted as a bar to the validity of his title, as a ſon of Aſoph ud Dowlah. The account which he has ſince given is, that ſhe came of herſelf to his houſe, and the Nabob did not even know of her previous pregnancy. This is the contradiction to which the object applies. To appreciate the weight of it, I deſired the reſident to call upon the miniſter in the preſence of Tehſeen, to ſtate his recollection of the account delivered by him, and communicated unofficially by the reſident to myſelf; and I annex his report and explanation. The miniſter's recollection did not enable him to ſpeak poſitively or accurately on the ſubject; he, however, perfectly remembers that Tehſeen had mentioned, that Vizier Ally's mother was a ſervant, receiving only four rupees per month; a circumſtance omitted by the reſident in his report.

When the converſation took place with Tehſeen, on the ſubject of Vizier Ally's birth, the ſuſpicions which the reſident and miniſter then entertained of Tehſeen's attachment to the miniſter, as well as other reaſons, precluded any minute examination of him; and the reſident, who wrote the account ſubſtantially on the following day, will not venture to aſſert that he did not miſunderſtand Tehſeen, who poſitively maintains the correctneſs of his information then given, and imputes any apparent inconſiſtency to the miſconception of the reſident. He himſelf is inclined to believe it, and that his miſconception aroſe from the caution obſerved in queſtioning Tehſeen, in the deſire of himſelf and the miniſter to avoid appearing minute in their inquiries, and that a particular examination might have led to the ſame detail which has ſince been given.

In this concluſion I concur. The reſident had always previouſly ſuppoſed, that the mother of Vizier Ally was one of the females in the haram; and this impreſſion would eaſily lead to a miſconception, on his part, of the account given by Tehſeen. That circumſtance in Tehſeen's information, which the miniſter recollects, is incompatible with ſuch a ſuppoſition, and renders it highly probable that he miſunderſtood Tehſeen; for, as he juſtly obſerves, if the circumſtance had not eſcaped his recollection, he could never have underſtood that Rehmut, the mother of Vizier Ally, was received into the Zenana in the ſame manner with the other women, whoſe children the Nabob purchaſed. The firſt information of Tehſeen was general; and, by connecting with

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with it the circumſtance recollected by the miniſter, and forgotten by the reſident, it admits of a reconciliation with his ſubſequent detail. The ſtated objections, therefore, to the information of Tehſeen, are, in my opinion, done away.

In favour of Tehſeen's evidence, the following obſervations occur: The candour of his declaration in affirming moſt poſitively that the deceaſed Nabob was actually the father of two children. The fact was unſuppoſed, and the aſſertion uncalled for; and as Tehſeen could not be ignorant of the object of theſe inquiries, he would naturally, upon a ſuppoſition of falſehood on his part, have concealed a circumſtance operating ſo ſtrongly againſt the inferences deducible from his information on other points, and his candour adds much to the weight of his general teſtimony.

The conſiſtency of his account, reſpecting the other children of the Nabob, is greatly in his favour. He delivered the detail verbally, without any premeditation or previous intimation that it would be required of him; and repeated it, upon ſeveral re-examinations, at different intervals, with no other than immaterial variations as to the periods of the birth of the children, and the introduction of their mothers into the Zenana,—points on which he never profeſſed to be accurate. If the account were falſe, that falſehood muſt have been detected on re-examination; for no common memory could have recapitulated a detail of this nature, without contradictions ſufficient to impeach the veracity of the informant. The account gives no preference to any child over Vizier Ally; if true, it equally operates to the prejudice of all. The name of Saadut Ally, or of any of the ſons of Shujah ud Dowlah, was never once mentioned to Tehſeen, or by him. His ſituation under the late Nabob was of a moſt confidential nature, and his truſts very extenſive. The expreſſion of Almas to me, in deſcribing it, was, that he had had every thing under his charge—not only the haram, but all the Nabob's property; and that he poſſeſſed the fulleſt confidence of his late maſter.

The circumſtances relating to the children are, as he himſelf obſerved, very generally known; but he alone, of all men, is competent to the detail; and if his veracity be allowed, his evidence is certainly the beſt that can be procured. Huſſein Reza Khan ſpoke highly in favour of his character. The credibility due to a witneſs is beſt eſtimated by his character, by the mode in which he gives his evidence, and by croſs-examination; by all theſe teſts, that of Tehſeen has every appearance of truth and accuracy. His character has never been impeached; and his attachment to his religion approaches to bigotry. With the Koran in his hands, he avouched the truth of the information delivered by him, as ſtated in the papers No. 1 and 2, which were tranſlated and read to him, and generally the truth of all that he had ſaid upon the ſubject of the late Nabob's children: in all the inquiries made of him by myſelf and the reſident, he appeared to poſſeſs the cleareſt recollection and accuracy; and his behaviour impreſſed me with the fulleſt conviction of the truth of his evidence.

The evidence of Tehſeen goes to one material point, the birth of Vizier Ally and all the children: The opinions of the others, *viz.* the miniſter, Burra Mirza, Meer Abul-Coſſim, Mahommed Iſhauk Khan, Abdul Lateef, Biſſember Pundit, and Mohobut Khan, to the popular ſenſe of the birth of Vizier Ally, and to the

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the juſtice of Saadut Ally's claim to the muſnud.

The firſt objection to the evidence of Tehſeen Ally Khan, applies alſo to the declarations of the miniſter, and Burra Mirza. The integrity of the miniſter's character, wherever it is known, will exempt him from the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion of being influenced by any improper motives, or capable of delivering an opinion contrary to his own conviction: his information, as far as it gives the popular ſenſe on this point, as well as in moſt other particulars, is confirmed by the teſtimony of every perſon who has delivered any: he was not privy to the examination of any of the others, nor was there any communication between any of the parties reſpectively. Of the Burra Mirza, I know no more than that his family and character are reſpectable. The remaining were appealed to as perſons unconnected with any party, unintereſted in any deciſion, and reſpectable from their characters and ſituation. I conſider them what they profeſs to be, the organs of the public opinions. Their ſentiments were communicated to the Perſian tranſlator; and an examination of his reports will ſhew the caution which was obſerved in obtaining them, and the little ſuſpicion the parties entertained of the object of the inquiries. Mohobut Khan can never be ſuſpected of having any partiality to a family which ſubverted his paternal rights.

Theſe, with the others whom I have mentioned in the courſe of theſe remarks, were the only perſons whoſe opinions on the ſubject have been committed to writing. I could name many others, who had expreſſed their ſenſe of the injuſtice done to the late ſons of Shujah ud Dowlah by the elevation of Vizier Ally, at a period before the profuſion of the Nabob had attached partizans, or his vices excited diſguſt.

I now proceed to ſtate the obſervations and concluſions deducible from the premiſes. In the firſt place, I ſhall notice the information of Tehſeen Ally Khan, that the Nabob was actually the father of two children. The popular opinion of the ſpurious origin of the late Nabob's children ariſes from theſe circumſtances: the general knowledge that he purchaſed pregnant women and children; the idea that his haram was acceſſible to other perſons; and, above all, the ſuppoſed impotency of the Nabob, which is moſt decidedly contradicted by the information of Tehſeen. This information proves the danger of admitting popular belief in caſes of this nature, againſt paternal acknowledgments and declarations. If Bourhan Ally had lived, he might have been included in the general imputation. It is, however, to be obſerved, that his birth was celebrated by particular marks of diſtinction, and that very great rejoicings were made, both on the ſixth day after his birth, and on the occaſion of his being weaned at the age of two years and four months. The firſt child of the Nabob was born during his abſence at Baraitch; and as he died before his return to Lucknow, no rejoicings whatever were made; ſuch was the caſe with reſpect to many of the other children. The firſt rejoicings for Vizier Ally were on the occaſion of his beginning to read, when he had attained the age of four years and four months; the ſecond, upon his circumciſion; and the third, at his marriage. Theſe rejoicings are excluſive of the ceremony performed at the anniverſary of the birth of all the children, where an additional knot was tied in a ſtring as a memorial of their ages. The affliction of the Nabob at the death of

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of Bourhan Ally, was as remarkable as the rejoicings at his birth, and his affection for this child.

The certainty that the Nabob did beget children (for I willingly admit the evidence of Tehſeen, on this point, in all its weight) ſuggeſted the inference of a poſſibility that he might be the father of Vizier Ally. Such a poſſibility may exiſt; but the poſitive evidence of Tehſeen, as to the circumſtances of Vizier Ally's birth, leaves the poſſibility without a ſhadow of preſumption, and eſtabliſhes the real parentage in a Frauſh. To this, and to no other concluſion, his evidence tends; and it is the beſt, if not the only poſitive evidence which the caſe admits.

In reverting to the circumſtances which influenced our acknowledgment of Vizier Ally, the following were then aſſumed and admitted:—Firſt, that Vizier Ally was born in the haram. This is denied by the information of Tehſeen, in whoſe houſe he was born, in a room of public acceſs, and in circumſtances which exclude all preſumption that the Nabob ſuſpected himſelf to be the father of the child.—Secondly, the acknowledgments of the Nabob, that Vizier Ally was his ſon. The proof of falſehood of ſuch an acknowledgment in one inſtance, would, in a great meaſure, deſtroy the weight of it in all others: but if, as on the authority of Tehſeen, I admit the Nabob, in no leſs than ſixteen inſtances, acknowledged and educated children who certainly were never begotten by him, it cannot in reaſon be entitled to the ſmalleſt weight; and all the ſubſequent acts and declarations of the Nabob in correſpondence with that acknowledgment, are entitled to as little weight as the acknowledgment itſelf. Sherf Ally Khan was never even produced in public, or heard of, before his fifteenth year; a circumſtance which ſtrongly confirms the evidence of Tehſeen in this particular inſtance.—Thirdly, the authority of the Mahommedan law, confirming the validity of ſuch acknowledgment. This is done away by the knowledge of the real parentage of the boy; as Mohobut Khan juſtly obſerves. It is not meant by the expreſſion "known," as quoted from the Hedaya, that evidence is required to eſtabliſh the fact, but the general belief and notoriety of it. This point I aſcertained from the law officers of the nizamut adawlut when in Calcutta; and in Lucknow, the parentage of Vizier Ally is generally aſſigned to a Frauſh. I could quote various inſtances to prove it.

While rumour pronounced Vizier Ally ſpurious without identifying his parentage; whilſt the acknowledgment of the Nabob, and a ſeries of correſponding acts, were impeached by report only; whilſt the ſanction of the Begum was liable to a ſuſpicion, only, of originating in ſelf-intereſt; and whilſt we were taught to infer that doubts of Vizier Ally's right were not the prevailing ſentiments of the inhabitants at Lucknow; it would have been contrary to every principle of juſtice to have pronounced him ſpurious, and his claim to the muſnud ill-founded.

We have evidence now before us, that the Nabob has acknowledged and educated children as his own, who were not begotten by him. We have information which deſtroys the weight of the law of acknowledgment in favour of Vizier Ally; we have evidence as to the birth of Vizier Ally, which leaves not a doubt that it is ſpurious; and information converting my ſuſpicions into proof, that the acquieſcence of the Begum was dictated by the hopes of preſerving

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ing her control, and her aversion to the sons of Shujah ud Dowlah; we have the declarations of the younger Begum, that the succession was settled without investigation or consideration; the decided declaration, that Vizier Ally and all his brethren are spurious, and that the justice of the title to the musnud rests in the sons of Shujah ud Dowlah; and we have evidence that the elevation of Vizier Ally was considered by all persons of respectability as a violation of justice.

To this may be added, the indignation of Mirza Jungly at the forced connection between Reza Ally and his daughter: the expression of Hussein Reza Khan, that the succession had been hastily decided; the conduct and declarations of Almas, conformable to the public sentiments; nor shall I omit the declarations of the Begum herself, upon the authority of Tehseen and Immaumuddeen, that Vizier Ally and all the sons of the Nabob were spurious. Almas, since my arrival at Lucknow, in the presence of the minister, has spoken of the Nabob in terms of marked obloquy and disrespect. I lay less stress upon the conduct of Mirza Jungly in withdrawing his daughter since the Nabob's death, as it may be imputed to the infamous attempt said to be made by Vizier Ally to get possession of his brother's wife. It is asserted with equal confidence and notoriety at Lucknow, that he actually attempted the life of Reza Ally, in more ways than one. The result of the whole, in my opinion, is this, that Vizier Ally, and all the reputed sons of the deceased Nabob, are undoubtedly spurious.

The impressions which I received on this subject since my inquiries commenced, are very different from those which I entertained in Calcutta. The parentage of Vizier Ally, as many of the persons to whom I have appealed observe, is not considered as any matter of delicacy in Lucknow. A supposition that he is the son of Asoph ud Dowlah would have been treated with ridicule, excepting by the partizans of the Nabob, or those who benefit by his follies and extravagance; and I could add many anecdotes to prove, that Vizier Ally has often, previous to the death of Asoph ud Dowlah, been reproached as the son of a Fraush; and that the Nabob frequently alluded to his base origin. His elevation to the musnud was a matter of surprise to persons of all ranks, and was even spoken of with contempt by the native troops at Cawnpore. In Calcutta, the ascertainment of his parentage seemed to rest upon a point equally beyond the reach of investigation or proof, and involve inquiries subversive of all decorum, and terminating in doubt and uncertainty. I had no suspicion that an inquiry might be conducted without violating decency, or that would terminate in demonstration. Feeling, in all its force, the impression of the popular belief of the spurious birth of Vizier Ally, and aware of all the consequences to our political reputation and justice which might result from the acknowledgment of him as the successor of Asoph ud Dowlah, I still was not authorised to make them the grounds of rejecting it, in opposition to the acknowledgment and declarations of his presumed father, whilst I felt equal repugnance to fix obloquy on the reputation of the deceased Nabob, by an inquiry dictated by general rumours only. It is now no longer dubious, that the repugnance to the admission of Vizier Ally's succession, after an interval of reflection, was general; that the acknowledgment of it by the Company excited surprise and disappointment; that it was esteem-

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ed both disgraceful and unjust; and that nothing but the support of the Begum and the Company, could have suppressed the expression of that repugnance: that may now exist in a less degree; but the disgrace attached to our decision still remains.

I conclude with repeating, that the prevailing opinion of the spurious birth of Vizier Ally was not a partial rumour, originating in enmity or interest, at his accession; that it has ever invariably and universally prevailed, in opposition to the acknowledgments of him, as his son, by the nabob Asoph ud Dowlah, which never obtained credit with a single human being; and that the truth of it is now established by the clear, positive and circumstantial evidence of Tehseen Ally Khan, which carries with it the fullest conviction of its truth, as well from his character as from his situation, which enabled him, and him only, to have a personal knowledge of the circumstances which he has detailed. In his house Vizier Ally was born, and he paid the purchase money for him to his mother. That evidence so clear was to be obtained, was not, indeed, within the probability of expectation.

I now proceed to another head of inquiry—the conduct of Vizier Ally since his accession to the musnud.

The letters from the resident at Lucknow, both previous and subsequent to my departure from Calcutta, will point out what has been since fully proved—the early determination of the Nabob to establish his own power, by the subversion of the influence of the Company, in the province of Oude. The extent to which the measures in support of this determination were carried, are less known in Calcutta, although notorious at Lucknow. For a particular account, I refer to the accompanying copy of an unofficial letter from Mr. Ouseley to the Persian translator. In this it is stated, that on the morning when my intention of visiting Lucknow was intimated to the Nabob, the state of affairs at Lucknow wore a most alarming appearance; ten or twelve battalions had been called in, the artillery was served with ammunition, and a confederacy formed to support the authority of the Nabob. The intelligence of my arrival produced deliberation; the result of which was a most intemperate letter from the Nabob, which is described by Mr. Ouseley as of a nature that required an answer, either of the most implicit acquiescence to inordinate demands, or a drawn sword. It was produced by Sherf Ally, the father-in-law of the Nabob, who was with difficulty induced to agree to prevail on the Nabob to stop the transmission of it; and, in consequence of that remonstrance, the letter which I received on my approach to Benares, a translation of which was sent from Jaunpore, was substituted. The letter of Mr. Ouseley will explain the subject in detail.

The particulars communicated to me by the minister at Jaunpore, were to the following purport: that the conduct of Vizier Ally, from his accession, had exhibited a scene of actions, mean, profligate, and vicious. He declared to the minister, who urged the obligations of his father and grand-father to the Company, that he would submit to no dependency. His own expressions in the letter received from him, as above referred to, sufficiently confirm this declaration. "I am confident that no one will dare to annihilate my authority and dignity," are the terms which he uses. The minister

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miniſter added his opinion, that if his power were equal to reſiſtance, he would oppoſe all interference of the Company by force. That he meditated this idea, may be inferred from his exaction of oaths from his commandants to be faithful to him. The miniſter produced to me a written engagement in the names of two officers, having under their command ſeven battalions, but atteſted by one only, binding themſelves, by the moſt ſolemn obligations of their religion, to be faithful and obedient to the miniſter.

To Abdurrechman, when he was aſked by that officer, what was the meaning of the requiſition of his attachment, if he meant to go to war with the Engliſh, or any other power? Vizier Ally replied generally, "I require your fidelity;" and he ordered Abdurrechman to increaſe the horſe under his command from 2000 to 12,000. That he meditated the aſſaſſination of the miniſter, cannot be proved; but appearances authoriſe the ſuſpicion, which is generally believed, and that the execution was ſuſpended on the intelligence of my early arrival at Lucknow. The ferocity of Vizier Ally's diſpoſition is ſufficiently apparent by his conduct at the houſe of Fongedar Khaun; and other inſtances might be adduced, to ſhew that it is ſanguinary. His meaſures, immediately after his acceſſion, were directed to the degradation of the miniſter, who was conſidered as the repreſentative of the Engliſh influence, under the authority of the reſident. He repeatedly interdicted, under threatened puniſhment for diſobedience, all perſons from attending him; the official functions of the miniſter were abſolutely ſuſpended, and the interdiction was rigorouſly obſerved. Vizier Ally aſſumed the entire authority over the military, whom he conciliated by the moſt unbounded profuſion. The advice and remonſtrance of the reſident were repeated without effect; he ſtill continued the ſame meaſures; and I aſſert, without the hazard of contradiction, that nothing but my determination to proceed to Lucknow, with a reſpectable force, would have prevented the total ſubverſion of the Engliſh influence in Oude, or the alternative of reſorting to hoſtilities to preſerve it, or of withdrawing altogether from the country, under circumſtances deſtructive of our political weight and reputation.

The approach of the Nabob and myſelf from Lucknow and Jaunpore reſpectively, had all the precautions of doubtful friendſhip or hoſtility. He repeated the exaction of oaths from his military officers, extended his profuſion to them, and had, at one time, determined to advance with a large force and numerous train of artillery, and was making his preparations to that effect. This meaſure, it is to be preſumed, was relinquiſhed at the advice of the Begum, when the Nabob returned to conſult her, from Hyderghur; and he, in conſequence, adviſed me that he ſhould be accompanied by a very ſmall eſcort. The language of his durbar, as echoed by his adherents, is that of defiance of the power of the Company; to me it has ever been civil and ſubmiſſive; ſuch it was to the reſident, at the moment when his meaſures were ſecretly directed to annihilate his influence, and degrade his repreſentative character: but he ſtill continued, even after my arrival at Lucknow, to attach the military by oaths and donations. Many reſpectable people have been deterred from viſiting me, by the fear of incurring the reſentment of the Nabob.

Some days after my arrival at Lucknow, I was cautioned, through various

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various and repeated channels, not to put my perſon in the power of the Nabob, in the prevailing idea that aſſaſſination was intended; ſuch an idea could never have been entertained, but under the moſt unfavourable impreſſions of the diſpoſition of the Nabob, and the influence over it, of the abandoned crew who ſurrounded him. Information was ſubſequently communicated to me, that troops to a large number had been ſecretly introduced into the town, and that orders had been ſent to different battalions to march in. The fact is certain. The orders, I am informed, were revoked through the influence of the Begum; one battalion actually approached through Khyrabad, and a ſecond from Jugdiſpore. The Nabob admitted the facts, but denied, in both inſtances, that they came by his orders, and remanded the former; the latter belonged to Almas, who alſo denied that it had marched by his orders. This information determined me to quit my reſidence in the town of Lucknow, and to occupy a garden houſe of the Nabob, at the diſtance of about five miles from his reſidence. On repairing to it I met the battalion of Almas, whoſe confuſion on the diſcovery was apparent. In his vexation, which he could not conceal, he ſaid to the miniſter, "why did not the troops take another road?"

The removal of my reſidence, which I communicated to the Nabob and the Begum, had the apparent effect of alarming them; and the Nabob on the next day quitted Lucknow, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the place which I occupy.

The general opinion of the Nabob of Lucknow is, that he is fearleſs, debauched, of a ſanguinary uncontroulable diſpoſition: his profuſion is unbounded, and his conduct fully proves his inclination to maintain his independence at all riſks; on this principle he is conſidered as the determined enemy of the Engliſh.

His character was not diſplayed until after his ſucceſſion to the Muſnud; and although I early received unfavourable accounts of his behaviour, which indicated a bad diſpoſition, I was bound to make every allowance for his youth and ſituation; and conſidering him as the tool of the Begum and bad adviſers, it ſeemed fair to exonerate him, in ſome degree, from the reſponſibility of a conduct, evidently indicating a hoſtile diſpoſition towards the Company.

That the Begum firſt diſapproved his conduct, is eſtabliſhed; and in ſome cenſurable inſtances of indecorum and extravagance, ſhe interfered with equal propriety and energy to check them, and was urgent with the miniſter to curb his follies and controul his profuſion. Vizier Ally, who conſidered her preſence and interference as a check upon his conduct, was equally urgent for her return to Fyzabad. The union between them was planned by the Begum, on the receipt of my letter, recommending her to withdraw her interference in the adminiſtration of affairs. In her anſwer to that letter, and in the meaſures which ſhe adopted upon it, ſhe had the advice of Almes, who has been the ſecret mover of all the intrigues of oppoſition to the Engliſh influence, of which I conſider him, with all well-informed and impartial perſons, as the determined enemy.

But it is impoſſible to exonerate the Nabob from the reſponſibility of his conduct. His age, it is true, is not more than ſeventeen; but his diſpoſition is uncontroulable, except by the impreſſion of political fear. That he has proceeded

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ceeded to the extremities to which he has been led, by the inſtigation of evil counſellors, may be admitted; but he is not diſpoſed to admit counſellors of any other quality, or any impreſſions contrary to his rage for controul and independency. The remonſtrances of the miniſter and reſident on the impropriety of his conduct, and their attempts to check the progreſs of his propenſities, excited his enmity and oppoſition. I refer to the reſident's account of his deportment, in his conference with him of the 24th November.

On my arrival at Lucknow, the confederacy between the Nabob and Begum appeared indiſſoluble; and it was the opinion of the miniſter, that they could not be diſunited. The principal adviſer of the Begum was Almas, either directly, or through Jewahur Ally Khan, and Hoſſein Keza Khan, and Tickait Ray, ranged under their banners. With the Nabob, his father-in-law, Sherf Ally Khan was ſuppoſed to have the moſt influence; but his favourite confidents were low deſperate wretches, the contempt of all*. The language of the latter, as reported to me through various channels, was that of defiance and aſſaſſination, even in the preſence of the Nabob; to which I ſhould have been diſpoſed to give the leſs credit, if his conduct did not authorize a ſuſpicion that he was capable of entertaining ſuch ideas. The object of all parties was to oppoſe the Engliſh influence.

The Nabob was attacked by a diſorder, ſaid to be either the meaſles or ſmall-pox, immediately after my arrival at Lucknow, and I did not again meet him before the firſt of January. The interval afforded me an opportunity of proſecuting the inquiries which I had in view, and of obtaining information on the ſtate of affairs. I confeſs, without reſerve, that I never was involved in a ſcene of more perplexity or profligacy. The detail which follows will prove the acknowledgment to be well founded.

On the 29th of December, Almas, who had moſt aſſiduouſly ſtudied appearances, waited on the miniſter, and entered into conferences with him, which laſted ſeveral days.

He began with ſtrong complaints of the conduct of Vizier Ally, whom he deſignated by a moſt opprobrious term. He ſpoke of him as ſpurious and profligate—as a man who would ruin the country by his vices and profuſion. He expreſſed his alarms leſt a knowledge of his conduct ſhould reach me, and force me into violent meaſures. He mentioned the total diſapprobation of the Begum at his conduct, and the earneſt wiſh of the Begum and himſelf that he ſhould be depoſed, and ſome one of the ſons of Shujah ud Dowlah be placed on the Muſnud, excluding all the ſons of Aſoph ud Dowlah as ſpurious.

In ſucceeding conferences he mentioned the names of Mirza Jungly and Mirza Mendoo, both ſons of Shujah ud Dowlah, as fit perſons to fill the Muſnud, (pointedly excluding all others); and that the former was the choice of the Begum; the latter, his.

The miniſter, although he privately communicated to me theſe conferences, refuſed to be the channel of theſe propoſitions, and recommended to Almas to ſtate any the Begum had to make, directly to me. He promiſed that he would; but although I daily ſaw him, it was not till the 8d of this month that

* Waris Ally, and Ezut Ally, who ſo particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the murder of Mr. Cherry and the other gentlemen at Benares, were his inſeparable companions.

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that Almas opened himself without reserve: he endeavoured to shew that the Begum had wished to decline the nomination of Vizier Ally, but was compelled to it by the urgent representations of the minister, on the necessity of appointing some person to prevent anarchy and confusion; and that she at last, with reluctance, consented to the elevation of Vizier Ally. He detailed the vices and profusion of the Nabob, the influence of his evil counsellors over him, and the necessity of removing him, to prevent the ruin of the country; and the Begum's earnest desire that Vizier Ally should be deposed, as equally deficient in title and qualification; that all the sons of Asoph ud Dowlah should be excluded on the same grounds, and Mirza Jungly be appointed Nabob. He said, that with Vizier Ally, neither personal property nor female chastity would be secure, and that even the Begum herself would not be able to withstand his tyranny. He mentioned some anecdotes of his conduct towards his younger brother, Reza Ally, and his wife, involving attempts on the life of the one, and the person of the other, which I had heard from other respectable quarters.

Under any other circumstances than those in which I was placed, I should have checked such language; but having formed no positive determination with respect to my measures, although I had in contemplation the final resolution which I have adopted, I thought it most prudent to attend to Almas, and lead him into a commitment, from which he could not, with any regard to principle or propriety, retreat; and in this view, after remarking on the importance of the proposition, and the necessity of seriously deliberating how far it could be reconciled to the honour and reputation of the Company, I informed him that it would be necessary for him to repeat it in the presence of the commander in chief.

On the 6th, Almas attended me for this purpose, and in the presence of the commander in chief, and the minister, again repeated the substance of his former propositions, declaring his own and the Begum's opinion, that Vizier Ally's conduct was uncontroulable; her wish that he should be deposed, as wanting right and qualities for the station to which he had been raised, and that Mirza Jungly should be invested, as the disqualifications of Vizier Ally in point of birth-right excluded all the reputed sons of Asoph ud Dowlah. He assured me, that the deposition of Vizier Ally, and elevation of Mirza Jungly, would be highly gratifying to the public. He answered a question which I put to him, whether the power of the Begum would be sufficient to depose Vizier Ally, in the affirmative, under the countenance of the Company's troops, and their eventual assistance to quell any disturbance; and through the minister he promised a large pecuniary sacrifice, as a compensation for my acquiescence.

The opinion of Almas, as to the defective title of Vizier Ally, is consistent with his declarations and behaviour immediately subsequent to his elevation; the conduct of the Begum is dictated by a wish, combining the gratification of her avarice, her pride, and her desire of controul; her opinion of Vizier Ally is entitled to no more weight than her former opinion in his favour, and her unqualified approbation of his conduct; but the unequivocal admission of the spurious birth of Vizier Ally and all his brethren, and of the superior right of the sons

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of Shujah ud Dowlah, was ſo far important, that it left both Almas and the Begum without a ſhadow of pretext for oppoſing the claim of Saadut Ally on the ground of right; and I am warranted in a concluſion, that ſuch a propoſition never could have been made, but under a conviction that Vizier Ally was actually ſpurious. I have undoubted authority to believe, that Huſſein Reza Khan and Tickait Ray were privy to theſe propoſitions.

My determination was to reject them, although I did not communicate it to Almas. The head-eunuch of the elder Begum, Jewahur Ally Khan, has ſince informed me, that the conferences between Almas and myſelf have been communicated to the Begum, and had her approbation, and that it was her wiſh that all my communications with her ſhould be carried on through Almas, and no other perſon.

It was at this period, with the evidence before me of the ſpurious birth of Vizier Ally, but ſtill without any poſitive determination to place Saadut Ally on the Muſnud, that I deemed it neceſſary to prepare for the accompliſhment of this event, and wrote to the reſident at Benares, to prepare arrangements for his arrival at Kanpore in the moſt expeditious manner, but not to make any communications on the ſubject to Saadut Ally himſelf. Theſe inſtructions were diſpatched on the 7th of the month. I had prepared the draft of an engagement for the approbation or rejection of Saadut Ally Khan, which, to prevent the chance of interception, was previouſly diſpatched, but under a ſealed envelope, having a prohibition againſt opening it without my particular directions. The inſtructions directing the communication of it to Saadut Ally, were diſpatched on the 9th, but with an intimation that circumſtances might ſtill prevent the diſpoſition which I meditated in his favour.

The total annihilation of the functions of the miniſter, made the appointment of new miniſters abſolutely neceſſary under any circumſtances or arrangement. The ſelection was neceſſarily confined to three perſons, Almas, Hoſſein Reza Khan, and Tickait Ray: to the former the objections were deciſive; to the two latter, ſtrong; but neceſſity compelled me to over-rule them. I knew that theſe appointments would be acceptable to both the Begum and the Nabob; and they were inveſted by the Nabob in my preſence, on the 11th inſtant.

As an additional inſtance of the violence of the Nabob's character, and of his little regard to a ſenſe of propriety, I have to mention, that on the following day he not only forcibly plundered the houſe of Tehſeen Ally Khan of the public property under his charge, but that of ſeveral merchants depoſited with Tehſeen in his official capacity of cuſtom-maſter, and of the private property of Tehſeen himſelf, who had for ſome time paſt lived under the protection of the reſident, and, ſince my removal from Lucknow, more immediately under mine. Tehſeen reported the fact, and Hoſſein Reza Khan confirmed it, in language of reprobation.

The preceding detail furniſhes a hiſtory which has been rarely paralleled. Vizier Ally, without any title in the public eſtimation, was elevated to the Muſnud by the ſelection of the Begum, and act of the reſident and miniſter. He was confirmed upon it by the acknowledgement of his title by the Company, and their declaration to ſupport it. Without that acknowledgment and ſupport, he would have been oppoſed

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posed by Almas, whose influence over the Begum would have gained her consent to his deposition. The declarations of Almas, on his depriture from Lucknow, were equal to a renunciation of allegiance to Vizier Ally; and his measures were so suspicious as to excite general alarm. Vizier Ally immediately began to act in opposition to the influence and interests of the Company; and the interference of the Begum in the administration of affairs produced disorder. The Begum and Vizier Ally were not then united: she censured and condemned his conduct; he felt sore under her controul, and urged her departure to Fyzabad. An intimation to the Begum to withdraw her interference united them, and under their union the most violent and insulting measures to the Company were adopted. The Begum, from whatever motives, now disclaims Vizier Ally as illegitimate and unqualified, and proposes to depose the person of her choice, and transfer the succession to the sons of Shujah ud Dowlah. The proposition is brought forward by Almas, who joins in it. Almas and Hossein Reza Khan had openly expressed their disapprobation of Vizier Ally's elevation.

If the interests of the Company and humanity, the reputation of the Company for honour and justice, did not oppose the measure, my own feelings would have induced me to withdraw from a scene of so much embarrassment.

The government of Oude, both in the opinions of the natives, as well as externally, is considered a dependency upon the English, whatever its relation under treaties may be. Scindiah refers the investiture of Vizier Ally Khan by his Majesty to the Governor-General, and there are many respectable families in Lucknow who live under the protection of the British influence. In the estimate of the natives of India, the kingdom of Oude is held as a gift from the Company to Shujah ud Dowlah, and as a dependent fief. By these remarks, I mean only to contract the behaviour of Vizier Ally Khan with the popular sentiment and the conduct of his predecessor, and to point out the political discredit attending the subversion of our influence in Oude.

In the conversations between Almas and the late minister, the former boasted of his influence over the military, and not only spoke with the greatest contempt of the person, but of the power of the Nabob. That he actually possesses this influence, I have no reason to doubt, as it is derived not only from his own power, but his close connection with the Begum, who, since the death of Asoph ud Dowlah, has acquired a preponderance in the government, in which she never before was allowed to have any participation. In her name Almas acts; and while he pretends to disavow on the part of the Begum all wish to interfere in the administration, his propositions to me were directly calculated to establish it. He requested that the ministers might be appointed even without any communication with the Nabob, and receive their kelaats immediately from the Begum. His proposition on her part for the investiture of Mirza Jungly, combined also the desire that it should ostensibly proceed from her, and that the ministers should be of her choice.

Since the 9th of this month, Almas has never resumed the discussion of the proposition for the appointment of Mirza Jungly; and although he has been daily to pay his respects to me, and has even gone so far as to pay one of his kists to

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the reſident, ſince the miniſter's relinquiſhment of his official functions, I have reaſon to believe, that, expecting his propoſition would not be agreed to, he has revived his connection with the Nabob, whom he ſo lately propoſed to depoſe, and is now again the ſecret director of his conduct. He acquainted the miniſter, that the Begum would conſent to an addition to the ſubſidy of twenty lacks per annum, if Mirza Jungly were nominated, and if I inſiſted upon it. The ſelection of this ſon of Shujah ud Dowlah proceeded from the recommendation of Hoſſein Reza Khan, dictated by his opinion of the rights of the family, and his partiality for Mirza Jungly in particular. The Begum had no previous connection with him. On the Begum's propoſition I have this farther obſervation to make, that if it had originated in perſonal diſlike to Vizier Ally only, it could not have gone to the extent of excluding all the reputed ſons of Aſoph ud Dowlah. When Almas was aſked by me, what he propoſed ſhould be done with them, or how they would be provided for, his reply was, to give them a ſmall monthly allowance, equal to a bare ſubſiſtence only.

Vizier Ally has attracted many partizans among the ſoldiery, but they would not be inclined to ſupport him without the influence of the Begum and Almas, which, if withheld, muſt prevent all oppoſition to an alteration in the ſucceſſion. The age and infirmities of the Begum, the age and wealth of Almas, are arguments againſt their oppoſition to a title which they have virtually acknowledged, provided they are not driven to deſperation.

Before my final determination was adopted, I had reſolved the mode of giving effect to the reſolution, which I communicated to the board, that the influence of the Company ſhould be maintained in Oude; and two modes only occurred of effecting it:

By placing the controul of Vizier Ally in the hands of the Begum, or by placing the adminiſtration of affairs directly under the controul of the Company.

The former would have been the accompliſhment of all that the Begum and Almas had projected, although Almas himſelf expreſsly declared to me, that if he were miniſter he ſhould doubt his own power to controul the Nabob.

To the latter, the objections were many and great, the principal of which, in my opinion, was the ſerious effect it would have had upon our character for political forbearance and ſincerity throughout Hinduſtan: at all events, it could only have laſted during the minority of Vizier Ally.

The preceding detail might have been lengthened. One circumſtance has occurred to my recollection, which I think it neceſſary to mention; a very inconſiderate, and, in my opinion, inſidious propoſition from Sherf Ally Khan, the father-in-law of the Nabob, repeated ſeveral times, to make a preſent, in the name of the Nabob, of a gold mohur to each of the European ſoldiers with the eſcort.

The preceding ſtatement of facts and information, ſuggeſted queſtions of very ſerious embarraſſment. The courſe of my inveſtigation into the birth of Vizier Ally, had weakened or ſubverted all the grounds upon which our acknowledgment of his title had been made. The acknowledgment of him as his ſon by the late Nabob, his birth in the Haram, the force of the Mahommedan law in favour of that acknowledgment, the apparent ſatisfaction of the inhabitants of Lucknow at

his

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his elevation, and the decision of the elder Begum in his favour; it proved, that if the succession to the Musnud of Oude had been suspended during the first interval of surprise and confusion attending the sudden death of the nabob Asoph ud Dowlah, and if an appeal had been made to the unbiassed voice of the people as a jury, their verdict would have pronounced Vizier Ally, and all the sons of the late Nabob, spurious, destitute of any title to the Musnud, and that the sons of Shujah ud Dowlah had an undeniable right to it. The evidence of Tehseen established, to my entire conviction, the justice and truth of the public sentiment; and I had the mortification to learn, that the reputation of the Company had suffered by an act, which, in the opinion of all reputable people, had been no less disgraceful than unjust. It was impossible to silence these impressions, by arguing that the government had not directly interfered in deciding upon the succession, since, in the opinion of all, Vizier Ally's elevation was considered an act of the English government; and it is certain, that without their acknowledgment and support, he could not have maintained his situation.

On the other hand, it might be argued, that the state of the case was now altered; that the Nabob having been acknowledged, and that acknowledgment confirmed, the question was no longer open to decision; that the discredit of the act had been incurred, and that the reputation of the Company would not now be restored by an act, which in the first instance would have promoted it; that the public were in some degree reconciled to the succession of Vizier Ally, who had gained many partizans.

But, in opposition to this, it was again to be urged, that the precedent of the Tanjore succession, which, after the possession of the sovereignty by Amer Sing for eleven years, is at this moment, with the sanction of the Court of Directors, open to investigation and decision, furnishes a satisfactory reply to all arguments against a revisal of our decision, and to a reversal of it, if authorised by justice; that our acknowledgment of Vizier Ally, in the first instance, had been extorted by the urgency of the case, and that the more deliberate confirmation of it was made upon presumptions which could not be set aside upon the evidence of information before us; that the public sense of Vizier Ally's want of all title to the Musnud had undergone no revolution, nor ever could; that there is not a man living who ever believed him to be the son of Asoph ud Dowlah, or to have a shadow of right to the Musnud; on the contrary, that in Lucknow he is generally known to be the son of a Fraush; and if his future character should prove as abandoned as it promises to be, the disgrace attending his elevation to the Musnud would be perpetuated; that although many were now reconciled to his title from various motives, the support of the Company, his liberality, influence, interest, or indifference, that men of the most respectability, who were not biassed by such motives, had not changed their sentiments upon it. The investiture of Vizier Ally, in the words of Abdul Lateef, was doubtless considered by all men of respectability as an act of injustice to the immediate descendants of Shujah ud Dowlah, as the rightful heirs; and no one gave the Company credit for acting from motives of supposed justice, but all ascribed their acknowledgments of Vizier Ally to the political expectation of establish-

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ing a more easy and effective influence in Oude than they otherwise could. If so (with a certainty that the sentiments of Abdul Lateef were general, with evidence that they are well founded) the political reputation of the Company can only be restored by the establishment of a family on the Musnud, which in the universal opinion has an exclusive right to it. Wherever that opinion extends, the justice and reputation of the Company must be effected, by confirming the succession of an empire to the son of a Fraush. If Saadut Ally has a right to the Musnud, upon what grounds can we defend the denial of it? Whilst the presumption was in favour of Vizier Ally, we determined to maintain his title, not only against Saadut Ally, but against all opposition. That presumption is done away, and the right of Saadut Ally, as representative of the family of Shujah ud Dowlah, stands undeniable by justice and universal opinion. It may be argued, that the Company are not bound to run the risk of hostilities in support of it; and the argument would be unanswerable, if we could withdraw from all interference in the question, or if our interference did not amount to a denial of his right. The Begum and Almas, by their admission that Vizier Ally has no title to the Musnud, and by their proposition to invest Mirza Jungly, on whatever principle it may be founded, have precluded themselves from all right of opposition to the claims of Saadut Ally. I do not mean to assert that they will not oppose his claim against the support of the English; but having admitted the superior right of Shujah ud Dowlah's sons, their opposition to the representative of that family would prove a total dereliction of all regard to right and principle on their parts, and a determination to maintain their own interests against all opposition. On the other hand, as every act of injustice is the parent of more, we must not overlook the future possible consequences of denying that right to Saadut Ally, to which, in the opinion of all, his title stands good. We are so implicated in our connection with Oude, that we cannot withdraw from it; and we are so situated in it, that without a decisive influence in its administration we cannot have any security; the consequences of such a situation might be fatal, if the government of the country were secretly hostile to us; and such in my judgment would be the situation of the Company under the administration of Vizier Ally, admitting that we could extort from him Allahabad, a pecuniary compensation, and an annual addition to the subsidy; he must be put under restrictions, the Begum must be compelled to relinquish all interference in the administration, and the power of Almas must be reduced; without this, which would be equivalent to taking the administration of government into our own hands, all attempts to improve the administration of the country, and render the situation of the Company secure, would be fruitless. By what instruments is this to be done or attempted? Hussein Reza Khan, and Tickait Ray, from necessity, not choice, are the ministers; they would never heartily join in an attempt to controul the Begum, or reduce the power of Almas; and the restrictions which must be imposed upon Vizier Ally, would never be borne by him, but under a secret determination to embrace the first opportunity of shaking them off. Such an arrangement, therefore, if practicable, would only increase the enmity of the Nabob, the

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Begum, and Almas, without deſtroying their means of exerting it; the feeble powers of the miniſters, ſuppoſing them hearty in the cauſe, would be inefficient to effect it; and the conſequence might be, the firmer union of all parties againſt the Engliſh influence, and ultimately a war for maintaining it. The invaſion of Zemaun Shah, any political event which might diminiſh our force in Oude, would give operation to his enmity. Intelligence might be withheld, or hoſtile combinations formed, of a moſt dangerous tendency.

Every argument of a political nature is in favour of Saadut Ally; and they may be compriſed in this reflection, that his whole dependence and ſupport are on the Engliſh Company.

Thus juſtice and policy decide in favour of his claim; and nothing ſhould induce us to renounce his cauſe but difficulties of an inſurmountable nature, or of ſuch a magnitude as to make the riſk too great. Such, in my opinion, after the beſt calculations I have been able to form of them, do not exiſt. Saadut Ally is unpopular, and would probably at firſt have few partizans; but his name and acknowledged right would carry a weight with it, that muſt gradually diſunite every confederacy which might be formed; and if our power, under ſuch circumſtances, be inſufficient to determine a conteſt of this nature, it would be more adviſeable to withdraw ourſelves at once from the country. The expence of the conteſt muſt be borne by Saadut Ally; and he muſt be required to agree to arrangements which may eſtabliſh the political ſecurity of the Company in Oude upon a ſolid baſis.

There are ſtill ſome objections to a deciſion in his favour which remain to be conſidered, ariſing out of the particular ſituation in which I have been placed. The intercourſe between the Nabob and myſelf is now in appearance amiable, and he has appointed miniſters apparently at my recommendation, although in fact the men of his choice; and I feel with every reluctance the neceſſity impoſed upon me of determining upon his rights, at a time when I am his gueſt, aſſuming and profeſſing the character of a friend.

No man can be more averſe to every ſpecies of deception or appearance of treachery than myſelf; it is equally foreign to my character and principles; the ſituation has not been a matter of choice, but neceſſity. I left Calcutta without any views hoſtile to the Nabob, or determination to queſtion his right to the Muſnud; his meaſures compelled me to take mine for my own ſecurity.

The communications of the miniſter, involving the juſtice, the honour, the reputation of the Company, were of a nature to compel an inquiry into his title to the Muſnud; and it would have been impoſſible to proſecute it if I had not come to Lucknow, nor could I foreſee the reſult of it. The conduct of the Nabob during my reſidence there, made it prudent to withdraw from his capital, and provide an additional force for my own ſecurity. The neceſſity of appointing miniſters to prevent increaſing injury to the public finances and public embarraſſments of every kind, rendered that meaſure unavoidable; it was the conſequence of the Nabob's behaviour to the miniſter who had placed him on the Muſnud, and whoſe character is without reproach. The behaviour of the Nabob ſince I left Lucknow is the reſult of apprehenſion, in which friendſhip or ſincerity have no part; the progreſs of

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of events have forced me into the ſituation in which I am placed, and which is without precedent or parallel.

But whatever my private feelings may be, or whatever obloquy I may incur by the part which I have taken, I have no right to make a ſacrifice of juſtice and public intereſts on this account. I ſhould have been moſt happy to avoid the predicament in which I am placed, if it could have been done without a dereliction of duty.

If my arguments be juſt, and the grounds of them ſolid, they tend to the following concluſions: 1ſt, That Vizier Ally is undoubtedly the ſon of a Fraush, has no title to the Muſnud, and from his character is unworthy of it. This deciſion is ſupported by evidence as to his real birth, by the ſanction of the public opinion, by facts and information. 2dly, That to ſupport him on the Muſnud would not only be an indelible diſgrace to the reputation of the Company, but in all probability would prove the ruin of the country, and the deſtruction of the Britiſh intereſts in Oude. 3dly, That the juſtice and reputation of the Company, as well as their political intereſts, require the eſtabliſhment of the rightful ſucceſſor. 4thly, That as all the reputed ſons of Aſoph ud Dowlah are undoubtedly ſpurious, the line of ſucceſſion ſhould be transferred to Shujah ud Dowlah. 5thly, That Vizier Ally ought to be depoſed, and Saadut Ally be placed on the Muſnud.

Theſe deciſions have not been adopted without great heſitation and deliberation on my part, as well from the great perſonal reſponſibility attending them, as from a poſſibility of oppoſition to their execution. Of the juſtice of the deciſion I can entertain no doubt, or that it will ever be impeached by any native of India; and if the juſtice of it were even dubious, as the public voice denies all right in Vizier Ally, a deciſion in conformity to it carries its own evidence with it. In a queſtion of this nature, when the eyes of all Hinduſtan are upon us, the reputation of our deciſion, even independently of the juſtice of it, is no unimportant conſideration to the political intereſts of the Company. As the matter ſtands, we have deprived an illuſtrious family of the Muſnud, to which, in the univerſal opinion, they have an excluſive right; a regard to juſtice, to reputation, and to our political intereſts, as involved with them, requires the revocation of a deciſion which has already affected them all. If I had conſulted only my perſonal eaſe, or perſonal reſponſibility, I ſhould have adopted a different deciſion; and upon that principle an arrangement might have been made, which would have enabled me, by this time, to proſecute the intentions with which I left Calcutta, of returning to Europe; but the line which I have taken, although that of hazard and difficulty, is, in my conſcientious opinion, that of honour and juſtice, combating political reputation and political ſecurity.

(Signed) J. SHORE.

January 13th, 1798.

The Secretary lays before the Board the following Letter and Incloſures received from the Aſſiſtant to the Governor-General.

To G. H. BARLOW, Eſq.

Secretary to Government,

Fort William.

SIR,

By the Governor-General's directions, I have the honour to tranſmit to you the papers referred to in his minute of the 18th inſtant, for the information of the Vice-Preſident

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dent in Council, and accompanying his letter of the 17th inſtant.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HUBT. CORNISH.
Aſſiſt. to the Gov. Gen.

Bibcepore, January 19, 1798.

No. 1.

Information by Tehſeen Ally Khan, reſpecting the Children of Rehmut, Mother of Vizier Ally. December 21ſt, 1797.

The firſt child who died was a ſon; the Nabob took him as his own, paying 500 rupees for him; the name given to him by the Nabob was Mirza Amie; he lived only forty days. The ſecond is now living, and a Frauſh; he (Tehſeen) knows him by ſight, but does not remember his name. The third was Vizier Ally; after his birth a Nabob diſmiſſed his mother (whoſe name was Rehmut) from his ſervice, giving her 500 rupees; and a girl, who, as Tehſeen has heard, is ſince dead, was born afterwards in her houſe. She may have had more children afterwards; but if ſhe had, Tehſeen believes they are all dead. The fault alluded to was committed ſoon after the birth of Mahommed Amie; for this the Nabob diſcharged, and afterwards pardoned her; but in the interval the ſon, now living as a Frauſh, was born in her huſband's houſe; Mahommed Amie and Vizier Ally were the only two of her children born in Tehſeen's houſe. The huſband of Rehmut, whoſe name is Hetta, or ſomething ſimilar to it, is now in the ſervice of Malavie (Fuzl Azim) heretofore darogha of the Dewan Khanna, and naib of Huſſein Reza Khan, and now derogha of the kitchen. Vizier Ally knows that he is not the Nabob's ſon, but does not know (as Tehſeen believes) who his farther is.

When the late Nabob was angry with Vizier Ally, as he often was, he has frequently been heard to ſay, in the hearing of the whole durbar, and has ſo expreſſed himſelf to Tehſeen himſelf, that Vizier Ally was not his ſon, obſerving that his diſpoſition was an indication of his origin.

This was taken verbally by the reſident, tranſlated, read over to, and ſworn to, by Tehſeen.

(Signed) J. S.

No. 2.—*December* 25.

QUESTIONS *to, and* REPLIES *of, Tehſeen Ally Khan.*

Q. Mahommed Amie, and Vizier Ally, were both born in your houſe: Was the woman delivered there by the Nabob's orders, or how happened it that ſhe was delivered in your houſe?

A. She was not carried there to be delivered by the Nabob's orders. When his Excellency made purchaſes of women, they were often ſent to my houſe, and I kept them till their numbers increaſed conſiderably, and then they were removed to the Zenana. At the birth of Mahommed Amie, and Vizier Ally, their mother ſerved as a Frauſhnee to the females kept in my houſe; when they were removed to the Zenana, the Frauſhnee uſually accompanied them, and ſerved them there.

Q. Did her huſband reſide there?

A. Her huſband did not reſide with, or come to her at his houſe; but ſhe uſed to go home daily till the eve of the birth of the children.

Q. Where does the ſurviving ſon of the Frauſhnee now live?

A. The ſurviving ſon is a Frauſh, in the Nabob's ſervice, in the department under charge of Tehſeen, but he has of late left off coming to him for orders. He did viſit him once at Hydergur, on the day of our arrival

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rival there, to meet the Governor-General. Tehſeen does not remember his name, but he can find it, with a deſcription of his face and perſon, in the roll of ſervants immediately under him.

Q. Did you not tell the Governor, that the Nabob never ſaid that Vizier Ally was not his ſon; but ever ſince his reception ſaid, that he was?' You told me, that the Nabob frequently and publicly ſaid he was not his ſon, or words equivalent to it. How is this reconcilable?

A. The Governor-General muſt have miſunderſtood me; I informed him that the Nabob ever acknowledged Vizier Ally as his ſon; but I alſo mentioned, that when he was angry he uſed to allude to the lowneſs of his origin: on theſe occaſions he has ſaid in plain terms, in the preſence of hundreds, that he was not his ſon.

Q. It appears that Mahommed Amie was born in your houſe, as well as Vizier Ally, and that both were acknowledged by the Nabob; that the ſecond ſon, now a Fraush, was born in his father's houſe, and that Vizier Ally, after his birth, was delivered to the care of Azeemabadee, the mother of Burhaun Ally; that the Fraushnee was diſmiſſed both after the birth of Mahommed Amie and Vizier Ally. Does not this prove that the Nabob conſidered himſelf as the father of both of theſe children?

A. It was not to the care of Azeemabadee, the mother of Burhaun Ally, but to Fyzeun Niſſa Khaunum, the mother of the child who died in its infancy, that Vizier Ally was delivered. The women of the Zenana, the Muldannees, as well as Tehſeen himſelf, uſed to adviſe the Nabob to take children, and bring them up, as he had none of his own. The Nabob did not even know of the Fraushnee's pregnancy till Vizier Ally was born. Tehſeen then informed him, that a child had been born to the Fraushnee Rehmut. The Nabob aſked, Where? He replied, In my houſe. The Nabob then ſaid, I will take it, if ſhe will let me have it for 500 rupees. She conſented, and ſaid to Tehſeen, "It was that the Nabob might "take my child as his own, that I "came to lye-in at your houſe;" to this ſhe was induced by his Excellency's having before paid 500 rupees (which to her was a large ſum) for Mahommed Amie. The Nabob then ordered Tehſeen to pay her the 500 rupees, and ſend her away, deſiring him at the ſame time never to ſend for her, nor allow of her coming to his houſe again.

Q. Whilſt the Fraushnee ſerved in the Zenana, did ſhe reſide always there, day and night, or did ſhe leave it after her daily occupations were finiſhed?

A. She uſed invariably to go home (as all the other Fraushnees do) after her daily buſineſs was over.

Q. Why did you think it neceſſary to carry to the Nabob information of the birth of Vizier Ally? What concern or intereſt could the Nabob have in the birth of a ſon of a Fraush?

A. Becauſe ſhe was a ſervant of the Zenana.—In anſwer to this queſtion he alſo mentions the reaſons aſſigned in his reply to the 5th.

Q. After her diſmiſſion, how long was it before ſhe was reſtored to ſerve in the Zenana again?

A. It is ſo long ago that I cannot recollect with preciſion, but I believe about two, three or four years. Tehſeen's houſe adjoins to the Zenana, but it is open to all the world: when the Nabob's women were kept there, they lodged in the upper apartments, which were quite private.

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This was taken verbally, translated, read over to Tehseen, and sworn to by him.

(Signed) J. SHORE.

No. 4.

Particulars relating to Sherf Ally Khan, by the resident at Lucknow, received 19th Dec. 1797.

About the beginning of the month of January 1797, I received an invitation, in common with all the English gentlemen at Lucknow, from the late Nabob, Asoph ud Dowlah, to be present at the ceremony of the mangnee, by which one of his Excellency's sons was to be contracted in marriage with a daughter of Cossim Ally Khan. The place chosen by the Vizier for the ceremony, was a house he had built in imitation of one belonging to Mr. Orr, on the northern bank of the Goomtee, nearly opposite to the palace. I repaired to the place about half past four o'clock in the evening, when his Excellency met me half way down stairs, and introduced to me, as his son, a boy, seemingly about the age of twenty or twenty-one years, whom I had never before seen or heard of; as this circumstance excited some surprise, I asked Rajah Jaoo Loll, who attended me, on retiring to the elephant, what the boy's name was, whence it happened that I had never seen him before, and where he had resided, as I did not recollect him at the palace on my former visit. His answer, as far as I can now remember, was, that he was ignorant of his name, and that he believed he had been kept in the Zenana to the northward of the Goomtee, near Fouzdar Khan's house.

From the period I have mentioned to that of the death of the Vizier, I have frequently seen this boy in attendance on his Excellency; and I am almost certain that he was introduced to the Governor-General by the late Nabob, as his son, in February or March last. He accompanied his Excellency to breakfast at my house on several occasions; and on my visits to the Nabob he was sometimes sent to receive me at the palace gate, instead of Vizier Ally and Reza Ally, who usually performed this ceremony. I do not, however, recollect whether, on those days when this boy met me, Vizier Ally and Reza Ally happened to be with their father. The last time I remember seeing him was, I think, about a week before the Nabob's death.

I am now informed by Tehseen Ally Khan, that the boy's name is Sherf Ally Khan; that his mother and two children (this boy and a girl) were purchased by the Nabob a short time before the mangnee; and that from the date of the purchase the two were treated as his own children. The mother and the girl, he says, are still in the Zenana to the northward of the Goomtee, as the boy is also; but he does not know who or what their father was.

(Signed J. LUMSDEN.

19th December, 1797.

The marriage ceremony between this boy and the daughter of Cossim Ally Khan, which was to have followed the mangnee, has not taken place.

Substance of a Conversation between Mahommed Ishauk Khan and the Persian Translator, 22d December 1797.

Mahommed Ishauk Khan introduced the subject of Tussusil Hossein Khan's embarrassed situation, which he spoke of in nearly the same terms as Meer Abul Cossim, blaming him for having been too rigid and too hasty

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haſty in promoting the arrangements that he had in view; the neceſſary conſequence of which was, that he was become an object of hatred to all. He ſpoke in the higheſt terms of his integrity, honour, and underſtanding; and lamented that he had not condeſcended to uſe more art, and bring about the ſalutary objects he had in view by degrees. He obſerved, that he uſed always to be too plain and ſevere in his language to the Begum and the Nabob, and too little conciliatory in his conduct towards others, whom it would have been politic, in the firſt inſtance, to have gained over, with a view to ſtrengthen his party, before he attempted to effect objects in their nature obnoxious to a great majority of the people. Mahommed Iſhauk Khan was led from this ſubject to ſpeak of the character of the Nabob, which he reprobated in ſtrong terms. He expreſſed his conviction of the miniſter deſign he entertained againſt Tuſſuſil Hoſſein Khan, when he went to his houſe with a party of armed men; and had no doubt, he ſaid, even of his intention to act hoſtilely againſt the Company, rather than admit of Tuſſuſil Hoſſein Khan's continuance in office. He ſaid it was certain that the Nabob would come into any terms, provided Tuſſuſil Hoſſein Khan was removed from his office, and was ready to pay almoſt any ſum, and even yield up territory; he confirmed the reports of the hoſtile preparations he was making, and of the encouragement he had held out by his bounty to the troops to ſtand by him; a conduct in which he was farther led on by the people about him, who were the very men that derived the benefits of the meaſures which they recommended. Mahommed Iſhauk Khan deſcribed the Nabob as given up to the moſt ſcandalous debaucheries, and as being of a diſpoſition the moſt ſanguinary.

I took occaſion to aſk him, whether he conceived the people in general attached to him? To which he replied, (as Meer Abul Coſſim did,) that thoſe to whom he had been laviſh of his favours, of courſe were ſo for ſelfiſh purpoſes. I aſked whether he ſuppoſed the people had any attachment to him out of regard for his family? He ſmiled at the queſtion, and adverted to the ſpurioufneſs of his birth, as a fact too well known to need being mentioned. He added, that when he was coming to Lucknow from Benares, with the kelaat ſent by Mirza Hujee, he repeatedly heard, at many of the ſtages, converſations upon the ſubject of Vizier Ally Khan; he told me it was ſeveral times mentioned in his hearing, and that of his ſervants, that the Engliſh had placed a Bhiſty's ſon upon the Muſnud; and that the cultivators and ryots had been heard to ſay, that had Saadut Ally, or any of the ſons of Shujah ud Dowlah, been placed on the Muſnud, they would have been moſt forward and happy to pay their rents. He told me, that on his leaving Benares he went to take leave of Saadut Ally, who ſaid to him, "So, you are going to carry a kelaat to the ſon of a Bhiſty; a pretty ſucceſſor, to be ſure, has been deviſed to my brother!" and ſimilar language, he ſaid, was held by Saadut Ally to the prince, on a viſit he ſubſequently made. He deſcribed Saadut Ally as highly indignant on the ſubject.

Mahommed Iſhauk Khan took occaſion to obſerve, that unleſs four or five of the Nabob's counſellors were removed from about his perſon, it would be in vain to expect any reform, and that the country would inevitably go to ruin under its preſent government. He told me, that he had

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had heard that ſtrict orders had been given by the Nabob, prohibiting every one from attending the miniſter; and that ſpies were placed about him, to inform of thoſe who ſhould infringe the order.

No. 21.—Inclosure.

Subſtance of a verbal Communication from Meer Abdul Lateef to the Perſian Tranſlator, 24th December 1797.

That at the time of the late Nabob's death, it was not the wiſh of any party that Vizier Ally ſhould ſucceed him, but that his bounty to the troops, and thoſe about his perſon, immediately after his acceſſion, naturally procured him partizans; that the circumſtance of his ſpurious birth was a matter, not of doubt, but of abſolute certainty, and therefore no one could be attached to him from a regard to the family of Aſoph ud Dowlah: he ſaid, that the inveſtiture of Vizier Ally was doubtleſs conſidered by all the aſhraff, (men of conſideration and underſtanding) as an act of injuſtice to the immediate deſcendants of Shujah Dowlah, as the rightful heirs; that no one gave the Company's government credit from acting from motives of ſuppoſed juſtice, but all aſcribed their acknowledgment of Vizier Ally to policy, as hoping thereby to eſtabliſh a more eaſy and effectual influence in Oude, than they otherwiſe could.

No. 22.

Subſtance of a Communication from Biſſember Pundit, to the Perſian Tranſlator, 25th December 1797.

Biſſember Pundit ſtated, that Vizier Ally's acceſſion at firſt gave general umbrage, but that his liberality ſoon acquired him partizans; that, however, none were attached to him by any other tie than that of intereſt; that on the Nabob's being recognized as ſuch by the Britiſh government, the general ſentiment at Benares, as it had come under his own obſervation, was that of ſurpriſe that the government ſhould have ſupported the acceſſion of a ſpurious ſon of Aſoph ud Dowlah, when there were twenty ſons of Shujah ud Dowlah now alive. That now, however, people acquieſced in the ſelection, and ſaid no more upon the ſubject; but that not an individual allowed Vizier Ally had a ſhadow of right to the ſtation he holds; that he obtained it was his (nuſſeeb) luck.

Explanation of the Reſident.

The under-mentioned circumſtances, ſtated in my letter of the from the report of Meah Tehſeen Ally Khan, reſpecting the birth of Vizier Ally, are inconſiſtent with the account now given by Tehſeen. It appears from my ſtatement, that the late Nabob took Vizier Ally's mother from her huſband when ſhe was pregnant, and ſent her to Tehſeen's houſe, where ſhe was delivered, and that ſhe was afterwards removed to the Zenana, and put back to Tehſeen's when pregnant a ſecond time; and it is thence to be inferred, that ſhe was conſidered as one of the Nabob's concubines, whereas it is now aſſerted, that ſhe never was conſidered in any other light than that of a menial ſervant; that her delivery in Tehſeen's houſe, in the firſt inſtance, was merely accidental, and that her delivery there of Vizier Ally the ſecond time, aroſe from the Nabob's having actually purchaſed her firſt ſon, and from the view ſhe entertained of diſpoſing of another in the ſame manner.

I have

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I have queſtioned the miniſter as to his recollection of the particulars of the firſt converſation, which formed the ground of my repreſentation to the Governor General, but at this diſtance of time he cannot ſpeak poſitively or accurately on the ſubject. I have alſo pointed out the inconſiſtency to Tehſeen, in the miniſter's preſence; and he maintains that the information now given is perfectly correct, and that the difference muſt have ariſen from my not having clearly underſtood him in the firſt inſtance.

When we firſt converſed with Tehſeen, on the ſubject of Vizier Ally's birth, doubts were entertained, both by Vizier Ally and by me, whether he was perfectly ſincere in the ſupport he pretended to give to the influence of the miniſter; and for this, as well as other reaſons, our examination of him was by no means ſo minute as it has ſince been; and I cannot therefore venture to aſſert, that the miſunderſtanding may not have been mine, although I certainly gave, what I then conſidered to be, a correct account of his report. I am indeed rather inclined to believe, that this miſconception did originate in the caution which we obſerved in queſtioning him, and in our deſire to avoid being thought too minute in our inquiries; and that if we had deſcended to more particulars on that occaſion, the circumſtances would have come out as they now appear.

The miniſter ſays he now recollects perfectly, that Tehſeen mentioned in our former converſation, that Vizier Ally's mother was a ſervant, receiving only four rupees per month; and this circumſtance muſt certainly have eſcaped my obſervation, elſe I could not have underſtood, as I always did before the recent inquiries, that ſhe was taken into the Zenana in the ſame manner with the other women, whoſe children the Nabob purchaſed.

(Signed) J. LUMSDEN.

28th December, 1797.

Subſtance of verbal Communication from Meer Aboul Coſſim, the Nephew of Muktar ud Dowlah, formerly Miniſter of Aſoph ud Dowlah, to the Perſian Tranſlator, 19th December 1797.

Meer Aboul Coſſim introduced the ſubject of public affairs, by aſking me what had been done in Tuſſuſil Hoſſein Khan's affair? to which I replied in general terms, that I imagined the Governor General would ſuſpend public buſineſs until his arrival at Lucknow. He mentioned the embarraſſing ſituation in which Tuſſuſil Hoſſein Khan was now involved, which he aſcribed chiefly to the impoſſibility of reconciling the integrity and the honourable views and meaſures of T. H. K. with thoſe of the low wretches that at preſent compoſe the court of Lucknow. He blamed him, however, for not uſing more art than he had done in his intercourſe with the durbar; contended that the ſtraight, open and unqualified ſteps he had recourſe to, with a view to introduce a due reform in the adminiſtration of the affairs and finances of the ſtate, were not calculated to produce the intended effects, and ſerved only to augment the enmity already entertained by the court party againſt him. He would have him at firſt give way, in a great meaſure, to the young man's propenſities, have allowed him the kiſt of a lack and a half of rupees, and conciliate him by a ſeeming acquieſcence in his propenſities, which he might ſubſequently, and by degrees, reſtrain and correct, rather than all at once ſet his face againſt

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againſt them; and ſhew that it was his object to eſtabliſh his own and the Engliſh influence, in direct oppoſition to the court party. He illuſtrated his argument by the artful and judicious conduct of Hyder Beg, in detaching Jaoo Loll from the late Nabob, and by other inſtances. By way of leading on M. A. C. to declare his ſentiments, and to ſpeak about the Nabob, and on the ſubject of his acceſſion, without appearing to be inquiſitive upon the ſubject, I obſerved, that, perhaps, had the young man's diſpoſition been known as ſuch, T. H. K. might have thought it adviſable to adopt a ſimilar line of conduct. He replied, that he might be naturally of a bad diſpoſition, yet it was the advice of a few unprincipled people about him, that called thoſe bad qualities into action, which he (T. H. K.) might by artful management have ſuppreſſed: he obſerved, that under the preſent government the country would fall to ruin; that he was ſurpriſed at the attention ſhewn to the court party by the gentlemen. I remarked to him, that as ſovereign of the country, that attention (paus dauree) to the Nabob, I ſuppoſed, was due, which all the inhabitants ſhewed him as ſuch. He anſwered, that all thoſe who looked up to him as ſuch were low people, who profited by his country; that the family of Shujah ud Dowlah alone were entitled to his place (zee-huk); and that, had the ſucceſſion fallen upon that line, it would have accorded with the ſentiments of every man in Hinduſtân. I aſked him, why he did not think the ſon of Aſoph ud Dowlah had a prior right? He replied, that he had none; that it was a fact, about which not a man in India had a doubt, that the late Nabob was incapable of having poſterity: that the young man, himſelf, had been known to ſay openly, that he knew what his birth was; but that his government was a deodad (koſdadad) as that of ſecunder and zohauk, and ſuch like, and therefore ſhould maintain it. He added, that this was not a matter to be at all delicate upon, as it was in the mouth of every perſon, high and low. He took occaſion to ſuggeſt what appeared to him the beſt mode of remedying matters; one way, he ſaid, was by conciliating Almas; and another (if T. H. K. would agree to it) by reſtoring Huſſein Reza and Tickait Ray, and aſſociating with them T. H. K. He threw out ſuſpicions of the fidelity of Mendu Ali Khan, who, he ſaid, was ſecretly in the intereſt out of the court party, having owed his elevation entirely to Tickait Ray, and accuſed him of betraying T. H. K. to the Begum; and that the apparent ſlight with which he was treated by the Nabob, was merely a cloak to render him unſuſpected. He took occaſion alſo to obſerve, that it was expedient for the Governor General to prohibit the European traders reſiding at Lucknow, from having any intercourſe with the court party. I aſked, upon what grounds he gave that as his advice? He anſwered only, that what was known throughout the bazar could not be concealed.

Subſtance of a verbal Communication from Mohubbut Khan, Son of Hafez Rehmut, to the Perſian Tranſlator, 28th December 1797.

Mohubbut Khan, in the courſe of converſation, himſelf led to the ſubject of public affairs, by ſtating the diſagreeable predicament he found himſelf in prior to the Governor General's coming up to Lucknow. He entered into a detail of the diſpoſition and conduct of Vizier Ally; deſcribed him as vio-

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lent, debauched, cruel, and fearleſs; contraſted the deference and attention ſhewn by the late Nabob, Aſoph ud Dowlah, towards the Engliſh, with the open and unqualified diſreſpect manifeſted towards them by Vizier Ally, who ſpoke of their power in terms of abſolute defiance, a language which was echoed by all the low people about him, amongſt whom Mohubbut Khan particularly mentioned Ibrahim Beg (darogah of one of the Tope-Konna's.) He remarked, as a farther inſtance of the Nabob's inimical diſpoſition towards the Engliſh, upon his inveterate hatred to Tuſſufil Huſſein Khan, whom he ſaid there was not the ſmalleſt doubt but that he had formed a deſign to put to death; he obſerved, that reflecting upon his own connection with, and dependence upon the Engliſh, he was juſtly apprehenſive of ſiniſter deſigns againſt himſelf, and remarked upon the very opportune arrival of the Governor General, not only on his own account, but that of the public; he mentioned that people began to be afraid that their families would not long be ſecure againſt the uncontrouled indulgence of his paſſions. He ſaid he had been actually demanding of ſome of his companions, that they ſhould deliver up their daughters to him; mentioning an inſtance that had lately occurred, when he (the Nabob) one day told Wauriſs Ally, that he (the Nabob) was his ſon-in-law. To which the other replied, "Your highneſs is Sherf Ally's ſon-in-law, not mine." "Oh!" anſwered the Nabob, "it is only ſending your daughter to me over night, and next morning I ſhall be your ſon-in-law." Mohubbut Khan having adverted to the ſpurioufneſs of Vizier Ally's birth, I obſerved (in order to induce him to ſpeak more openly on that head) that reports of that nature had frequently reached me, but that it was impoſſible to prove the truth of them, and that the fact ought not to be aſſumed upon mere popular rumours; he replied, (as every one elſe has done,) that there could be no doubt of it whatever, and that the depraved diſpoſition of the boy was itſelf a collateral proof of the baſeneſs of his origin. If that be the caſe, I anſwered, ſurely people muſt accuſe the Begum, who in fact placed him on the Muſnud, of having done an act of injuſtice. He ſaid it certainly was ſo; that, however, the caſe might be judged of in two ways—by the Muſſulman law (ſhureeut), and by expediency (chillan); that by the former he had no title, the right lay with the ſons of Shujah Dowlah. I quoted generally the Muſſulman laws of acknowledgment; to which he obſerved, that it held good, provided the child's real parents were unknown, which was not the caſe in this inſtance.

I gathered from what Mohubbut Khan ſaid, in anſwer to ſome leading queſtions reſpecting the general opinions entertained on Vizier Ally's acceſſion, that people appeared to conſider the point of ſucceſſion with indifference, whatever were their ſentiments with regard to his title to the Muſnud, and looked upon him as a perſon ſet up to repreſent the late Nabob (Nabob Aſoph ud Dowlah Kanaum Kewauſtah.)

Mohubbut Khan took occaſion to mention the abſolute neceſſity of bringing Vizier Ally under controul, obſerving that any delicacy, in that reſpect, on the part of government, would be aſcribed to fear, and that if left to himſelf he would ſoon prove dangerous; that the whole country would inevitably go to ruin; and that it was required of government, upon principles of humanity, not to leave him his

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his own master. He added, that if the English government were to withdraw their authority, the Rohillas would be the first to over-run the country. He gave it as his opinion, that it would be highly politic in government to conciliate the younger Begum, who he seemed indeed to think had a prior voice in the succession, to the elder, and who, he said, had never concurred in Vizier Ally's succession. The latter Begum, he said, was the determined enemy of the English, and encouraged the opposition to their influence; and accounted for her suffrage in Vizier Ally's right, both upon that principle, and her known aversion to Shujah Dowlah's sons.

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

Lucknow, 6th December 1797.

My Dear Edmonstone,

The inclosed is the massudah (or draft) I mentioned to you in my letter of the 4th. You will have already heard, that on the morning Sir John Shore's intention of visiting Lucknow was intimated to the Nabob, matters here wore a most alarming appearance: ten or twelve battalions had been called in; the Tope-Konnas served with ammunition, and Obdulrehman Khan Kandahan had sworn to support the junto's measures; but the Governor General's unexpected visit occasioned a fresh committee being called, the result of whose deliberations was a letter from the Nabob, and another from the Begum to Sir John Shore. Sherf Ally brought the former to shew to Pendergast, who, not thoroughly comprehending many of the expressions, and infinitely alarmed at what he did not understand, requested Sherf Ally's permission for me to peruse and explain it; this was granted, though under many restrictions, and promises of secresy on Pendergast's part. I read it, and indeed I think I never saw so intemperate and violent a production. It was the kind of letter that required an answer either of implicit acquiescence to the most inordinate demands, or a drawn sword. Pendergast endeavoured to shew him the folly and risk of sending such a letter, but with little effect, till in a serious manner he said, you are the Nabob's father-in-law; who has placed him on the Musnud? If you unprovokedly irritate the power that made your son-in-law what he is, depend upon it that same power will depose him. You have, by moderation and temperance, every thing to expect from the Governor General's justice and friendship, and nothing from an opposite mode of conduct but disgrace and ruin. This opened his eyes, and he said, that on condition Pendergast would dictate a proper letter for him, he would persuade the Nabob to tear the other, and give up the determinations they had before agreed to adopt; the first one of which, I fear, was the sacrifice of Tussusil Hossein Khan, and the second a general massacre of the English and their adherents. In short, although we both felt very reluctant to meddle in any matter of so serious a nature, the prospect of conciliatory measures being adopted in consequence of it, induced us to wave all scruples; and as the Nabob himself was to be the scribe (no moonshee being trusted, and Sherf Ally quite illiterate) I became the amanuensis. Pendergast dictated, and, by adopting some of the Nabob's causes of complaint (which I believe allude to mean Tehseen or Buria Mirza), and expunging all intemperate demands, I wrote the inclosed massudah, which the Nabob highly approved, and says he wrote literatim to Sir John Shore, merely with the necessary

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change *. As Pendergaſt and I feel very much intereſted about knowing the truth of this, you will infinitely oblige me by comparing them, and letting me know the reſult, as he promiſed moſt ſolemnly to ſtick to my text; and his adherence to his promiſe, in this inſtance, may allow us to hope that he will keep up to the ſpirit of it, and entirely reſign himſelf to the juſtice and will of Sir John Shore. On giving him the maſſudah, Pendergaſt made one condition of his ſending away ſome of the battalions, which I am happy to find he did the ſame night, though I believe the real motive which induced him to comply with this meaſure, was not known to any one but us.

Pray let me hear from you ſhortly, and ſay when we may expect to ſee you.——Yours, &c.

(Signed) GORE OUSELEY.

Treaty between the Nabob Vizier Saadut Ally Khan, Bahader, and the Honourable the Engliſh Eaſt India Company.

Whereas various treaties have been concluded, at different times, between the late Nabob Shujah ud Dowlah Bahader, and the Nabob Aſoph ud Dowlah Bahader, and the Honourable the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, to the mutual advantage of their reſpective dominions; the Nabob Vizier ud Momaluck, Yemeen ud Dowlah, Nazim ul Mulk, Saadut Ally Khan Bahader Mobariz Jung, and Sir John Shore, Baronet, on the part of the Honourable Eaſt India Company, with a view to perpetuate the amity ſubſiſting between the two ſtates, and the advantages reciprocally reſulting from it, now agree to the following articles:

1*ſt*. That the peace, friendſhip and union ſo long ſubſiſting between the two ſtates ſhall be perpetual; the friends and enemies of either ſhall be the friends and enemies of both; and the contracting parties agree, that all the former treaties and agreements between the two ſtates now in force, and not contrary to the tenor of this engagement, ſhall be confirmed by it.

2*d*. By the exiſting treaties between the ſtates, the Honourable Eaſt India Company are bound to defend the dominions of his highneſs the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan againſt all enemies; and with a view to enable them to fulfil this engagement, and at the ſame time provide for the protection of their own dominions, the Engliſh Company having largely increaſed their military eſtabliſhment by the addition of new levied regiments both of infantry and cavalry, the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan, in conſideration thereof, agrees, in addition to the annual ſubſidy paid by the late Nabob Aſoph ud Dowlah to the Engliſh Company, being Rs. 5,677,638, to pay in perpetuity the farther ſum of Rs. 1,922,362, making together the ſum of Rs. 7,600,000; the ſaid rupees to be Oude ficca rupees, of the preſent weight and ſtandard.

3*d*. The above ſubſidy of Oude ficca rupees 76 lacks, is to commence from the 21ſt day of January 1798, the date of the acceſſion of the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan to the Muſnud of Oude: and the Nabob engages that it ſhall be punctually diſcharged, month by month, as it becomes due, in ſums of Oude ficca rupees 6,33,330. 5. 4. of the preſent weight and ſtandard, according to the kiſtbundy annexed.

4*th*.

* On comparing the letter actually received with the draft ſent to the Perſian tranſlator, as here referred to, the variations were found to be only as here ſtated. (Sd.) J.S.

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4*th*. That the arrears of ſubſidy due upon former engagements to the 21ſt January 1798, alſo be immediately diſcharged.

5*th*. The Nabob Saadut Ally Khan agrees, that an annual allowance of 150,000 Oude ſicca rupees be made to Vizier Ally Khan, and agrees to pay the amount by monthly kiſts of 12,500 rupees to the Engliſh Company, who will pay the ſame to Vizier Ally Khan, as long as he ſhall continue to reſide in the dominions of the Engliſh Company.

6*th*. The ſtipends to the Begums and princes at Benares, amounting to rupees 204,000 per annum, and the Furrackabad penſions, amounting to rupees 23,638, are included in the above ſum of 76 lacks of Oude ſicca rupees.

7*th*. The Governor General, Sir John Shore, on the part of the Eaſt India Company, agrees, that the Engliſh forces maintained in the country of Oude, for its defence, ſhall never conſiſt of leſs than 10,000 men, including Europeans and natives, cavalry, infantry and artillery; and if at any time it ſhould become neceſſary to augment the troops of the Company, in Oude, beyond the number of 13,000 men, including Europeans and natives, infantry, cavalry and artillery, the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan agrees to pay the actual difference occaſioned by the exceſs above that number; and in the ſame manner, if the troops of the Company, in Oude, from any neceſſity, ſhould be leſs than 8,000 men, including infantry, cavalry, artillery, natives, and Europeans, a deduction ſhall be made from the annual ſtipend of 76 lacks of rupees, equal to the actual difference of men below the ſpecified number.

8*th*. As the Engliſh Company are not poſſeſſed of any fortreſs in the dominions of Oude, the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan, having the fulleſt reliance on the friendſhip of the Engliſh Company, agrees to make over to their exclufive poſſeſſion the fort of Allahabad, with all its buildings and appurtenances, and the gauts immediately dependent upon the fort, together with as much land ſurrounding the fort as may be neceſſary for an eſplanade, the Company agreeing to be anſwerable to the Nabob for the amount of the revenues collected from the ſaid gauts: the ſaid Nabob alſo agrees to advance to the Company, ſuch a ſum as may be neceſſary for ſtrengthening and improving the fortifications of this fort, provided that it do not exceed the ſum of eight lacks of Oude ſicca rupees; and that the ſaid amount, or actual amount of the expenditure, not exceeding eight lacks of rupees, ſhall be paid to the Company within two years from the date of this treaty, in ſuch proportions as may be required for defraying the expence to which it is applicable; and the ſaid Nabob Saadut Ally Khan, for the ſame reaſons, farther agrees to advance to the Engliſh Company, for the purpoſe of repairing the fort of Futty Ghur, within ſix months from the date of this engagement, a ſum not exceeding, on the whole, three lacks of Oude ſicca rupees.

9*th*. If, for the better protection and defence of the dominions of the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan, it ſhould be deemed adviſable to change the preſent ſtations of the troops at Cawnpore and Futty Ghur, the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan conſents thereto; and that the troops ſhall be ſtationed in ſuch places as may be judged moſt adviſable and convenient, and that he will defray the expence attending their removal, and making cantonments for the troops.

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10*th*. As the Engliſh Company have incurred a conſiderable expence by their exertions in eſtabliſhing the right of the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan, the ſaid Nabob agrees, in conſideration thereof, to pay to the Company the ſum of 12 lacks of Oude ſicca rupees.

11*th*. As the payment of the Company's troops in Oude depends upon the regular diſcharge of the ſubſidy ſtated in the 2d and 3d articles of the treaty, the ſaid Nabob engages to exert his utmoſt endeavours to diſcharge the ſtipulated kiſts with punctuality; but if, contrary to the ſincere intentions and exertions of the ſaid Nabob, the payment of the kiſts ſhould fall into arrear, the ſaid Nabob Saadut Ally Khan engages and promiſes, that he will then give ſuch ſecurity to the Company for the diſcharge of the exiſting arrears, and the future regular payment of the kiſts, as ſhall be deemed ſatisfactory.

12*th*. Whereas, by the engagements now entered into between the Nabob Vizier and the Company, the amount of the ſubſidy is conſiderably increaſed, and many other permanent charges upon his Excellency are incurred, on a compariſon of his diſburſements with the aſſets of his country, it becomes neceſſary to make ſuch reductions in the ſuperfluous charges of the public eſtabliſhments, ſervants, &c. as may be requiſite, and are conſiſtent with his Excellency's dignity and convenience: to that end, the ſaid Nabob agrees to conſult with the Company's governments, and, in concert with them, deviſe the proper objects of ſuch reductions, and the beſt means of effecting them..

13*th*. As the political intereſts of the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan and the Engliſh Company are the ſame, it is expedient and agreed, that all correſpondence between the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan and any foreign power or ſtate, ſhall be carried on with the knowledge and concurrence of the Company; and the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan agrees and promiſes, that no correſpondence, contrary to the tenor of this article, ſhall be carried on by him.

14*th*. As the ſtipulations in the commercial treaty between the two ſtates have not been enforced with due attention, particularly in the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, the contracting parties agree to exert their utmoſt endeavours to give force and effect to them.

15*th*. The Nabob Saadut Ally Khan engages and promiſes, that he will not entertain any Europeans of any deſcription in his ſervice, nor allow any to ſettle in his country, without the conſent of the Company.

16*th*. The Nabob Saadut Ally agrees, that a ſuitable maintenance ſhall be provided for the reputed children of his brother, the late Nabob Aſoph ud Dowlah, and willingly promiſes to take them under his protection.

17*th*. The Nabob Vizier ul Momaluck Saadut Ally Khan Bahader, for himſelf and his heirs, and the Governor General, Sir John Shore, on the part of the Eaſt India Company, reſpectively promiſe to obſerve, ſincerely and ſtrictly, all the articles contained and ſettled in the preſent treaty; and they both agree that they will give the greateſt attention to maintain between themſelves, their dominions, and their ſubjects, this preſent treaty, and all the articles ſettled by it, that all tranſactions between the two ſtates ſhall be carried on with the greateſt cordiality and harmony on both ſides, and that the ſaid Nabob ſhall poſſeſs full authority over his houſehold affairs, hereditary dominions, his troops, and his ſubjects.

KIST-

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KISTBUNDY *(or Inſtalment) for the Payment of the Annual Subſidy.*

1ſt Kiſt, for the month of January, payable on the 1ſt of February	-	633,333	5 4
2d Kiſt, for the month of February, payable on the 1ſt of March	-	633,333	5 4
3d Kiſt, for the month of March, payable on the 1ſt of April	-	633,333	5 4
4th Kiſt, for the month of April, payable on the 1ſt of May	-	633,333	5 4
5th Kiſt, for the month of May, payable on the 1ſt of June	-	633,333	5 4
6th Kiſt, for the month of June, payable on the 1ſt of July	-	633,333	5 4
7th Kiſt, for the month of July, payable on the 1ſt of Auguſt	-	633,333	5 4
8th Kiſt, for the month of Auguſt, payable on the 1ſt of September,		633,333	5 4
9th Kiſt, for the month of September, payable on the 1ſt of October,		633,333	5 4
10th Kiſt, for the month of October, payable on the 1ſt of November,		633,333	5 4
11th Kiſt, for the month of November, payable on the 1ſt of December,		633,333	5 4
12th Kiſt, for the month of December, payable on the 1ſt of January,		633,333	5 4
Total, ſicca rupees,		7,600,000	0 0

Signed and ſealed by Sir JOHN SHORE, on the part of the Company; and the ſeal of the Nabob SAADUT ALLY KHAN affixed to the Perſian copy.

A true copy. (Signed) G. H. BARLOW,
Secretary to Government.

Extract Political Letter to Bengal, dated the 15th May 1799.

[Letter from Bengal in the Political Department, dated 7th March 1798 (14 a 24), adviſing the ſucceſſion of Saadut Ally Khan to the Muſnud of Oude, referring to ſundry papers connected with that ſucceſſion, and incloſing a Copy of the Treaty concluded with the Nabob.]

35. In the 61ſt paragraph of our letter in the political department of the 25th of July laſt, we took occaſion to notice, in terms of high commendation, the zeal manifeſted by our late Governor General for the Company's intereſts, in his determination to proceed, a ſecond time, to Lucknow, though on the eve of his departure for Europe, for the purpoſe of adjuſting the neceſſary arrangements in conſequence of the demiſe of the Vizier Aſoph ud Dowlah, Nabob of Oude.

36. Although Vizier Ally ſucceeded to the Muſnud with the general concurrence, and his ſucceſſion was in conſequence acknowledged by your government; yet as the ſubſequent objections to that ſucceſſion were, as generally conceived, founded on the ſpurioufneſs of his birth, and the right of ſucceſſion actually claimed by another, in the perſon of Saadut Ally, brother to the deceaſed Nabob, and the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of Shujah Dowlah, it certainly behoved our Governor General to conſider thoſe objections on the one hand, and the pretenſions of Saadut Ally on the other, with all the attention and importance due to a queſtion which involved the diſpoſal of a kingdom, the right of inheritance to the property of the deceaſed Nabob, the political intereſts of the Company, and the honour, the reputation, and the juſtice of its government.

37. After an attentive peruſal of the ſeveral minutes and letters of the late Governor General, which contain a moſt able, elaborate, and impartial detail of all the circumſtances which led to a deciſion, by which Vizier Ally was depoſed, and Saadut Ally placed upon the Muſnud, we have not the leaſt heſitation in pronouncing that, in that deciſion, the juſt right of inheritance *has* been ſupported, and the honour,

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the reputation, and the juſtice of the Company's government fully maintained.

38. The Governor General's minute, of the 5th March 1798, contains a very ſatisfactory explanation of the variations between the terms of the previous engagement executed by Saadut Ally at Benares, and thoſe of the definitive treaty concluded at Lucknow. By the latter, the Company's influence over the Vizier's country appears to be ſufficiently preſerved, without the inſertion of any article which, in its operation, might lead to an interference in the collections on the part of the Company, that might be deemed offenſive. And we have the farther ſatisfaction to find, that, excluſive of the immediate payment of twelve lacks of rupees, by the Nabob Vizier, his annual ſubſidy is increaſed upwards of twenty lacks of rupees, beſides the acquiſition of a fortreſs in the Oude dominions, of the greateſt conſequence in the ſcale of general defence, with other ſtipulations, which have a tendency to remedy former defects in our political connection with that country, and to give the Company ſuch an aſcendancy as cannot fail to be productive of material benefit to both parties, and which we truſt will lead to the eſtabliſhment of a good ſyſtem of government in Oude, which hitherto all our endeavours for a ſeries of years have been unable to accompliſh.

39. The late Governor General had given us reaſon to expect, that for the firſt year, or perhaps longer, after Saadut Ally's acceſſion, his revenues would probably fall conſiderably ſhort of their eſtimated amount, and that he would find conſiderable difficulty in fulfilling his pecuniary engagements with the Company; and very ſatisfactorily aſſigned the ground of that opinion: we are therefore not ſurpriſed to find, by the laſt accounts, that an arrear had accumulated in the payment of the Company's tribute, to the amount of upwards of eighteen lacks of rupees. Lord Mornington having repreſented, however, that he believes the Nabob is ſincerely diſpoſed to make every poſſible effort for the liquidation of this arrear, as well as for introducing ſuch a ſyſtem of order and economy into the management of his finances as will enable him to be more punctual in his future payments, we entertain a well-grounded expectation, that every cauſe of complaint upon this head will ſpeedily terminate.

40. The large, uſeleſs, and expenſive military eſtabliſhment within the Oude dominions, appears to us to be one of the principal objects of economical reform; and we have much ſatisfaction in finding that the ſubject has already come under your conſideration.

41. We obſerved with much ſatisfaction the attention given by the late Governor General to the influence, power, and wealth of Almas Ally Khan, derived from the poſſeſſion of half the dominions of Oude, in the capacity of aumil and farmer, in procuring from him the relinquiſhment of farms which he held in the Doab, to the amount of forty-nine lacks of rupees, and which reduction of his power was effected without expoſing him to public diſgrace. Indeed he ſubſequently evinced his good diſpoſition towards the Company, by a loan of ten lacks of rupees. As, however, Almas Ally ſtill appears to be in the poſſeſſion of very extenſive diſtricts, under an aſſurance of ſecurity to retain them, and although on account of his age he is ſuppoſed to feel no adequate motive to induce him to hazard the loſs of thoſe poſſeſſions,

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poſſeſſions, yet as he and the Begum are conſidered as the only perſons who have the power to excite any oppoſition to the reigning ſovereign, it is neceſſary that our reſident at the Vizier's court ſhould be watchful of their conduct, though we are pleaſed to obſerve, that no apprehenſions are entertained that they will make the attempt.

42. Having taken this general view of the ſubject, with a minute attention however to all the papers and proceedings, we are upon the whole decidedly of opinion, that the late Governor General, Lord Teignmouth, in a moſt arduous ſituation, and under circumſtances of much delicacy and embarraſſment, conducted himſelf with great temper, impartiality, ability, and firmneſs, and that he finiſhed a long courſe of faithful ſervices, by planning and carrying into execution an arrangement which not only redounds highly to his own honour, but which will alſo operate to the reciprocal advantage of the Company and the Nabob Vizier.

PAPERS *preſented to the Houſe of Commons, relating to the late War in the Eaſt Indies with* TIPPOO SULTAUN.

(Ordered to be printed 26th September 1799.)

THE following important Documents are among the moſt intereſting that have hitherto appeared in the hiſtory of Britiſh India, as well from the magnitude of their ſubject, as from the maſterly manner in which it is handled. They contain a full and connected relation of the whole proceedings of the late War with TIPPOO SULTAUN, together with a lucid developement of the cauſes which unavoidably produced the rupture with that miſguided and infatuated prince. From theſe it appears perfectly manifeſt, that every poſſible endeavour, compatible with political prudence and national honour, was exerted by the Right Honourable the GOVERNOR GENERAL, to avert the calamities of War; and that TIPPOO, in fact, owes his fate to the evil counſel of his French friends, that urged him to the adoption of meaſures, of which he had neither the diſcernment to diſcover the folly, nor the reſources to meet the danger. His enmity towards us was ſo implacable, that it ſhewed itſelf upon all occaſions, but particularly in this inſtance, through the thin veil of his ſpecious profeſſions. His friendſhip for the French was proportionably ſtrong; for it grew out of their common hoſtility to the Engliſh. With a thorough conviction of theſe truths, it was yet the wiſh of the Britiſh Government to preſerve the bleſſings of peace. But the ſucceſs of BONAPARTE in Egypt, and the ratification of the Treaty between TIPPOO and the Governor of the Iſle of France, rendered War the only ſafe alternative. Even then, the prudent policy of the Governor General was no leſs conſpicuous than his firmneſs and foreſight. While he ſummed up all the energies of the country to cruſh the aggreſſor, he left the door of negociation open to him; and, unprovoked by his inſolent delay and evaſions, he ſpared him to the laſt.

This wiſe and dignified forbearance on the part of the Britiſh Government will doubtleſs be productive of the moſt eſſential benefits. It will ſhew the Native Powers, that in the proud fluſh of victory, as much as in the full enjoyment of peace, or the critical hour of danger, we make moderation, equity, and honour, our principles of action; and, by laying the foundation of general eſteem, it will convince France, that the ſolid fabric of our Indian Empire, cemented by the affection of its numerous inhabitants, is not to be undermined by her inſidious artifices, nor overthrown by her gigantic power, at leaſt while Engliſhmen ſhall maintain the ſpirit of Freemen, and hold the dominion of the Seas.

No. 1.

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No. 1.

Extract of Letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, to the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council at Bengal.

18th June, 1798.

We take the earlieſt opportunity of acquainting you, that we have received information from his Majeſty's miniſters, that a very large armament of ſhips, troops, military ſtores, &c, &c. has been lately fitted out at Toulon, and that it ſailed from thence on the 19th ult. Although the ultimate object of this armament has not been aſcertained, it is not improbable, from many circumſtances that have tranſpired, and from the ſpirit of daring adventure by which the French have been actuated during the preſent war, that its deſtination may be for India, either (having firſt taken poſſeſſion of Egypt) by way of the Red Sea, down the coaſt of that ſea, or even perhaps by the Black Sea, or by Buſſora. His Majeſty's miniſters have therefore informed us, that immediate meaſures will be taken for a conſiderable augmentation of the European force in the Eaſt Indies: You may therefore expect, that no leſs than four thouſand ſeaſoned and diſciplined troops, and perhaps a larger number, may be ſent to the Company's ſettlements with all poſſible expedition, part of which will, we truſt, reach India not many months after the receipt of this diſpatch.

Should the expedition, notwithſtanding the meaſures taken by his Majeſty's government to intercept and defeat it in the Mediterranean, reach Egypt, and be deſtined for India by either of the routes we have mentioned, a part of his Majeſty's fleet, conſiſting of two men of war, and probably a ſloop, now under diſpatch for India, will be ordered to be ſtationed in the Straits of Babelmandel, and in the Gulph of Perſia, for the purpoſe of intercepting any force that may be proceeding to India that way.

A copy of a proclamation iſſued at the Mauritius in the month of March laſt, has been already tranſmitted to our ſeveral preſidencies by Mr. Pringle, the Company's agent at the Cape of Good Hope. We are unable to judge whether this proclamation be in reality what its import declares it to be, that Tippoo has really conceived any hoſtile deſigns againſt the Britiſh empire in India, or intended merely as a feint, with a view to embroil us with that prince. Our reſpective governments will of courſe have taken ſuch precautionary meaſures in conſequence, as appeared to them neceſſary and applicable to exiſting circumſtances.

Our empire in the eaſt has ever been an object of jealouſy to the French; and we know that their former government entertained ſanguine hopes of being able to reach India by a ſhorter paſſage than round the Cape of Good Hope; and we have no doubt that the preſent government would riſk a great deal, and even adopt meaſures of a moſt enterprizing and uncommon nature, for the chance of reducing, if not annihilating, the Britiſh power and conſequence in that quarter of the world. To effect this, without the aid and previous concert of one of the Indian powers, ſeems almoſt impoſſible, and would ſcarcely be attempted. In the preſent ſituation of India, Tippoo appears the fitteſt inſtrument to be employed in the furtherance of ſuch ambitious projects.

It is highly improbable, that Tippoo ſhould have entered into any

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league with the French, without ſome apparent preparation on his part, of an hoſtile nature in furtherance of their deſigns. If ſuch therefore ſhall have been the caſe, it would be neither prudent nor politic to wait for actual hoſtilities on his part. We therefore recommend, that if you ſhall not have adopted the neceſſary meaſures for bringing Tippoo to a ſatisfactory explanation before the receipt of this diſpatch, that you ſhould immediately take the proper ſteps for ſo doing, accompanying this inquiry with ſuch a diſpoſition of your force as may give effect to it; and ſhould you judge, either from his anſwers, or from the ſteps he is taking, that his deſigns are ſuch as the French proclamation repreſents, and that he is making preparations to act hoſtilely againſt us, we think it will be more adviſable not to wait for ſuch an attack, but to take the moſt immediate and deciſive meaſures to carry our arms into our enemy's country, not failing at the ſame time to make known to the powers in alliance with us, the neceſſity of ſuch meaſures, and that we have not in view a wanton attack upon our inveterate enemy, with a deſign to augment our own power, but a neceſſary and juſtifiable defence of our own poſſeſſions, and calling upon them for the aſſiſtance they are under engagements to furniſh us.

But although we have thus recommended energy, firmneſs, and deciſion, in your conduct towards Tippoo, we rely upon your uſing the latitude allowed you in the preceding paragraph with the utmoſt diſcretion, that we may not be involved in a war in India without the moſt inevitable neceſſity, of which neceſſity we leave you to be the ſole judges. And as it is impoſſible for us to conjecture, ſhould either the proclamations circulated at the Mauritius be founded, or the force now in the Mediterranean be really deſtined for India, what meaſures the implacable revenge and raſh enterprize of the French may induce them to undertake againſt the Britiſh power in India, we can only exhort our ſeveral governments to be conſtantly upon their guard, and watchful againſt ſurpriſe, by not only keeping the troops in perfect order for action, and our forts and garriſons in conſtant preparation of defence, but, if it ſhall appear neceſſary, by encouraging military aſſociations amongſt our civil ſervants and others (as in this country), which may be prepared to act on any emergency; and in carefully keeping in view every channel through which it may be poſſible for France to get an European force out to India, and taking precautionary meaſures to prevent it.

We have tranſmitted copies of this diſpatch to our governments of Madras and Bombay.

No. 2.—Circular.

Copy of Letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governments in India.

26th November 1798.

Our letter to you of the 18th June laſt, incloſed a copy of our orders to the Governor General in Council of the ſame date, relative to the expedition from Toulon under General Bonaparte, and directing your obedience thereto, ſo far as ſhould reſpect your preſidency.

Our ſubſequent advices of July and Auguſt, will have informed you of the appointment of Mr. Jones to reſide at the court of the Pacha of Bagdad, as well as of the objects of his miſſion, and of the reinforcements already ſent, and now ſending out to India.

Since the date of our letter of June laſt, above alluded to, the landing

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landing of Bonaparte in Egypt has been fully confirmed; and although, by the glorious victory of Admiral Nelson over the French fleet near Alexandria, and the opposition made to their progress through Egypt by the Arabs, under the authority of the Porte, the designs of the French have been considerably impeded; yet if, contrary to our hopes and expectations, he should be able to establish himself in Egypt, we cannot but still be under apprehensions for the safety of our Indian possessions. These apprehensions are considerably increased in consequence of some hints lately suggested by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, that, if the French should be able to subdue Egypt, and to establish their authority in that country, it is likely their next progressive measure would be to secure the communication of the Red Sea with the Gulph of Cambay, at the narrow straits of Babelmandel; and, if in their power, to detach a sufficient force to take possession of the island of Perim, situate between the two points which include those straits.

The possession of this station will be of the greatest importance to the French, in securing the advantages they propose to themselves in the conquest of Egypt, and consequently it is well deserving of the utmost vigilance and exertion on the part of Great Britain, to defeat any plan they may entertain to get it into their hands. If we should succeed in making ourselves masters of that island, it would be impossible, in the first instance, for any ships to pass the straits against a superior naval force stationed there. It may then be secured and fortified by the application of such materials as its situation may afford, for completing its permament defence, and for effectually commanding the channels through which ships must pass to the Indian Ocean.

We understand that the island of Perim is a low rocky substance, about five miles in length and two in breadth; that it possesses a good harbour; that the channel which divides it from the African coast, though fourteen or fifteen miles across, is but little frequented, on account of the numerous rocks and shoals which obstruct it, insomuch as to render it necessary for vessels that do attempt it, to steer close under the western point of the island, and that the extreme breadth of the other channel is less than two leagues, and that this space cannot be navigable, nor the deep water every where at so great a distance from the island as to be out of the reach of its batteries, whether erected on the shore, or on artificial projections within the sea, if such should be found necessary to the entire command of the passage.

We have entered thus fully into detail, to shew the importance of taking possession of the island of Perim without delay; nor is dispatch alone necessary, but secrecy is equally indispensable, as it is not improbable that provisional measures have been taken by the French to assemble some vessels of burthen at the port of Suez, to co-operate, in whatever way their services may be wanted, with the primary expedition, and if the design were known, they would detach a force at all hazards to secure the first possession of it.

Mr. Secretary Dundas has farther informed us, that although the commanders of his Majesty's fleets in India have already been directed to use every effort in their power to frustrate the designs of the French in the expedition under Bonaparte, yet special orders will be sent out to the commander in chief of his

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Majesty's naval force in the Indian seas, as soon as possible to detach, to the straits of Babelmandel, such a force as, according to the information he shall have received, he may judge sufficient for the service; in the instructions to take possession of the island of Perim, by whatever power it may be occupied at the time.

The importance of the measure we have thus pointed out, will insure your most cordial endeavours in promoting the same by every means within your power. The security of our most valuable possessions in India, if not our very existence there, depends upon defeating the present formidable and inveterate designs of the French against those possessions.

No. 3.

Extract of a Letter from the Right Honourable the Governor General to the Court of Directors.

Fort William, 21st Nov. 1798.

Par. 1. By my letter dispatched overland from Fort St. George, I had the honour to inform you of my arrival at that presidency on the 26th of April.

12. While I was engaged in considering the means of improving the internal order and management of your finances, I received intelligence which led me to apprehend the approach of a war with Tippoo Sultaun, aided by a French force: Your secret committee is in possession of this intelligence, of which the result on my mind was a firm conviction, that the safety of your possessions in the Peninsula of India demanded, that your armies should be placed in an active and early state of preparation for war. Accordingly, having apprized the governor of Fort St. George, as early as the 8th of June, of my apprehensions of the designs of the enemy, and having directed his attention to the probability of our being involved in hostilities, on the 20th of June, I issued my final orders to the governments of Fort St. George and Bombay, for calling your armies into the field on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. These orders have been executed; and I trust that the subsequent disclosure of the projects entertained by France against the British empire in India, and the adventurous and daring spirit with which those projects have been prosecuted, will sufficiently justify to your Honourable Court, the measures of precaution, which I deemed it my duty to adopt for the defence of your territories, although the immediate effect of those measures has necessarily occasioned a large increase of our expences, a diminution of your commercial investment, and a suspension of the improvements which I had hoped to have accomplished in the state of your pecuniary affairs.

13. It would have been a most improvident and mistaken economy, to have hazarded the permanent safety of the British empire in India, and to have abandoned the sources of your commercial prosperity, without defence, to the attack of the enemy, for the purpose of preserving a specious and delusive appearance of security in a conjuncture of real danger.

14. I am persuaded that the wisdom and justice of your Honourable Court will readily approve the policy of sacrificing a degree of temporary advantage to the important object of providing an effectual protection for the foundations of your trade and revenue, and for the lasting tranquillity of your possessions in India.

15. Under the expectation of an approaching war with Tippoo Sultaun, aided by the French, the state of

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of our alliances with the country powers became an anxious object of my conſideration.

16. I have ſubmitted a full detail of my opinions and proceedings upon this ſubject to your ſecret committee; but it is my duty in this place to requeſt the attention of your Honourable Court to the condition in which I found our alliance with his highneſs the Nizam, and to the happy improvement which circumſtances have enabled me to effect in the nature of our connection with that prince.

17. The corps commanded by French officers in the ſervice of the Nizam, which, during the laſt war with Myſore, amounted to no more than 1,500 men, and was at that period of time ſo defective in point of diſcipline, as to be rather an object of contempt than of jealouſy to your governments in India, had gradually augmented its numbers, and improved its diſcipline under the command of the late Monſieur Raymond, until, at the period of my arrival in India, it had nearly reached the number of 14,000 men, and had obtained a degree of diſcipline ſuperior in every reſpect to that of any native infantry in India, excepting the ſepoys entertained in your ſervice.

18. This corps formed the largeſt and moſt efficient branch of the military eſtabliſhment of his highneſs; and the French officers had acquired a conſiderable aſcendancy in his dominions, and had manifeſted on ſeveral occaſions the ſymptoms of a diſpoſition ſo arrogant, overbearing and adventurous, as to excite alarm in the minds of his highneſs and of his miniſters. Although his highneſs had entered into no engagement or obligation which in any degree bound him to retain this party in his ſervice, and although their ſudden diſmiſſion would at any time have been warranted by every principle of juſtice, and their continuance at Hydrabad threatened the independence, if not the exiſtence of his highneſs's throne; yet the nizam and his miniſters confeſſed their inability to check the growth of a power, of which they acknowledged the dangerous influence, and dreaded the deſtructive effect.

19. The principles of the French officers commanding this army were avowedly the ſame with thoſe of the perſons, who, for ſome time paſt, have exerciſed the powers of government in France, and their enmity to the Britiſh intereſts was declared on all occaſions. While this army, commanded by Frenchmen of ſuch principles and views, and of ſuch uncontrouled power, remained in the ſervice of the Nizam, his highneſs's alliance muſt have proved a ſource rather of danger than of advantage to the Company, in the event of a war with Tippoo Sultaun; and that danger would have been greatly aggravated by any co-operation which might have been afforded to Tippoo from France. Various other conſiderations will occur to the wiſdom and experience of your Honourable Court, to prove the direct and collateral effects, which the exiſtence of a numerous armed French party, in the centre of the Deccan, muſt have produced, whether in time of war or of peace, upon the whole frame of your political intereſts in India.

20. Under theſe circumſtances, the expulſion of the French party from the court of Hydrabad appeared to me to be a neceſſary part of that ſyſtem of precaution and defence, by which I hoped to be enabled either to encounter the preſſure of war, or to ſecure the advantages of peace.

21. With theſe views, on the 8th

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8th of July, I inſtructed the acting reſident at Hydrabad to open a negociation with his highneſs the Nizam, propoſing an addition to the Britiſh detachment ſerving at Hydrabad, and ſtipulating for the diſmiſſion of the corps commanded by French officers in his highneſs's ſervice.

22. A new ſubſidiary treaty, founded on this baſis, and embracing other collateral arrangements (particularly ſuch conditions as appeared neceſſary for the removal of all cauſes of jealouſy, and for the reſtoration of union and concord between our two allies, the peſhwa and the nizam) was ſigned by his highneſs, at Hydrabad, on the 1ſt September, and ratified by me, in council on the 18th of the ſame month.

23. By this treaty an increaſe is made in the Britiſh ſubſidiary force ſerving with his highneſs, of 4,400 men, and an increaſe in the annual ſubſidy paid by his highneſs of about nineteen lacks of rupees,—the former ſubſidy having been 53,713 Arcot rupees per menſem, and the ſubſidy under the new treaty being 201,425 Arcot rupees per menſem, or 2,417,100 Arcot rupees per annum.

24. The ſubſtance of this treaty was communicated to the peſhwa, both previouſly and ſubſequently to its concluſion; and at both periods he expreſſed his entire approbation of the nature and tendency of the new engagements, as well in their operation upon the intereſts of the Mahratta empire, as upon thoſe of the Nizam.

25. On the 18th of July I ordered the government of Fort St. George to aſſemble ſuch a force in the Guntoor circar, as might enable me to fulfil the ſubſidiary engagements of the company under the new treaty, at the earlieſt poſſible period ſubſequent to its concluſion. This meaſure was executed with the utmoſt degree of promptitude and alacrity by Lieutenant-general Harris (at that time uniting in his perſon the offices of governor of Fort St. George, and commander in chief on the coaſt of Coromandel); to whoſe zeal and public ſpirit, and prompt obedience on all occaſions wherein I have entruſted him with the execution of my orders, I am happy to be able to bear this public teſtimony.

26. The Britiſh detachment under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Roberts reached Hydrabad on the 10th of October, and on the 22d of October, under the orders of his highneſs the nizam, and with the co-operation of a body of his cavalry, ſurrounded the camp of the French army, diſarmed all the ſepoys, and ſecured the perſons of all the French officers then in the camp.

27. This operation was happily effected without bloodſhed and without conteſt. A mutiny having broken out in the French camp on the preceding day, and the ſepoys having impriſoned their officers, the reſident at Hydrabad, and Lieutenant-colonel Roberts, with the conſent of the nizam, judiciouſly availed themſelves of this favourable opportunity to execute this important meaſure without difficulty or danger.

28. The amount of the French force diſarmed on this occaſion was about 11,000 men; from which circumſtance your honourable court will obſerve that a part of the corps was abſent on detachment, as will appear by the reference to the return, No. 2, of the French officers arreſted on the 22d of October: meaſures have been taken for the arreſt of

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of thoſe who commanded the detached force. The French officers, by my particular orders, were treated with every practicable degree of attention and humanity. At the period of their arreſt by our troops, their perſons were in confinement, and their lives in danger, from the mutiny prevailing in their camp; and the greateſt difficulty which Colonel Roberts encountered was, that of reſcuing the impriſoned officers from the violence of their own ſepoys. Particular care was taken to ſave the property of the officers for their uſe, as well as to obtain for them ſuch arrears of pay and allowances as were due to them from his highneſs. Capt. Kirkpatrick informs me, that he has been completely ſucceſsful in effecting both theſe deſirable objects. The French officers are now on their paſſage to this preſidency, on board the *Bombay* frigate, which I had previouſly ſtationed at Maſulipatam for their accommodation: on their arrival at Calcutta, it is my intention to receive them with the conſideration due to their reſpective ranks, and to allow them every indulgence compatible with the ſecurity of their perſons. I propoſe to ſend them to Europe by the earlieſt opportunity; uſing the precaution of diſperſing them in different ſhips.

29. On their arrival in England, I have engaged that they ſhall not be treated as priſoners of war, but ſhall be immediately tranſported to France, without ſuffering any detention for an exchange of priſoners. The treaty under which this meaſure was executed, has been already forwarded, overland, to your ſecret committee; and it now forms a number of the ſecret diſpatch by the *Eurydice*.

30. The effect of the meaſure will, I truſt, be highly favourable to your political intereſts in the peninſula of India. The Britiſh ſubſidiary force now ſtationed in the dominions of his highneſs the nizam, while it muſt tend to cement the connection between the company and that prince, and to render him a more uſeful and efficient ally in the event of war, will operate at all times as an effectual protection to your poſſeſſions in the northern circars; and the total ſubverſion of the French influence in the Deccan, under all the circumſtances of the preſent moment, is an event from which I expect to derive, not only additional ſecurity for your territories, but for the general tranquillity of India.

31. Among your ſervants who have been concerned in the execution of my orders on this occaſion, I have already recommended Lieutenant-general Harris to your favourable notice: to his name it is my duty to add thoſe of Captain Kirkpatrick, and of Lieutenant-colonel Roberts. I found the former in the ſituation of acting reſident at Hydrabad; and to his zeal, addreſs, diſcretion and firmneſs, I attribute the early ſucceſs of the negociation entruſted to his management.

32. Upon the reſignation of Colonel Kirkpatrick, I took occaſion to manifeſt my ſenſe of Captain Kirkpatrick's merits, by appointing him reſident at the court of the nizam.

33. To the ability and temper of Lieutenant-colonel Roberts, acting under the judicious inſtructions of the reſident, I attribute the complete and ſatisfactory execution of the articles of the treaty relating to the diſmiſſion of the French army; and his conciliatory and humane conduct towards the officers deſerves the higheſt commendation.

34. The rumours which have prevailed

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vailed of the intended approach of Zemaun Shah to the frontier of Hindustan, although of a vague and contradictory nature, appeared to me not wholly undeserving of attention; and I have the satisfaction to inform you, that every possible precaution has been taken for the effectual defence of the frontier of Oude. I am happy to be able to inform you, that although I found the subsidy of the nabob vizier considerably in arrear, I have succeeded in persuading his excellency to discharge a large part of it; and, in justice to his excellency, I am bound to declare, that I have found him sincerely disposed to fulfil his engagements under the treaty concluded by Lord Teignmouth, and to manifest, on every occasion, a cordial attachment to the interests of the company. The situation of affairs on the coast of Coromandel, and the necessity of providing against the possible event of a war with Tippoo Sultaun, have hitherto prevented me from from visiting the upper provinces; but I have not been unmindful of the affairs of Oude; and I trust that I shall soon be able to turn my undivided attention to the improvement of the civil and military establishments of the nabob vizier.

35. Although I have deemed it my duty to call your armies into the field in every part of India, my views and expectations are all directed to the preservation of peace, which, in the present crisis, cannot otherwise be secured than by a state of forward preparation for war. In the mean while you may rely on my unremitting efforts to confine your expences within the most narrow limits, and to raise your commercial investment to the highest scale, compatible with the indispensable necessity of providing for the security of your possessions. In the execution of my orders for the protection of your territories on the coast of Malabar, I am much indebted to the zeal and diligence of Mr. Duncan and General Stuart; and the vigilance and firmness manifested by the government of Bombay, on the first intelligence of the progress of the French arms in Egypt, have obtained my public and cordial approbation. It is also a peculiar satisfaction to me to inform your honourable court, that I have received from Lord Clive the most ready and honourable support in the preparations for the defence of the Carnatic; and that, reposing the most implicit confidence in his lordship's anxious solicitude for the prosperity of the general administration of your affairs entrusted to my hands, as well as in his assiduous attention to the peculiar duties of his own station, I expect to derive considerable benefit to your service, from a sincere union with him, in the important task of preserving and improving the interests committed to our joint charge.

36. Notwithstanding the great strength of the military force now in India, I have deemed it my duty, for the farther security of this presidency, to embody the militia, composed of the European and Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta; and my orders for this purpose have been obeyed with an alacrity and zeal, which strongly indicate the resolution of your civil servants, and of all the European and Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, to devote their personal services to the defence of the seat of your supreme government, in any exigency which may arise. My intention is to establish this useful corps upon a permanent foundation, as an institution from which great advantage may hereafter be derived.

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No. 4.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Governor General, to the Court of Directors.

Fort St. George, Jan. 12, 1799.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

On the 2d of January the right hon. the governor-general took his ſeat in council at this preſidency, and recorded a minute, in which his lordſhip has been pleaſed to explain the reaſons which induced him to viſit this preſidency. We have the honour to incloſe a copy of this minute, to which we beg leave to refer you.

We are happy that our endeavours to meet the wiſhes of the governor-general have received his lordſhip's approbation; and, being ſenſible of the importance of his preſence in this place during the preſent moſt critical conjuncture, we have aſſured him of our moſt cordial co-operation and aſſiſtance in the conduct of the arduous affairs which engage his lordſhip's attention.

We are, &c. (Signed)

MORNINGTON, W. PETRIE,
CLIVE, E. W. FALLOFIELD.

No. 5.

Copy of the Earl of Mornington's Minute.

Fort St. George, Jan. 2, 1799.

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

The critical ſtate of our actual ſituation with Tippoo muſt neceſſarily require frequent references to the governor-general in council, on a variety of important points, which will demand a prompt and immediate deciſion. My continuance in Bengal during ſuch a criſis, might have been attended with great inconvenience to the public ſervice; and the ſeaſon for active operations might have been conſumed, before my opinion could have been obtained on the ſeveral emergencies which may be expected to ariſe. The conſideration of this inconvenience is the principal motive which has induced me to proceed to this preſidency; and I am happy to take this opportunity of declaring, that I ſhould not have felt my preſence to have been at all requiſite for the purpoſe of adding energy or vigour to ſuch branches of the public ſervice as fall within the particular duty of this government.—I am perfectly ſatisfied with the conduct of this government in the reſpectable hands to which it has been committed; and I am perſuaded, that I ſhould always have found the ſame cordial, manly and honourable ſupport from your lordſhip in council, which has already obtained the public teſtimony of my unqualified approbation. My object, therefore, in taking my ſeat at this board, is no other than to deprive our enemies of the advantages which they might derive, under the preſent circumſtances, from the remote ſituation of the power entruſted to me from the probable ſcene of action.—The proviſions of the law require, that the authority of the governor in council at Fort St. George ſhould be veſted in my hands during my reſidence at this preſidency: the public acts and proceedings of this government muſt accordingly paſs in my name; but anxious, as well from motives of perſonal reſpect, as from conſiderations connected with the public ſervice, that my reſidence at this preſidency ſhould in no degree impair the preſent or future dignity and influence of Lord Clive, I therefore am deſirous of abſtaining from all unneceſſary interference in the details of this government; nor do I wiſh to diſturb the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed under his lordſhip's immediate direction, by the interpoſition of my power of ſuperintendance on the ſpot, beyond the limits of the ordinary exerciſe of that power at the ſeat of the ſupreme government in Bengal:

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Bengal: I therefore requeſt that Lord Clive, and the members of this council, will take the trouble of conducting the details of this government, eſpecially thoſe which relate to the patronage of the governor in council, according to the principles which have been obſerved by his lordſhip ſince his arrival in India; and I am ſatisfied that I ſhall derive the utmoſt degree of advantage from the united zeal, talents, experience and affiduity of thoſe whom I have the honour to addreſs, while my principal attention muſt be devoted to the ſuperintendance of the general intereſts of all the company's poſſeſſions, and of the ſecurity and defence of the Britiſh empire in India, againſt the various dangers by which it has recently been menaced.

(Signed) MORNINGTON.

No. 6.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, to the Court of Directors.

Fort St. George, Jan. 13, 1799.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Par. 1. Our addreſs of the 15th October laſt, to the ſecret committees, will have enabled them to apprize your honourable court of the very critical ſituation in which the Britiſh intereſts in India were at that time placed.

2. The meaſures which have been taken for defeating the deſigns of the enemy, and for the protection of your poſſeſſions, will doubtleſs have been fully communicated to your honourable court by the ſupreme government: it is therefore ſufficient for us at preſent to inform you, that, for the effectual execution of thoſe meaſures, the right hon. the governor-general has deemed his preſence neceſſary at this preſidency.

3. In conformity to this reſolution, his lordſhip arrived at this place on the 31ſt ultimo, in his majeſty's ſhip *La Sybille*.

4. On the 2d inſt. a proclamation was accordingly made of his lordſhip's arrival, for the purpoſe of exerciſing the powers and authorities veſted in him by the act of the 33d of his preſent majeſty, as governor-general in council at Fort St. George.

We are, &c.

(Signed) CLIVE,
W. PETRIE,
E. W. FALLOFIELD.

No. 7.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Mornington, to the Secret Committee.

Fort St. George, March 15, 1799.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

I have the honour to inform you, that the army under the command of General Harris, entered the territory of Myſore on the 5th inſt.

The general commenced his operations by the capture of ſeveral forts upon the frontier of Myſore, which it became neceſſary for our troops to occupy, in order that the different convoys from the Baramahal might ſuffer no interruption. Theſe forts were all ſurrendered without reſiſtance.

The lateſt accounts from the army are of the 10th inſtant, when it had advanced to Aricul; at which time General Harris expected to reach Seringapatam by the 24th at fartheſt.

On the day General Harris paſſed the frontier, he forwarded, by my direction, a letter from me to Tippoo Sultaun, of which a copy is incloſed. No anſwer had been received to that letter on the 10th inſt.

No ſatisfactory account of the ſtate of the French army in Egypt has yet reached me, nor any intelligence of Commodore Blanket's arrival at his ſtation. Since I had the honour of addreſſing my laſt let-

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ter to you, I have received the fulleſt and moſt authentic information of the circumſtances ſtated in the poſtſcript of my letter of the 18th February, relative to the miſſion of Monſ. De Bere with native vakeels from Tippoo Sultaun to the executive directory of France. They embarked on the 7th ultimo from Tranquebar, and are to touch at the Iſle of France.

I have the honour to incloſe a copy of a declaration publiſhed by Lieutenant-general Harris, in the name of the allies, on entering the territory of Myſore.

No. 8.

Copy of a Letter from the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Mornington, to the Court of Directors, (received per Sarah Chriſtiana, Sept. 13, 1799.)

Fort George, March 20, 1799.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

In my ſeparate diſpatch of the 21ſt of November, by the *Eurydice*, I informed your honourable court, that although I had deemed it my duty to call your armies into the field in every part of your poſſeſſions, my views and expectations were all directed to the preſervation of peace in India.

2. In the letter of the 13th of January, from the governor-general in council at Fort St. George, I apprized your honourable court of my arrival at this preſidency, to which I thought it my duty to proceed from Bengal, in the hope of opening a negociation with Tippoo Sultaun, for the amicable adjuſtment of the differences which had ariſen between that prince and the honourable company's government.

3. In my diſpatches to the ſecret committee of your honourable court, I have regularly tranſmitted advices of the ſtate of political affairs in India; and I have fully explained the principles which have governed my conduct, not only towards Tippoo Sultaun, but towards all the native powers, ſince I have taken charge of the government-general.

4. Having ultimately been compelled to commence hoſtilities againſt Tippoo Sultaun, it is now become my duty to lay before your honourable court an accurate detail of the cauſes of the war in which we are engaged.

5. For this purpoſe, it will be neceſſary to draw your attention to a period of time as remote as the month of June 1798, and to trace from that date the progreſs of thoſe events which have finally produced the neceſſity of reſorting to arms for the ſecurity of your intereſts committed to my charge.

6. A proclamation, iſſued by the governor-general of the Iſle of France, in the month of February 1798, made its firſt appearance at Calcutta on the 8th of June of the ſame year.

7. This proclamation ſtates, that an embaſſy had arrived at the Iſle of France, with letters from Tippoo Sultaun, addreſſed not only to the government of that iſland, but to the executive directory of France, propoſing to conclude an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the French, to ſubſidize and to ſupply whatever troops the French might furniſh to the Sultaun, and to commence againſt the Britiſh power in India a war of aggreſſion, for which the Sultaun is declared to be fully prepared, waiting with anxiety the moment when the ſuccour of France ſhall enable him to ſatisfy his ardent deſire of expelling the Britiſh nation from India. The proclamation concludes by offering encouragement to the ſubjects of France to enter into the ſervice of Tippoo Sultaun, on terms to be fixed with his ambaſſadors then on the ſpot.

8. Although I was inclined, in the

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the first instance, to doubt the authenticity of this extraordinary publication, I thought it advisable to transmit a copy of it, on the 9th of June, to Lieut.-general Harris (then governor of Fort St. George, and commander in chief on the coast of Coromandel), informing him, that if the proclamation should prove authentic, it must lead to a serious discussion with Tippoo Sultaun; and directing Lieut.-general Harris to consider, without delay, the means of assembling the army on the coast of Coromandel, if necessity should unfortunately require such a precaution.

9. On the 18th of June 1798, I received a regular authentication of the proclamation, in a letter from his excellency the Earl of Macartney, dated the 28th of March; and at the same time several persons arrived at Calcutta, who had been present in the Isle of France at the time of the publication of the proclamation.

10. By a strict examination of the most respectable of these persons, I was enabled to obtain an authentic and accurate statement of all the material circumstances attending the publication of the proclamation at the Isle of France; the substance of which statement I have already forwarded to your secret committee, and now have the honour to submit to your honourable court.

11. Tippoo Sultaun dispatched two ambassadors, who embarked at Mangalore for the Isle of France, and arrived at Port Nord-ouest, in that island, towards the close of the month of January 1798. The ambassadors were received, publicly and formally, by the French government, with every circumstance of distinction and respect; and they were entertained at the public expence during their continuance on the island.

12. Previous to the arrival of the ambassadors on the island, no idea or rumour existed there, of any aid to be furnished to Tippoo Sultaun by the French, or of any prospect of a war between that prince and the company; but, within two days after the arrival of the ambassadors, the proclamation in question was fixed up in the most public places, and circulated through the town of Port Nord-ouest.

13. The ambassadors, far from protesting against the matter or style of the proclamation, held, without reserve, in the most public manner, the same language which it contains with respect to war of aggression to be commenced by Tippoo Sultaun against the British possessions in India; and they even suffered the proclamation to be publicly distributed by their agents at the place of their residence.

14. The ambassadors were present when the French government proceeded to act under the proclamation in question; and the ambassadors aided and assisted the execution of the proclamation, by making promises in the name of Tippoo Sultaun, for the purpose of inducing recruits to enlist in his service.

15. The ambassadors proposed to levy men to any practicable extent, stating their powers to be unlimited with respect to the force to be raised in the name of Tippoo Sultaun. They entered into certain stipulations and engagements in the name of the Sultaun (according to the tenor of the last paragraph of the proclamation) with several Frenchmen, and others, particularly with Mr. Dubuc, whom the ambassadors engaged in the service of their sovereign, for the express purpose of assisting in the war to be immediately commenced against the British power in India.

16. The proclamation, therefore, originated in the arrival of Tippoo's ambassadors at the Isle of France:

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it was distributed by their agents; it was avowed in every part by their own public declarations; and finally it was executed, according to its tenor, by their personal assistance and co-operation.

17. On the 7th of March 1798, the ambassadors embarked at Port Nord-ouest, on board the French frigate *La Preneuse*, together with the force thus raised in the name of Tippoo Sultaun, amounting to about two hundred men, inclusive of several officers, the chiefs of whom were M. M. Dubne and Chapny.

18. Such is the substance of the evidence obtained from the persons who were present in the Isle of France during the residence of Tippoo's ambassadors; from other authentice sources I learnt the sequel of the transaction.

19. The French frigate *La Preneuse*, with the Sultaun's ambassadors, and the French troops levied for his service, arrived at Mangalore on the 26th April 1798.

20. An opportunity now occurred, of ascertaining, beyond the possibility of doubt, whether the acts of the Sultaun's ambassadors in the Isle of France were conformable to the instructions of their sovereign: For, although the presumption was already sufficiently powerful, that the ambassadors would not have ventured to trangress the limit of their commission in a matter of such momentous importance as the conclusion of offensive engagements with the French against the English East-India company, it yet remained a question whether Tippoo Sultaun would venture openly to avow proceedings which could not fail to expose him to the just resentment of your government.

21. This question was immediately solved; for the Sultaun, without hesitation, permitted the French force to land publicly at Mangalore; and, far from manifesting the least symptom of disapprobation of the conduct of the embassy in any part of the negociation, he formally received his ambassadors and the French officers, and the principal persons in their suite, with public and extraordinary marks of honour and distinction; and, finally, he admitted the greater part of the French force, raised for the purpose of making war upon the honourable company, into his service, in which it is still entertained.

22. By this public and unequivocal sanction, he must be considered, not only to have personally ratified the engagements contained in the proclamations of the governor-general of the Isle of France, but to have taken the preliminary measures for accomplishing the design which the ambassadors had avowed in his name.

23. Tippoo Sultaun, therefore, having actually concluded offensive and defensive engagements with the French against the honourable company; having collected, by the aid of the French, a force openly destined to carry those engagements into effect; having applied to the executive directory of France for a more powerful force destined to the same end; having signified, through his public ambassadors, to the enemy, that his preparations for war (as far as they depended upon himself) were actually complete; having avowed the object of those preparations to be the subversion of the British empire in India; and, finally, having declared the delay of the meditated blow to proceed from no other cause than his expectation of receiving farther aid from the enemy; I could not hesitate to pronounce, that he had flagrantly violated the treaties of peace subsisting between him and the honourable company, and that he had committed

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an act of direct hostility and aggression against the British government in India.

24. To confirm the conclusions necessarily resulting from the facts already stated, I received undoubted information, that Tippoo Sultaun had, for some time past, been employed in military preparations, conformably to the hostile spirit of his engagements with the enemy; that the greater part of his army was actually in a state of equipment for the field; and that a large portion of it was then encamped under his personal command.

25. To your honourable court it would be superfluous to observe, that no provocation had been offered by any of your governments in India, to justify or to palliate any act of hostility, or even any emotion of jealousy or suspicion, on the part of Tippoo Sultaun; but I think it necessary to remark in this place, that at the very moment of receiving the authentic copy of the proclamation issued in the Isle of France, I had ordered the disputed district of Wynaad to be delivered to the Sultaun, after a public acknowledgment of the justice of his claim to that possession; and I had proposed to open an amicable negociation, for the purpose of adjusting his recent claims to a part of the district of Cooya, on similar principles of equity, according to the tenor of the seventh article of the treaty of Seringapatam.

26. The Sultaun himself had not attempted to allege even the pretext of a grievance against the British government. In his letters to Sir John Shore (written a short time before the return of the Myforean ambassadors from the Isle of France, and received at Fort William on the 26th of April 1798, the day on which the French force landed at Mangalore), Tippoo declares, "That his friendly heart is disposed to pay every regard to truth and justice, and to strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord between the two nations;" and he signifies his desire, that "Sir John Shore would impress Lord Mornington with a sense of the friendship and unanimity so firmly subsisting between the two states."

27. This is not the language of hostility, nor even of discontent. From what disposition in the friendly heart of the Sultaun these amicable professions have proceeded, how they are connected with a regard to truth and justice, or calculated to strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord, and to impress me with a sense of the firmness of the Sultaun's friendship, your honourable court can now determine without difficulty, since it is now proved, that these letters were written at the very crisis when he was in anxious expectation of the hourly arrival of that military succour which he had earnestly solicited from the enemy, for the express purpose of commencing a war of aggression against the company's possessions.

28. That Tippoo Sultaun had not yet received the effectual succour which he had solicited from the French, might have been ascribed either to the distracted state of the government of Mauritius, or to their want of zeal in his cause, or to the rashness and imbecility of his own councils: But neither the measure of his hostility, nor of our right to restrain it, nor of our danger from it, were to be estimated by the magnitude of the force which he had actually obtained: for I knew that his demands of military assistance were unlimited; I knew that they were addressed, not merely to the government of the Mauritius, but to the executive

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directory of France; and I could not aſcertain how ſoon, either by ſome revolution in the government of the Mauritius, or by direct intercourſe with France, thoſe demands might be ſatisfied to the full extent of his acknowledged expectations.

29. Under all theſe circumſtances, an immediate attack upon Tippoo Sultaun, for the purpoſe of fruſtrating the execution of his unprovoked and unwarrantable projects of ambition and revenge, appeared to me to be demanded by the ſoundeſt maxims both of juſtice and policy.

30. The act of Tippoo Sultaun's ambaſſadors, ratified by himſelf, and followed by the admiſſion of a French force into his army, was equivalent to a public, unqualified and unambiguous declaration of war. But, while his hoſtile purpoſe had been clearly manifeſted, the immediate means of accompliſhing it had happily diſappointed the order of his hopes.

31. The inconſiderable amount of the aid which he had already received from the French, while it could not be conſtrued as a limitation of my juſt right to vindicate the public ſafety, afforded ſtrong argument of policy in favour of attacking this deſperate, implacable and treacherous enemy, before he could either complete the improvement of his own army under the French officers whom he had already admitted into his ſervice, or could receive a farther acceſſion of ſtrength under the progreſſive operation of his alliance with France.

32. In the moment of his comparative weakneſs, of his diſappointment and probable dejection, the principles of juſtifiable ſelf-defence, and of prudential precaution, required that we ſhould ſtrike ſuch an inſtantaneous blow againſt his power and reſources, as ſhould preclude the poſſibility of his deriving any ſubſtantial advantage from the aid of France, whenever it might reach his dominions.

33. Such was the tenor of my opinions as early as the 20th of June 1798. Although at that early period I could not aſcertain from what quarter the French would attempt to aſſiſt the Sultaun, I recorded my conviction that ſome attempt to aſſiſt him would be among the earlieſt of their operations. The concluſion of peace upon the continent of Europe, the weak ſtate of our allies in India (particularly the nizam, whoſe councils and army were at that period ſubjected to the overbearing influence of a powerful French faction), might appear, both to Tippoo and to France, to offer a favourable criſis for the attack of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India. The diſpoſition of the French government to attempt ſuch an enterprize has never been diſguiſed; and although I had not obtained poſitive proof that any formal and regular correſpondence between Tippoo Sultaun and the executive directory of France had exiſted previous to the embaſſy and letters which arrived at the Mauritius in January 1798, yet the nature of that tranſaction afforded a ſtrong preſumption that a previous intercourſe of the ſame hoſtile character had taken place. This preſumption was farther corroborated by my certain knowledge, that, for ſome time paſt, various emiſſaries of France had reached the councils of Tippoo Sultaun, and that, through their repreſentations, he had been taught to entertain a confident expectation of ſpeedy and effectual ſupport.

34. Even admitting that this expectation was likely to be fruſtrated, either by a failure of faith on the part of France, or by the vigilance and ſuperior power of his

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majesty's fleets, I was apprized that Tippoo had also dispatched an embassy to Zemaun Shah, the object of which could be no other than to encourage that prince in the prosecution of his long-threatened invasion of Hindustan. The whole tenor of my advices from the north-western countries of Hindostan led me to believe that Zemaun Shah would cross the Attack, and would endeavour to pursue his avowed project of invasion in the course of the ensuing season; and it appeared probable that his approach, which must necessarily engage the attention of the army in Bengal, might be the signal to Tippoo Sultaun for an irruption into the Carnatic.

35. In addition to these considerations, it appeared by no means improbable, that the impetuosity of Tippoo Sultaun's temper, exasperated by the assiduous and unremitting instigations of the emissaries of France, might break forth into hostilities, without waiting for the actual movement of any Indian or European ally. His late embassy to the Isle of France sufficiently manifested a disposition capable of pursuing its favourite object of vengeance against the British nation with more zeal than discretion. It is my duty farther to remark, that in the month of June 1798, the distribution and condition of the army on the coast of Coromandel, to which I shall advert more fully in a subsequent part of this dispatch, offered but too strong a temptation to the enterprize of a faithless and active enemy. Under such circumstances, it would have been an unmanly and weak policy to have confided the safety of the Carnatic to the precarious forbearance of Tippoo Sultaun, or to have left him any longer in the undisturbed possession of the powerful advantage of being able to choose, according to his convenience, the time and mode of the attack which he had openly menaced.

36. I therefore recorded my decided judgment, that it was necessary to assemble the armies on the coast of Coromandel and Malabar without delay; and I issued my final orders for this purpose on the 20th June 1798.

37. To assemble the army on both coasts, was an indispensable precaution, which I could not have been justified in omitting, from the moment that I was apprized of Tippoo Sultaun's offensive engagements with the French, and of the landing of a French force at Mangalore. But, being resolved, on all occasions, to submit to your court a full and distinct view of the whole scope of my motives and intentions, I have no hesitation in declaring, that my original resolution was (if circumstances would have admitted) to have attacked the Sultaun instantly, and on both sides of his dominions, for the purpose of defeating his hostile preparations, and of anticipating their declared object: I was concerned, however, to learn, from persons most conversant in military details at Fort St. George, (notwithstanding the distinguished discipline of your army on the coast of Coromandel, and the eminent valour, activity and skill of its officers,) its dispersed state, and certain radical defects in its establishments, would render the assembling a force, equal to offensive movements against Tippoo, a much more tedious and difficult operation than I had apprehended.

38. Some officers of approved military talents, experience and integrity, at Fort St. George, declared that your army in the Carnatic could not be assembled for offensive purposes before the commencement of the year 1800; and that a period of six months would be required,

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required for its equipment, even for the purpoſe of defending the Carnatic againſt any ſudden attack. The difficulty of aſſembling and moving your army on the coaſt of Coromandel, furniſhed indeed an alarming proof of the defenceleſs and perilous ſtate of the Carnatic in that arduous conjuncture: but, in proportion to the preſſure of that difficulty, the neceſſity of an inſtantaneous and active exertion became more urgent; for, whether the army when aſſembled, was to anticipate or wait the attack of Tippoo, it appeared an equally indiſpenſable meaſure of precaution to reſume, without delay, the power of meeting that vindictive and reſtleſs prince in the field. I was not therefore diſcouraged, either by the ſuggeſtions to which I have referred, or by ſubſequent repreſentations of a ſimilar character and tendency, from inſiſting on the immediate execution of my orders for aſſembling the army; and, adverting to the fatal conſequences which have formerly been experienced in the Carnatic, by neglecting to keep pace with the forwardneſs of hoſtile equipments in Myſore, I reſolved to entruſt the protection of your poſſeſſions on the coaſt of Coromandel to no other ſecurity than a complete and early ſtate of preparation for war.

39. At Bombay, my orders for aſſembling the army were executed with great promptitude and alacrity, unaccompanied by any ſymptoms of indiſpoſition to thoſe united and zealous efforts which the exigency of the criſis demanded from every branch of your civil and military ſervice.

40. The unavoidable delay which obſtructed the aſſembling your army in the Carnatic, having compelled me to relinquiſh my firſt intention of ſtriking an immediate blow againſt the power and reſources of Tippoo Sultaun, I applied myſelf to the formation of ſuch a permament ſyſtem of preparation and defence, as, while it tended to reſtore to the government of Fort St. George, with all practicable diſpatch, the power of repelling any act of aggreſſion on the part of Tippoo Sultaun, might ultimately enable me to demand both a juſt indemnification for the expence which the Sultaun's violation of treaty had occaſioned to your government, and a ſeaſonable ſecurity againſt the conſequences of his recent alliance with the enemy.

41. With this view, while the army was aſſembling on the coaſts of Coromandel and Malabar, my early attention was directed to ſtrengthen and improve the defenſive alliance concluded between the honourable company, and their highneſſes the nizam and the peſhwa, under the treaties of Paangul, Poonah, and Seringapatam, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a barrier againſt the ambition and revenge of Tippoo Sultaun.

42. The ſtate of this alliance afforded abundant matter of painful anxiety; I found both the peſhwa and the nizam (whoſe reſpective power it was the object of the treaty of Seringapatam to maintain in ſuch a ſtate of efficiency as might render them uſeful allies in the event of a war with Myſore) reduced to the loweſt condition of depreſſion and weakneſs, the former by the intruſion of Dowlut Row Scindiah, and the latter by the threatened hoſtilities of the ſame chieftain, by the eſtabliſhment of a numerous and active French faction in the centre of the Deccan; and while the internal convulſions of each ſtate had diminiſhed the reſources of both, their co-operation againſt Tippoo Sultaun had become impracticable by the progreſs

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progreſs of their mutual animoſities and diſſentions.

43. In this ſcene of general confuſion, the power of Tippoo Sultaun alone (which it had been the policy of all our alliances and treaties to reduce) had remained undiſturbed and unimpaired, if it had not been augmented and improved.

44. The final reſult to the Britiſh government appeared to me to be, firſt, the entire loſs of the benefit of the treaty of triple alliance againſt Tippoo Sultaun, by the utter inability of our allies to fulfil their defenſive engagements with the company; and, ſecondly, the eſtabliſhment of a French army of 14,000 men, in the dominions of one of our allies, in the vicinity of the territories of our irreconcilable enemy, and on the confines of the Carnatic and of the northern circars.

45. In this ſtate of our political relations, the company was expoſed, without the aid of a ſingle ally, to the hazard of a conteſt with the united force of Tippoo Sultaun and of the French.

46. My ſeparate diſpatch, under date the 21ſt of November, forwarded by the *Eurydice*, will have apprized your honourable court of the meaſures which I took for the purpoſe of reſtoring to his highneſs the nizam the power of fulfilling his defenſive engagements with the company.

47. At the ſame time my endeavours were employed, with equal aſſiduity, to give vigour and effect to the treaties ſubſiſting with his highneſs the peſhwa. The return of Nana Furnaveſe to the adminiſtration, afforded, for ſome time, a juſt expectation that our alliance with the Mahrattas would ſpeedily be reſtored with additional vigour and advantage; but the increaſing diſtractions of the Mahratta empire unfortunately fruſtrated the wiſe counſels of that experienced and able ſtateſman, and diſappointed my views at the court of Poonah: I had, however, the ſatisfaction to aſcertain, that the diſpoſition of that court, under the adminiſtration of Nana, continued perfectly favourable to the Britiſh intereſts; and that want of power would be the ſole cauſe of its inaction, in the event of a war with Tippoo Sultaun.

48. Towards the commencement of the month of Auguſt 1798, I learnt the preparations making by the French in the Mediterranean. Various circumſtances attending the equipment of that armament inclined me to apprehend, that at leaſt a part of it might be deſtined for an expedition to India, although I could not believe that the attempt would be made through Egypt. Under theſe impreſſions, I took the earlieſt opportunity of directing the attention of Rear-Admiral Rainier to the coaſt of Malabar; and at the ſame time I propoſed to ſtrengthen his majeſty's ſquadron in theſe ſeas, according to any arrangement which his excellency might ſuggeſt; and I iſſued orders to the governments of Fort St. George and Bombay, to attend to his excellency's ſuggeſtions on this important ſubject. I am happy to inform your honourable court, that his excellency, with the utmoſt readineſs, acceded to the propoſition which I had ſuggeſted to him, with reſpect to the defence of the coaſt of Malabar, although his original intention had been to proceed, in the firſt inſtance, to the ſtraits of Malacca.

49. On the 18th of September, I ratified the new ſubſidiary treaty with the nizam, of which I have ſtated the ſubſtance in my ſeparate diſpatch of the 21ſt of November, by the *Eurydice*.

50. On the 18th of October, I received the firſt authentic information

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tion of the invaſion of Egypt by the French, and of the progreſs of their arms in that country.

51. It is unneceſſary to call the attention of your honourable court to the evident connection of the invaſion of Egypt with the joint deſigns of the French and of Tippoo Sultaun againſt the Britiſh power in India; and I truſt it is now equally ſuperfluous to enter into any detailed reaſoning, for the purpoſe of ſatisfying you of the ſecurity which, at that period of time, would have reſulted to your intereſts in India, if my original intention of anticipating the hoſtile projects of Tippoo Sultaun could have been carried into immediate effect, according to my anxious wiſh. The neceſſity, however, of either compelling Tippoo Sultaun to detach himſelf from the intereſts of France, or of depriving him of the power of co-operating with the French, if they ſhould be enabled to reach India, now became too evident to admit of any doubt. My opinion had long been decided, that no negociation with Tippoo Sultaun could be ſucceſsful, unleſs accompanied by ſuch a diſpoſition of our force as ſhould alarm him for the ſafety of his capital; and that no military operation could effect an adequate or ſpeedy reduction of his power, unleſs directed immediately to the ſiege of that city.

52. On the 20th of October, therefore, I gave peremptory orders to the government of Fort St. George, for completing the equipment of their battering train, and for advancing it, with all practicable diſpatch, to the moſt eligible ſtation on the frontier of the Carnatic, with a view of proceeding towards Seringapatam at the earlieſt poſſible period, if ſuch a movement into Myſore ſhould become neceſſary. At the ſame time, I ſignified to the government of Fort St. George, my intention of reinforcing their army with 3000 volunteers from the native infantry on the eſtabliſhment of Bengal, who had offered their ſervices with the utmoſt alacrity and zeal.

53. To the government of Bombay I iſſued farther orders, for the collection, not only of their troops, but of the largeſt poſſible ſupplies on the coaſt of Malabar.

54. On the 22d of October (as I have already informed your honourable court), the diſmiſſion of the French faction in the nizam's army was happily accompliſhed at Hydrabad.

55. On the 31ſt of October, I received the intelligence of the glorious victory obtained by his majeſty's ſquadron under the command of Sir Horatio Nelſon; but, being ſtill uncertain of the fate of the French army in Egypt, and ignorant whether an additional force might not have been intended to co-operate with it in India by the ordinary paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope, I did not relax any part of the naval or military preparations which had been commenced under my orders. The opportunity now appeared favourable for opening a negociation with Tippoo Sultaun. I had already communicated to the allies, the nizam and the peſhwa, a circumſtantial detail of the conduct of that prince; and had received from both the moſt unequivocal aſſurances of their entire concurrence in my ſentiments and views, as well as of their determination to ſupport my juſt claims of ſatisfaction for the infraction of the treaty of Seringapatam.

56. On the 8th of November, therefore, I addreſſed to Tippoo Sultaun the letter, of which a copy (No. 2, A. and B.) accompanies this diſpatch.

57. Your honourable court will perceive,

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perceive, that in this letter I have carefully avoided every hoſtile expreſſion, merely apprizing the Sultaun of my knowledge of the nature of his intercourſe with the French nation, and propoſing to him to receive Major Doveton on the part of the allies, for the purpoſe of proceeding to an amicable arrangement of all ſubſiſting differences.

58. My expectation was, that the neceſſary impreſſion of the ſucceſs of his majeſty's fleet againſt the French in Egypt, the revival of our defenſive alliance with the nizam, the deſtruction of the French intereſt in the Deccan, the declared diſpoſition of the peſhwa to fulfil his defenſive engagements to the utmoſt extent of his power, the preſence of his majeſty's ſquadron on the coaſt of Malabar, reinforced by ſuch of the honourable company's ſhips as had been equipped for the purpoſe, and, finally, the progreſs of our military preparations on both coaſts, might have induced the Sultaun to accede to my propoſals for opening the channels of pacific negociation; and, under theſe circumſtances, I truſted that the terror of the Britiſh arms might have rendered their actual employment unneceſſary.

59. With ſuch expectations I reſolved to proceed to Fort St. George, for the purpoſe of conducting the expected negociation with the Sultaun, which, I flattered myſelf, my preſence on the coaſt of Coromandel might enable me to bring to an iſſue, before the ſeaſon ſhould be ſo far advanced as to relieve Tippoo Sultaun from thoſe alarms for the ſafety of his capital, on which I founded my ſole hope of obtaining any ſatisfactory adjuſtment with him.

60. On the 10th December, I addreſſed the letter, marked No. 3, to the Sultaun, informing him of my intention to proceed to Fort St. George, and again urging him to receive Major Doveton. On the 25th of December I embarked on board his Majeſty's ſhip the *Sybille*, Captain E. Cooke, and arrived at this preſidency on the 31ſt of the ſame month.

61. A few days previous to my arrival, the corps of native volunteers from Bengal had landed in perfect ſafety, and in the higheſt ſpirits; and ſoon after a corps of artillery arrived from Fort William, under the command of Colonel Montague.

62. The letter, marked No. 4, was delivered to me on my arrival at Fort St. George.

63. In this letter your honourable court will obſerve the prevarication and falſehood which mark the Sultaun's ſtatement of his late intercourſe with the French, and you will perceive the evaſion by which he eludes the moderate and amicable propoſition of the allies for opening a negociation.

64. To this letter from the Sultaun I returned the anſwer dated 9th of January, and marked No. 5, in which I renewed the propoſition of opening a negociation, and urged the Sultaun not to delay his reply beyond the period of one day after my letter ſhould reach him, intimating that dangerous conſequences might reſult from a longer delay.

65. The advanced period of the ſeaſon abſolutely required that I ſhould aſcertain the Sultaun's views within a ſhort time: my propoſition contained nothing derogatory to the honour or dignity of the Sultaun: it was now urged for the third time without variation; and it related ſimply and diſtinctly to the admiſſion of an ambaſſador, for the purpoſe of opening a negociation: to demand an immediate anſwer to a propoſition of ſuch a nature, could not,

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not, therefore, be deemed either offenſive or unreaſonable.

66. Subſequently to the diſpatch of my letter (No. 5,) I received from the Sultaun the letter (No. 6,) in reply to my letter (No. 3,) diſpatched from Fort William. The Sultaun's ſilence in his letter (No. 6,) with reſpect to the admiſſion of Major Doveton, afforded an additional proof of his diſpoſition to evade the pacific advance of the allies.

67. I now employed every effort to advance the military preparations in the Carnatic, which had already made a conſiderable progreſs during the months of November and December. From the moment of my arrival at Fort St. George, all the inhabitants of this ſettlement, and every officer, civil and military, appeared to be animated by an unanimous determination to diſcharge their reſpective duties with a degree of cheerfulneſs and ardour correſpondent to the exigency and importance of the occaſion; and I was ſoon ſatisfied that the diſpoſition, of which I lamented the appearance in the months of July and Auguſt, had either been ſubdued by the juſt exerciſe of authority, or corrected by reflection, and by the more full diſcloſure of the views of the enemy. The zeal, alacrity and public ſpirit of the bankers and commercial agents at Madras, as well as of the moſt reſpectable of your civil ſervants at this preſidency, enabled me, within a few weeks, to raiſe a large ſum of money by loan for the public ſervice. Previous to my departure from Bengal, I had remitted 20 lacks of rupees in ſpecie for the uſe of this preſidency: I now diſpatched the *Sybille* to Calcutta for a farther ſupply; and the extraordinary exertion of his excellency the vice-preſident in council, aſſiſted by the diligence and ability of Mr. Thomas Myers, the accountant-general of Bengal, furniſhed me with an additional aid of twenty lacks, within ſo ſhort a time that the movement of the army was not delayed for an inſtant on account of a deficiency of treaſure, and Lieutenant-general Harris was provided with a ſufficient ſupply of ſpecie to maintain his army in the field until the month of May.

68. Tippoo Sultaun remaining ſilent for a conſiderable time after the receipt of my letter of the 9th of January, I concluded that his object muſt be to delay his anſwer until the ſeaſon ſhould be ſo far advanced as to render the capture of Seringapatam impracticable during the preſent year.

69. In the mean while, the advices from Buſſorah, Bagdad, Conſtantinople, and Bombay, were of ſo uncertain a nature, as to leave me ſtill in doubt with reſpect to the condition of the French army in Egypt; the only ſafe concluſion which could be drawn from thoſe advices being, that the French ſtill maintained the poſſeſſion of that country with a large army.

70. No intelligence had been received from the Red Sea reſpecting the arrival of any of his majeſty's ſhips on that ſtation; nor had I been able to aſcertain, with any degree of accuracy, what means the French might either have provided, or might find on the ſpot, to enable them to reach the Sultaun's dominions.

71. In addition to theſe circumſtances, I knew that while Tippoo Sultaun had declined to receive an ambaſſador from the honourable company, and had omitted to anſwer my late letters, he had diſpatched native vakeels from Seringapatam, who, together with Mr. Dubuc (one of the leaders of the French

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French force raiſed in the Iſle of France under Mr. Malartie's proclamation), were on the point of embarking at Tranquebar, with an avowed miſſion from the Sultaun to the executive directory of France.

72. On the 3d of February, I had received no anſwer from the Sultaun to my letter of the 9th of January, although the communication between Seringapatam and Fort St. George does not require, at the moſt, a longer time than eight, and is ſometimes effected in four days.

73. In order, therefore, to defeat the object of the Sultaun's ſilence, and to avail myſelf of the actual ſuperiority of our force, and of the advantages of the preſent ſeaſon, before the French could effect any junction with him, I determined to commence hoſtilities without delay, and to ſuſpend all negociation, until the united forces of the company and of their allies ſhould have made ſuch an impreſſion on the territories of Myſore, as might give full effect to our juſt repreſentations.

74. With theſe views, on the 3d of February, I directed Lieutenant-general Harris to enter the territory of Myſore with the army aſſembled under his command: on the ſame day, I iſſued orders to Lieutenant-general Stuart to be prepared to co-operate from Malabar; and I ſignified to Rear Admiral Rainier, and to the ſeveral allies of the company, that I now conſidered the Britiſh government in India to be at war with Tippoo Sultaun.

75. At length, on the 13th February, I received from Tippoo Sultaun the letter marked No. 7, informing me, that being frequently diſpoſed "to make excurſions and hunt," he was "accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excurſion," and deſiring "that I would" diſpatch Major Doveton "ſlightly attended."

76. But the ſeaſon for negociation, through the pacific channels ſo often offered by me, was now elapſed. After mature deliberation on the grounds already ſtated, I had directed the advance of the army into the territory of the Sultaun, and I had ſignified to the allies my determination to proceed to hoſtilities. To have delayed the advance of the army, would at once have thrown the advantages which I then poſſeſſed into the hands of Tippoo Sultaun, and have rendered the ſiege of his capital impracticable during the preſent ſeaſon. On the other hand, an embaſſy, combined with the hoſtile irruption of any army into Myſore, would have been liable to the imputation of inſincerity towards Tippoo Sultaun; and, while it bore the appearance of indeciſion in the eyes of the allies, would have promoted, and perhaps warranted, a ſimilar degree of inſtability in their councils and operations.

77. The deſign of this tardy, reluctant and inſidious aſſent to the admiſſion of an embaſſy from the Britiſh government, could be conſidered in no other light than that of a new artifice for the purpoſe of gaining time, until a change of circumſtances and of ſeaſon might enable the Sultaun to avail himſelf of the aſſiſtance of France. This concluſion was now confirmed by my knowledge of the actual embarkation of Mr. Dubuc and two native vakeels, on an embaſſy from Tippoo to the executive directory of France; an event which took place at Tranquebar on the 7th of February.

78. I therefore replied to the letter of Tippoo Sultaun in the terms of the inclofure, No. 8, in which

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which I have declared Lieutenant-General Harris to be the only perſon now authorized by me to receive and to anſwer whatever communications the Sultaun may think fit to make with a view to the reſtoration of peace, on ſuch conditions as appear to the allies to be indiſpenſably neceſſary to their common ſecurity. This letter I directed General Harris to forward to the Sultaun, on the day on which the army under his command ſhould paſs the frontier; and at the ſame time I inſtructed him to iſſue, in the name of the allies, the accompanying declaration, marked No. 9.

79. The nizam's contingent conſiſts of above 6000 of the honourable company's troops, ſubſidized by his highneſs, of about the ſame number of his own infantry (including a portion of Mr. Perron's ſepoys, now commanded by Britiſh officers), and a large body of cavalry.

80. This force under the general command of Mur Allum, formed a junction with the Britiſh army on the 19th of February; and it is with the greateſt ſatisfaction that I remark to your honourable court the beneficial effects which the company have already derived from the recent improvement of our alliance with the court of Hydrabad. The nizam's contingent actually arrived in the vicinity of Chittoor, in a ſtate of preparation for the field, before General Harris was ready to proceed on his march from Vellore.

81. I have annexed to this diſpatch, No. 10, the laſt return of Lieutenant-general Harris's army, previous to his paſſing the frontier: an army more completely appointed, more amply and liberally ſupplied in every department, or more perfect in its diſcipline, and in the acknowledged experience, ability and zeal of its officers, never took the field in India. The army on the coaſt of Malabar, (of which I alſo incloſe a return, No. 11,) is in an equally-efficient and reſpectable condition; and the extraordinary efforts which have been made by Lieutenant-general Stuart and Major-general Hartley, ſeconded by the cordial attachment and unremitting aſſiduity of the Rajah of Coorga, have collected, within a very ſhort period of time, a ſupply ſo abundant, that I am induced to tranſmit the particulars of it to your honourable court, as a teſtimony of the diſtinguiſhed merits of thoſe valuable officers, and of the loyalty and active exertions of that faithful tributary of the honourable company.

82. A conſiderable force, under the command of Lieutenant-colonels Read and Brown, will co-operate with Lieutenant-general Harris in the ſouthern diſtricts of the Carnatic and Myſore.

83. Under theſe circumſtances, General Harris entered the territory of Myſore on the 5th of March, with orders to proceed directly to Seringapatam.

84. Having thus ſubmitted to your honourable court, according to the order of dates, a detailed relation of the events which have led to the war in which we are actually engaged, and having declared to you the motives and objects of my conduct in every ſtage of this important tranſaction, I muſt requeſt your permiſſion to conclude this diſpatch with ſuch reflections as ariſe in my mind from the review of my paſt meaſures, and from the proſpect of their ultimate conſequences and permanent effect.

85. From the firſt diſcloſure of the nature and object of Tippoo Sultaun's embaſſy to the Iſle of France, every principle of juſtice and policy demanded from your government in India,

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India, that an inſtantaneous effort ſhould be made to reduce his power and reſources, before he could avail himſelf of the advantages of the alliance which he had concluded. The defect of means is the ſole conſideration which can juſtify me for not having made that effort at the early period when its ſucceſs would have placed the ſecurity of your poſſeſſions on a foundation which the invaſion of India by a French force could not have impaired.

86. For, without the aid of ſome native power, it is ſcarcely poſſible that the French ſhould ever make any permanent impreſſion on your empire in India; and no native power (excepting Tippoo Sultaun) is ſo infatuated as to be diſpoſed to aſſiſt or receive a French army.

87. The progreſs of events ſince the date of orders of the 20th of June 1798, has not only confirmed the principles of juſtice and policy by which an attack upon the Sultaun was at that time demanded, but has manifeſted that the deſigns of France, as well as of the Sultaun, were of a much more extenſive and formidable nature than any which have ever been attempted againſt the Britiſh empire in India ſince the hour of its firſt foundation.

88. While the magnitude and danger of theſe deſigns were gradually diſcloſed, I had the ſatisfaction to feel that the means of averting them were augmenting in a proportion nearly equal, by the ſucceſs of the negociations at Hydrabad, and by the advance of the military preparations which I had ordered throughout your poſſeſſions.

89. At the commencement of the month of February, the criſis arrived in which I was called upon to form my ultimate deciſion on the important queſtion at iſſue with Tippoo Sultaun, and to determine the final reſult of the ſyſtem of my meaſures.

90. On the one hand, the apparent eſtabliſhment of the French army in Egypt, and the uncertainty of the ſtate of our naval power in the Red Sea, rendered the danger ſtill urgent from that quarter; while Tippoo Sultaun's repeated evaſions of my propoſals for negociation, combined with his embaſſy to the executive directory of France under the conduct of Mr. Dubuc, appeared to preclude all hope of detaching the Sultaun from his recent alliance with the enemy. On the other hand, I now poſſeſſed ample means of fruſtrating the moſt dangerous effects of that alliance, by a ſeaſonable application of the powerful force which the treachery and aggreſſion of the Sultaun had compelled me to collect at a heavy expence to your finances.

91. Your honourable court will determine, whether, in this ſtate of affairs, my orders of the 3d of February were premature, and whether I ſhould have been juſtified, on the 13th of February, in recalling thoſe orders, for the purpoſe of admitting, at that late period, a negociation which would have enabled Tippoo Sultaun to defeat every object of the armament of the allies for the preſent ſeaſon, and would have afforded him ample time to reap the full benefit of his connection with France before the ſeaſon for beſieging his capital ſhould return.

92. In deciding theſe important queſtions, you will neceſſarily conſider what degree of reliance was to be placed on the ſincerity of the Sultaun's diſpoſition to conclude an amicable adjuſtment with your government, at the very moment when he had actually diſpatched, on an embaſſy to the executive directory of France, the commander of the French troops raiſed in the Mauritius, and admitted into the Sul-

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taun's ſervice, for the expreſs purpoſe of carrying on a war of aggreſſion againſt your poſſeſſions in India.

93. The admirable condition of your armies on both coaſts, and the unequalled perfection of their equipment in every department, added to the extraordinary ſpirit and animation with which the campaign has been opened, afford every reaſon to hope that the iſſue of the war will be ſpeedy and proſperous, and that it muſt terminate in a conſiderable reduction of Tippoo Sultaun's reſources and power.

94. The wiſdom of your honourable court will anticipate the extenſive benefits which muſt reſult to your intereſts, from an event now become eſſential to the peace and ſecurity of your poſſeſſions in India.

95. The policy of the treaty of Seringapatam certainly was not to maintain Tippoo Sultaun's power in ſuch a ſtate as ſhould leave him a conſtant object of alarm and apprehenſion to the company: That he has been juſtly ſo conſidered for ſome years paſt, cannot be doubted by any perſon acquainted with the records of any of your governments in India. The preſent is the ſecond criſis within the laſt three years, in which the government-general has thought it neceſſary to aſſemble the army on the coaſt of Coromandel for the ſole purpoſe of checking his motions; and the apprehenſion of his intentions has obſtructed our operations againſt our European enemies in India, during the courſe of our preſent war.

96. The continuance of Tippoo's power on its actual ſcale, and under ſuch circumſtances, muſt have proved to the company a perpetual ſource of ſolicitude, expence and hazard: But the engagement which he has contracted with the French, the public proofs which he has given of his eagerneſs to receive, in Myſore, as large a force as they can furniſh, combined with the prodigious magnitude of their preparations, and the incredible progreſs of their arms, evidently directed to the deſtruction of the Britiſh power in India, form new and prominent features in our political ſituation in this quarter of the world.

97. Admitting the wiſdom of that policy which dictated the preſervation of Tippoo Sultaun's power at the cloſe of the laſt war with Myſore, the ſpirit of our preſent councils muſt be accommodated to the variation of circumſtances, and to the actual poſition, character and views of our enemies.

98. In ſuch a conjuncture of affairs, I am perſuaded that your honourable court will be of opinion, that no object can be deemed ſo urgent, or ſo neceſſary to the ſafety of your poſſeſſions, as the effectual reduction of the only declared ally of France now exiſting among the native powers of India.

99. If Tippoo Sultaun had been diſpoſed to content himſelf with the quiet poſſeſſion of his preſent dominions, if he could have been brought to a ſenſe of his own peril in forming a connection with the French, the repreſentations which I addreſſed to him would have produced an early and ſalutary impreſſion. Whatever ſpeculative opinions might have been entertained with reſpect to his intereſts, views, and power, the juſtice and moderation of the Britiſh Government would never have diſturbed his tranquillity; but he reſolved to attempt the recovery of his loſt dominions, at the hazard of thoſe which he ſtill retains; and, in the ardour of his paſſionate purſuit, he overlooked, not only the certain deſtruction of his own independence, the inevitable conſequence even of the moſt proſperous ſucceſs of any alliance with France, but

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alſo the predominant influence of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, which would detect his treachery, and turn againſt his own empire the ruin which he had meditated againſt theirs.

100. The ſecreſy of his councils, the promptitude of his reſources, his conſtant and active ſtate of equipment for war, added to the facility of his intercourſe with the French through his remaining territories on the coaſt of Malabar, form the moſt dangerous circumſtances in the actual condition of his power and dominion, and conſtitute his principal means of offence.

101. If ſucceſs ſhould attend your arms in this war, I entertain a firm confidence that thoſe dangers will either be wholly averted, or ſo conſiderably diminiſhed as to afford to your government in India the proſpect of durable ſecurity and genuine peace.

102. I cannot cloſe this letter without repeating to your honourable court the cordial expreſſions of my entire ſatisfaction in the zealous and honourable co-operation of Lord Clive, as well as of all the members of this government. The beneficial effect of their cheerful and ready concurrence in forwarding all my views, is manifeſt in the rapid progreſs and perfect completion of the equipments of the army in the field, and furniſhes a ſtriking and ſalutary example of the ineſtimable advantages of unanimity and concord among your ſervants in India.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MORNINGTON.

(No. I.)—*Proclamation at the Iſle of France.*

LIBERTE'. EGALITE'.
Republique Françaiſe, une et indiviſible.

PROCLAMATION.

Anne-Joſeph-Hyppolite Malartie, Général en Chef, Gouverneur Général des Iſles de France et de la Réunion, et Commandant Général des Eſtabliſſements Français à l'Eſt du Cap de Bonne Eſpérance.

CITOYENS,

Conaiſſant depuis pluſieurs années votré zéle et votre attachement pour les interêts et la gloire de notre république, nous ſommes tres empreſſés et nous nous faiſſons un devoir de vous donner connaiſſance de toutes les propoſitions que nous fait Tippoo Sultaun, par deux ambaſſadeurs, que nous a dépêche.

Ce prince a ecrit des lettres particulieres a l'aſſemblée coloniale, a tous les généraux, qui ſont employés dans ce gouvernement, et nous a addreſſé un paquet pour le Directoire Exécutif.

1. Il demande à faire une alliance offenſive et defenſive avec les Français, en propoſant d'entretenir à ſes frais, tant que la guerre durera dans l'Inde, les troupes qu'on pourra lui envoyer.

2. Il promet de fournir toutes les choſes neceſſaires pour faire cette guerre, excepté le vin et l'eau de vie dont il ſe trouve abſolument dénné.

3. Il aſſure que tous les preparatifs ſont faits pour reçevoir les ſécours qu'on lui donnera, et qu'a a l'arrivée des troupes, les chefs officiers trouveront toutes les choſes neceſſaires pour faire une guerre à laquelle les Européens ſont peu accoutumés.

4. Enfin il n'attend plus que le moment ou les Français viendront a ſon ſécours. Pour declarer la guerre Anglais, déſirant avec ardeur pouvoir les chaſſér de l'Inde.

Comme il nous eſt impoſſible de diminuér le nombre des ſoldats des 107 regimens, et de la garde ſoldée du Port de la Fraternité, à cauſe des ſécours que nous avons envoyés à nos alliés les Hollandais, nous invitons tous les citoyens de bonne volonté, à ſe faire inſcrire dans leur municipalités reſpectives, pour aller ſervir ſous les drapeaux, à ſe faire auſſi inſcrire.

Nous pouvons aſſurér tous les citoyens qui ſe feroit inſcrire, que Tippoo leur fera des traitemens avantageux qui ſeront fixés avec ſes ambaſſadeurs, qui s'engageront en outre, au nom de leur ſouverain, a ce que les Français qui auront pris parti dans ſes armées, ne puiſſent jamais y être reténus quand ills voudront r'entrir dans leur patrie.

Faut au Porte Nord-Oueſt, le 10 Pluviôſe l'an ſix de la Republique Françaiſe, une et indiviſible.

MALARTIE

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(No. 2. A.)—*Tranſlation of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to the Right Hon. the Governor-General, (received 24th October 1798.)*

The talooks of Ameera and Soula, in which Cauntmungle and Coloorbachee are ſituated, have belonged to Mangalore from the year Rajah 1070 Mohummuddee to the end of the year Shadaub 1226, a term of 156 years. Thirty-ſix years ago, a body of 2000 Coorga Peons were employed in ſervice of the ſtate; and ſome villages in the talooks above-mentioned, yielding 3423 pagodas, continued for a ſhort time to be aſſigned for their pay; but ſince ſix and thirty years, that even has ceaſed. This trivial affair can only be aſcribed to the turbulent diſpoſition of intereſted men, who by nature are ever ſeeking opportunities of ſowing the ſeeds of diſſention. Of this I am confident. Your lordſhip muſt be well convinced the perſon who is now in Coorga is not of the poſterity of the Coorga rajahs, but of a different ſtock.

Conſtantly gratify me with friendly letters.

P. S. Mr. Duncan, the governor of Bombay, has written to me, that two perſons of integrity and ability from among the civil officers on the coaſt of Malabar, have been deputed to inquire into the claims of the above-mentioned talook, and will ſhortly arrive. Orders have been iſſued from my ſircar alſo, nominating Shaikh Shahaubuddien, and Meer Mohummud Ally, perſons of integrity and honour, to negociate with the deputies above mentioned, and aſcertain from records and facts the dependency of the above-mentioned talooks in Cooriak.

(No. 2. B.)—*Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Governor-General to Tippoo Sultaun, (written 8th November 1798.)*

I have received your letter, informing me,—*(Recite the ſubſtance of the letter received on the 24th October.)*

It affords me ſincere ſatisfaction to learn, that you have nominated two perſons of integrity and honour, to meet and confer with the deputies appointed, under my orders, by Mr. Duncan (the governor of Bombay), for the purpoſe of inveſtigating the queſtion regarding the talooks of Amura and Soulea. It is only by means of regular inquiry and amicable diſcuſſion that ſuch queſtions can be adjuſted among independent powers. My determination, in the caſe of Wynaad, was dictated by thoſe principles of juſtice and moderation which always direct the company's government; nor ſhall my ſcrupulous adherence to the ſame principles be leſs manifeſt in my deciſion on your claim to the diſtricts at preſent in queſtion, the poſſeſſion of which ſhall not be withholden from you for an inſtant, if, after full inveſtigation, I ſhall be ſatisfied of the juſtice of your title to them.

It is a well-known truth, that they are always the moſt ready to reſpect the juſt rights of others, who are the moſt vigilant and reſolute to maintain their own.

I have underſtood your ſentiments concerning the "turbulent diſpoſition of intereſted men, who by nature are ever ſeeking opportunities of ſowing the ſeeds of diſſention." For the happineſs of mankind it is to be lamented, that theſe authors of confuſion are too numerous, aſſiduous and ſucceſsful, in all parts of the world. In no age or country were the baneful and inſidious arts of intrigue cultivated with ſuch ſucceſs as they are at preſent by the French nation. I ſincerely wiſh that no impreſſion had been produced on your diſcerning mind by that dangerous people; but my ſituation enables me to know that they have reached your preſence, and have endeavoured to pervert the wiſdom of your councils, and to inſtigate you to war againſt thoſe who have given you no provocation.

It is impoſſible that you ſhould ſuppoſe me to be ignorant of the intercourſe which ſubſiſts between you and the French, whom you know to be the inveterate enemies of the company, and to be now engaged in an unjuſt war with the Britiſh nation. You cannot imagine me to be indifferent to the tranſactions which have paſſed between you and the enemies of my country; nor does it appear neceſſary or proper, that I ſhould any longer conceal from you the ſurpriſe and concern with which I perceived you diſpoſed to involve yourſelf in all the ruinous conſequences of a connection, which threatens not only to ſubvert the foundations of friendſhip between you and the company, but to introduce into the heart of your kingdom the principles of anarchy and confuſion, to ſhake your own authority, to weaken the obedience of your ſubjects, and to deſtroy the religion which you revere.

Immediately after my arrival in Bengal, I read your correſpondence with the late governor-general Sir John Shore, and with the acting governor-general Sir Alured Clarke; and I perceived with great ſatisfaction, that in all your letters you conſtantly profeſſed a diſpoſition to ſtrengthen the bonds of ſincere attachment, and the foundations of harmony and concord, eſtabliſhed between you and the honourable company. I received particular

pleaſure

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pleaſure from reading your laſt letter to Sir John Shore, in which you ſignified your amicable deſire that he ſhould impreſs me with a ſenſe of the friendſhip and unanimity ſo long ſubſiſting between the two ſtates. Your ſubſequent letters to me have abounded with profeſſions of the ſame friendly nature.

Combining theſe profeſſions of amity on your part, with the proofs which the company's government have conſtantly given of their ſincère diſpoſition to maintain the relations of friendſhip and peace with you, and adverting, at the ſame time, to your reputation for wiſdom and diſcernment, it was natural for me to be extremely ſlow to believe the various accounts tranſmitted to me of your negociations with the French, and of your military preparations: but, whatever my reluctance to credit ſuch reports might be, prudence required, both of me and of the company's allies, that we ſhould adopt certain meaſures of precaution and ſelf-defence; and theſe have accordingly been taken, as you will no doubt have obſerved. The Britiſh government and the allies, wiſhing nevertheleſs to live in peace and friendſhip with all their neighbours; entertaining no projects of ambition, nor any views in the leaſt incompatible with their reſpective engagements, and looking to no other objects than the permanent ſecurity and tranquillity of their own dominions and ſubjects, will always be ready, as they now are, to afford you every demonſtration of their pacific diſpoſition.

The peſhwa, and his highneſs the nizam, concur with me in the obſervations which I have offered to you in this letter, and which, in the name of the company and of the allies, I recommend to your moſt ſerious conſideration; but as I am alſo deſirous of communicating to you, on the behalf of the company and their allies, a plan calculated to promote the mutual ſecurity and welfare of all parties, I propoſe to depute to you, for this purpoſe, Major Doveton, who is well known to you, and who will explain to you more fully and particularly the ſole means which appear to myſelf, and to the allies of the company, to be effectual for the ſalutary purpoſe of removing all exiſting diſtruſt and ſuſpicion, and of eſtabliſhing peace and good underſtanding on the moſt durable foundations.

You will, I doubt not, let me know at what time and place it will be convenient to you to receive Major Doveton; and as ſoon as your friendly letter ſhall reach me, I will direct him to proceed to your preſence.

I ſhall expect your anſwer to this letter, with an earneſt hope that it may correſpond with the pacific views and wiſhes of the allies, and that you may be convinced that you cannot in any manner better conſult your true intereſts than by meeting, with cordiality, the preſent friendly and moderate advance to a ſatisfactory and amicable ſettlement of all points on which any doubt or anxiety may have ariſen in the minds, either of yourſelf or of the allies.

(No. 3.)—*Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Governor-General to Tippoo Sultaun, (dated 10th December 1798.)*

TO TIPPOO SULTAUN.

I had the honour of addreſſing a friendly letter to your highneſs on the 8th of November laſt; in which I ſtated a variety of important points, to which your highneſs would no doubt perceive the propriety and neceſſity of giving your earlieſt and moſt ſerious conſideration.—I particularly hope that your highneſs will have been ſenſible of the advantages likely to reſult to all parties from the conciliatory meaſure of my deputing Major Doveton to you, which I propoſed in that letter.

I expect to have the pleaſure of finding your anſwer to that letter on my arrival at Madras, for which place I am on the point of ſetting out from Calcutta: I hope to arrive at Madras about the ſame time that the letter reaches you; and ſhould any circumſtances hitherto have prevented your anſwering my laſt letter of the 8th November, I aſſure myſelf that you will, immediately on your receipt of this, diſpatch a ſatisfactory reply to it, addreſſed to me at Madras.

(No. 4.)—*Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to the Right Hon. the Governor-General, (received at Fort St. George, the 25th December 1798.*

I have been made happy by the receipt of your Lordſhip's two friendly letters, the contents of which I clearly comprehend, *(vide thoſe written 4th and 8th November.)* The particulars which your lordſhip has communicated to me, relative to the victory obtained by the Engliſh fleet over that of the French, near the ſhores of Egypt, nine of their ſhips having been captured and two burned, on one of which of the latter was their admiral, have given me more pleaſure than can poſſibly be conveyed by writing. Indeed I poſſeſs the firmeſt hope that the leaders of the Engliſh and the Company Bahauder, who ever adhere to the paths of ſincerity, friendſhip and good faith, and are the wellwiſhers of mankind, will at all times

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be ſucceſsful and victorious; and that the French, who are of a crooked diſpoſition, faithleſs, and the enemies of mankind, may be ever depreſſed and ruined. Your lordſhip has written to me with the pen of friendſhip, "that in no age or country were the baneful and inſidious arts of intrigue ever cultivated with ſuch ſucceſs as they are at preſent by the French nation. Would to God that no impreſſion had been produced on my mind by that dangerous people; but that your lordſhip's ſituation enables you to know that they have reached my preſence, and have endeavoured to pervert the wiſdom of my councils, and to inſtigate me to war againſt thoſe who have given me no provocation: That it is impoſſible that I ſhould ſuppoſe your lordſhip ignorant of the intercourſe which ſubſiſts between me and the French, who I know to be the inveterate enemies of the company, and to be now engaged in an unjuſt war with the Britiſh; and that I cannot imagine your lordſhip indifferent to the tranſactions which have paſſed between me and the enemies of the Engliſh."

In this ſircar (the gift of God) there is a mercantile tribe, who employ themſelves in trading by ſea and land. Their agents purchaſed a two-maſted veſſel, and, having loaded her with rice, departed with a view to traffic. It happened that ſhe went to the Mauritius, from whence forty perſons, French, and of a dark colour, of whom ten or twelve were artificers, and the reſt ſervants, paying the hire of the ſhip, came here in ſearch of employment. Such as thoſe to take ſervice were entertained, and the remainder departed beyond the confines of this ſircar (the gift of God); and the French, who are full of vice and deceit, have perhaps taken advantage of the departure of the ſhip to put about reports, with the view to ruffle the minds of both ſircars.

It is the wiſh of my heart, and my conſtant endeavour, to obſerve and maintain the articles of the agreement of peace, and to perpetuate and ſtrengthen the baſis of friendſhip and union with the ſircar of the Company Bahauder, and with the ſircars of the Maha Rajah Saheb, Sure Munt Peſhwa Bahauder, and his highneſs the Nabob Aſuph Jah Bahauder. And I am reſident at home, at times taking the air, and at others amuſing myſelf with hunting, at a ſpot which is uſed as a pleaſure-ground. In this caſe, the alluſion to war in your friendly letter, and the following paſſage, namely, "that prudence required that both the company and their allies ſhould adopt certain meaſures of precaution and ſelf-defence," have given me the greateſt ſurpriſe.

It was farther written by your friendly pen, that as your Lordſhip is deſirous of communicating to me, on the behalf of the company and their allies, a plan calculated to promote the mutual ſecurity and welfare of all parties, your lordſhip propoſes to depute to me, for this purpoſe, Major Doveton, who formerly waited upon me, and who will explain to me more fully and particularly the ſole means which appear to your lordſhip and the allies to be effectual for the ſalutary purpoſe of removing all exiſting diſtruſt and ſuſpicion, and of eſtabliſhing peace and good underſtanding on the moſt durable foundations; and that, therefore, your lordſhip truſts I will let you know at what time and place it will be convenient to me to receive Major Doveton. It has been underſtood, by the bleſſing of the Almighty, at the concluſion of the peace, the treaties and engagements entered into among the four ſircars were ſo firmly eſtabliſhed and confirmed as ever to remain fixed and durable, and be an example to the rulers of the age; nor are they, nor will they ever be, liable to interruption. I cannot imagine that means more effectual than theſe can be adopted, for giving ſtability to the foundations of friendſhip and harmony, promoting the ſecurity of ſtates, or the welfare and advantages of all parties.

In the view of thoſe who inſpect narrowly into the nature of friendſhip, peace and amity are the firſt of all objects, as indeed your Lordſhip has yourſelf written to me that the allied ſircars look to no other object than the ſecurity and tranquillity of their own dominions, and the eaſe and comfort of their ſubjects. Praiſe be to God, that the ſum of my views, and the wiſh of my heart, are limited to theſe ſame points! On ſuch grounds, then, a juſt and permanent obſervance of exiſting treaties is neceſſary; and theſe, under the favours of God, daily acquire new ſtrength and improvement by means of amicable correſpondence. Your lordſhip is a great ſirdar, a firm friend, and the rectifier of all things; and you poſſeſs an enlightened judgment. I have the ſtrongeſt hope that the minds of the wiſe and intelligent, but particularly of the four ſtates, will not be ſullied by doubts and jealouſies, but will conſider me, from my heart, deſirous of harmony and friendſhip.

Continue to allow me the pleaſure of your correſpondence, making me happy by accounts of your health. What more ſhall be written?

Dated the 9th of Rujub, 1213 of the Hejirah.

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(No. 5.)—*Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Governor General to Tippoo Sultaun.*

9th of January 1799.

In purſuance of the intention which I had the honour of communicating to you in my letter of the 10th of December, I embarked at Calcutta on the 25th of the ſame month, and on the 31ſt following arrived at this place.

Previouſly to my departure from Calcutta, I had the honour to receive your highneſs's letter of the 11th Jamaudy Ooſſaunee (20th November).—*(Recapitulate.)*

My letter to your highneſs of the 8th November, will have explained to your highneſs the object of the military preparations which have been advancing in every part of the dominions of the allies, ever ſince the beginning of the month of July.

On my arrival at Madras, I had the honour to receive your letter of the 9th Rejeb (or 18th of December), in anſwer to my two letters addreſſed to your highneſs on the 4th and 8th of November.

I am happy to find that in this letter your highneſs has been pleaſed to admit, "That the Engliſh nation and the honourable company ever adhere to the paths of ſincerity, friendſhip and good faith, and that they are the wellwiſhers of mankind." This declaration is peculiarly ſatisfactory to me in the preſent moment, becauſe I am perſuaded that a prince of your highneſs's diſcernment would not expreſs ſuch ſentiments without full deliberation: I therefore accept with pleaſure this declaration, as affording not only an unequivocal teſtimony, on the part of your highneſs, to the juſtice of that cauſe in which the Engliſh nation and the company are engaged, but an unqualified admiſſion that you have no ground of complaint againſt the Engliſh government.

In anſwer to that part of my letter of the 8th of November, in which I lamented the unhappy connection which you have formed with the French nation, your highneſs is pleaſed to mention, "that in the ſircar (the gift of God) there is a mercantile tribe, who employ themſelves in trading by ſea and land; that their agents purchaſed a two-maſted veſſel, and, having loaded her with rice, departed with the view to traffic; that it happened that ſhe went to the Mauritius, from whence forty perſons, French, and of a dark colour, of whom ten or twelve were artificers, and the reſt ſervants, paying the hire of the ſhip, came to your country in ſearch of employment; that ſuch as choſe to take ſervice were entertained, and the remainder departed beyond the confines of that ſircar (the gift of God); and that the French, who are full of vice and deceit, have perhaps taken advantage of the departure of the ſhip, to put about reports, with the view to ruffle the minds of both ſircars."

I had no knowledge of the tranſaction which your highneſs has thus deſcribed; until I had the honour to receive your highneſs's letter: nor was it to this tranſaction I adverted, when I expreſſed my concern at the intercourſe which your highneſs had eſtabliſhed with the French; the facts to which I referred, were of a nature entirely different from thoſe which your highneſs has related. If the tranſaction of which I complained had not indiſputably proved the exiſtence of a connection between your highneſs and the French, entirely incompatible with your engagements to the honourable company and its allies, neither the allies nor I would have reſorted to thoſe meaſures of precaution and defence which have attracted your highneſs's attention.

I will now fully and explicitly ſtate to your highneſs the circumſtances to which I referred in my letter of the 8th of November, wherein I remonſtrated againſt the tendency of your intercourſe with the French.

Although I had been, for ſome time paſt, appriſed that your highneſs had engaged with ſeveral powers of Aſia, in various negociations of the moſt hoſtile tendency towards the intereſts of the company and of its allies; and although your continued military preparations correſponded with the ſpirit of your negociations; I ſtill hoped that a ſenſe of your own intereſts, and a regard to the acknowledged maxims of prudence and good faith, would have induced you to relinquiſh projects of aggreſſion ſo inconſiſtent with your own profeſſions, with your real intereſts, and with the character of your wiſdom and diſcretion. But I had ſcarcely formed that deciſion on your highneſs's claim to Wynaad (by which I had afforded an unqueſtionable teſtimony of my own diſpoſition to render impartial and ample juſtice to your rights, and to cultivate and improve the relations of amity and peace with your highneſs), when I received from the Iſle of France an authentic copy of the proclamation, a Perſian tranſlation of which accompanies this letter.

In addition to this proclamation, I poſſeſs full and accurate information of all the proceedings of your highneſs's ambaſſadors during their reſidence in the Iſle of

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France, of the whole of their conduct in exerciſing the powers delegated to them by your highneſs, and of your highneſs's conduct ſince the return of your ambaſſadors. From the whole evidence in my poſſeſſion, the following facts are inconteſtibly proved:

Your highneſs diſpatched two ambaſſadors from your preſence, who embarked at Mangalore for the Iſle of France, and arrived there at the cloſe of the month of January 1798: the ſhip on which the ambaſſadors were embarked, hoiſted your highneſs's colours upon entering the harbour of Port Nord-oueſt in the Iſle of France. Your ambaſſadors were received, publicly and formally, by the French government, under a ſalute of cannon, and with every circumſtance of diſtinction and reſpect; and they were entertained, during their continuance on the iſland, by the French government, at the public expence.

Previouſly to the arrival of your ambaſſadors on the iſland, no idea or rumour exiſted there, of any aid to be furniſhed to your highneſs by the French, or of any proſpect of a war between your highneſs and the company: But, within two days after the arrival of your ambaſſadors, the proclamation, of which I now forward to you a tranſlation, was fixed up in the moſt public places, and circulated through the town of Port Nord-oueſt.

Your ambaſſadors, far from proteſting againſt the matter or ſtyle of the proclamation, held without reſerve, in the moſt public manner, the ſame language which it contains with reſpect to the offenſive war to be commenced by your highneſs againſt the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India; and they even ſuffered the proclamation to be publicly diſtributed at their own houſes.

In conſequence of theſe circumſtances, an univerſal belief prevailed in the iſland, that your highneſs would make an immediate attack upon the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India.

Your ambaſſadors were preſent in the iſland when the French government proceeded to act under the proclamation in queſtion; and your ambaſſadors aided and aſſiſted the execution of the proclamation, by making promiſes in the name of your highneſs, for the purpoſe of inducing recruits to enliſt in your ſervice. Your ambaſſadors propoſed to levy men to any practicable extent, ſtating their powers to be limited with reſpect to the numbers of the forces to be raiſed in your highneſs's name, for the purpoſe of making war on the company.

The ambaſſadors entered into certain ſtipulations and engagements, in the name of your highneſs, according to the tenor of the proclamation (ſee the margin *), with ſeveral Frenchmen, and others who entered into your ſervice, particularly with Monſieur Dubuc, whom the ambaſſadors engaged in your highneſs's name, for the expreſs purpoſe of aſſiſting in the war to be commenced by your highneſs againſt the Engliſh in India.

The proclamation, therefore, is proved to have been the act of your ambaſſadors. It originated in their arrival at the Iſle of France; it was diſtributed by their agents; it was avowed in every part by their own public declarations; and, finally, it was executed, according to its tenor, by their perſonal aſſiſtance and co-operation.

On the 7th of March 1798, the ambaſſadors embarked at Port Nord-oueſt, on board the French frigate *La Preneuſe*, together with the force thus raiſed in your highneſs's name. This French frigate, with your ambaſſadors, and with the troops raiſed in the enemy's country for your ſervice, arrived at Mangalore about the 26th of April 1798. Your highneſs permitted this force to land in your dominions; and, far from manifeſting the leaſt ſymptom of diſapprobation of the conduct of your ambaſſadors in any part of this tranſaction, you formally received them, and the French officers and principal perſons who accompanied them, with public marks of honour and diſtinction; and you now entertain in your ſervice a large part of the force thus raiſed, for the purpoſe of making war upon the honourable company.

From theſe ſeveral facts, the following concluſions reſult:

1*ſt*, That the ambaſſadors diſpatched by your highneſs to the Iſle of France did propoſe, and actually did conclude, an offenſive alliance with the French, for the expreſs purpoſe of commencing a war of aggreſſion againſt the company, and conſequently againſt the allies, the peſhwa and the nizam.

2*dly*,

* *Nous pouvons aſſurer tous les Citoyens qui ſe feroit inſcrire, que Tippoo leur ſera des traitemens avantageux qui ſeront fixés avec ſes ambaſſadeurs, qui s'engageront en outre, au nom de leur ſouverain a ce que les Français qui auront pris parti dans ſes armées, ne puiſſent jamais y être retenus quand ils voudront s'entrer dan leur patrie.*

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2*dly*, That your highneſs's ambaſſadors demanded military ſuccours from the French for the purpoſe of proſecuting the ſaid war; and declared that your highneſs had already completed your hoſtile preparations againſt the company (and conſequently againſt the allies), and that you only waited the arrival of effectual aid from the French to break out into open hoſtilities.

3*dly*, That your highneſs's ambaſſadors levied a military force in the Iſle of France, under the conditions of the proclamation, and for the avowed purpoſe of carrying into effect the offenſive alliance contracted in the name of your highneſs with the enemy of the company and of the allies.

4*thly*, That your highneſs approved the conduct of your ambaſſadors, ſuffered the French force raiſed for the purpoſe of making war upon the company and the allies to be landed in your country, and finally admitted the ſaid force into your army.

5*thly*, That your highneſs, by theſe ſeveral perſonal and unequivocal acts, has ratified the engagements contained in the proclamation publiſhed in the Iſle of France; and has taken the preliminary ſteps for fulfilling thoſe engagements, according to the tenor of that proclamation; and that you have thereby precluded whatever hope might otherwiſe have been entertained, that the proceedings of your highneſs's ambaſſadors were authoriſed by your orders.

6*thly*, That your highneſs has, for ſome time paſt, been employed in military preparations, conformably to the hoſtile ſpirit of your engagements contracted with the enemy of the company and of the allies.

7*thly*, That your highneſs was prepared to make an unprovoked attack upon the company's poſſeſſions, if you had obtained from the French the effectual ſuccour which you had ſolicited through your ambaſſadors.

8*thly*, That your highneſs, by theſe ſeveral acts, has violated the treaties of peace and friendſhip ſubſiſting between your highneſs and the allies.

Such are the grounds on which I founded my complaint, in my letter of the 8th of November; and ſuch are the motives which now compel the allies to ſeek relief from that ambiguous and anxious ſtate in which they have been placed, for ſome years paſt, by the conduct of your highneſs. The allies complain that your frequent preparations for war, together with your hoſtile negociations and offenſive alliances with the enemy, continually expoſe the allies, during a period of ſuppoſed peace, to all the ſolicitude and hazard, and much of the expence of war.

Even under all theſe circumſtances of provocation, the allies entertain the moſt earneſt deſire to eſtabliſh with your highneſs a real and ſubſtantial peace, accompanied by the intercourſe and good offices uſual among friendly and contiguous ſtates. We are, therefore, ready to renew and confirm the bonds of amity with your highneſs, on ſuch conditions as ſhall preclude the continuance of thoſe jealouſies which muſt ſubſiſt ſo long as a final and ſatisfactory adjuſtment of all cauſes of ſuſpicion ſhall be delayed.

Your highneſs is pleaſed to ſay, "that you cannot imagine how means more effectual than the exiſting treaties can be adopted, for giving ſtability to the foundations of friendſhip and harmony, or for promoting the ſecurity of the ſtates, and the welfare and advantage of all parties." —In this ſentiment I entirely concur with your highneſs; and if your highneſs's wiſdom had not been perverted, by evil councils, from a due obſervance of your engagements with the allies, no new or more effectual means would now be neceſſary "for giving ſtability to the foundations of friendſhip and harmony, or for promoting the ſecurity of the ſtates and the welfare and advantage of all parties." But a new arrangement is become indiſpenſable, in conſequence of your highneſs's new engagements with the common enemy of the allies: And I again intreat your highneſs to meet with cordiality the friendly and moderate advance of the allies, towards an amicable ſettlement of every ground of jealouſy and danger.

Had your highneſs received Major Doveton, that gentleman would have explained to your highneſs, on the part of the company and of the allies, how this advantageous arrangement is to be obtained.

The allies being always anxious to enter into the friendly explanation with your highneſs, I once more call upon your highneſs, in the moſt ſerious and ſolemn manner, to aſſent to the admiſſion of Major Doveton, as a meaſure which I am confident would be productive of the moſt laſting advantages to all parties.

I truſt that your highneſs will favour me with a friendly letter in reply to this; and I moſt earneſtly requeſt that your reply may not be deferred for more than one day after this letter ſhall reach your preſence: Dangerous conſequences reſult from the delay of arduous affairs.

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(No. 6.)—*Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to the Right Hon. the Governor General, dated 24th Ryeb* 1213, *or 2d of January* 1799. *(Received the 11th of January* 1799.*)*

The agreeable arrival of your lordſhip's two letters, denoting your welfare, rejoiced and gratified me. A khereta, in reply to your lordſhip's former friendly letter, has been written and diſpatched; it will, no doubt, by this time have been received; and the ſincerity of my friendſhip and regard, together with the proofs of my ſolicitude for tranquillity and peace (my friendly heart being bent upon their increaſe), will have been made apparent. Continue to rejoice me with happy letters.

(No. 7.)—*Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to the Right Hon. the Governor General. (Received* 13*th February* 1799.*)*

I have been much gratified by the agreeable receipt of your lordſhip's two friendly letters; the firſt, brought by a camelman; the laſt, by hircarrahs; and underſtood their contents. The letter of the prince in ſtation—like Turnſhield with angels as his guards, with troops numerous as the ſtars, the ſun illuminating the world, the heaven of empire and dominion, the luminary giving ſplendour to the univerſe, the firmament of glory and power, the ſultaun of the ſea and the land, the king of Room (*i. e.* the Grand Signior), be his empire and his power perpetual!—addreſſed to me, which reached you through the Britiſh envoy, and which you tranſmitted, has arrived. Being frequently diſpoſed to make excurſions and hunt, I am accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excurſion. You will be pleaſed to diſpatch Major Doveton (about whoſe coming your friendly pen has repeatedly written), ſlightly attended.

Always continue to gratify me by friendly letters, notifying your welfare.

(No. 8)—*Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Governor General to Tippoo Sultaun. 22d of February* 1799.

I had the honour, on the 13th inſtant, to receive your letter, acknowledging your receipt of my two letters of the 9th and 16th of January, informing me of your intention to proceed on a hunting excurſion, and deſiring me to diſpatch Major Doveton unattended to you.

I lament moſt ſincerely, that the friendly intimation contained in my letter of the 9th January, regarding the dangers of delay, produced no effect on your diſcerning mind, and that you deferred your reply to that letter to ſo late a period in the ſeaſon. Your long ſilence, on this important and preſſing occaſion, compelled me to adopt the reſolution of ordering the Britiſh forces to advance in concert with the armies of the allied powers. You are not ignorant that the period of the ſeaſon rendered the advance of the army abſolutely neceſſary to the common ſecurity of the allies. This movement of the army is to be imputed entirely to your repeated rejection of my amicable propoſal of ſending an ambaſſador to your preſence.

Under the preſent circumſtances, to ſend Major Doveton to you, could not be attended with thoſe advantages which would have reſulted from his miſſion at a proper ſeaſon.

The allies, however, retaining an anxious deſire to effect an adjuſtment with you, Lieutenant-general Harris, commander of the Britiſh troops, has been empowered to receive any embaſſy which you ſhall diſpatch to him. Lieutenant-general Harris will alſo authoriſe ſuch perſons as he may think proper, to concert, in communication with your ambaſſadors, a new treaty of friendſhip with your highneſs, founded on ſuch conditions as appear to the allies to be indiſpenſibly neceſſary to the eſtabliſhment of a ſecure and permanent peace.

(No. 9.)—*Copy of a Declaration of the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council, for all the Forces and Affairs of the Britiſh Nation in the Eaſt Indies, on behalf of the Hon. the Eaſt India Company, and the Allies of the ſaid Company there, his Highneſs the Nizam and the Peſhwa.*

A ſolemn treaty of peace and friendſhip was concluded at Seringapatam, between the honourable Company, and the Nabob Aſoph Jah and the Peſhwa, on the one part, and the nabob Tippoo Sultaun on the other part; and from that day all commotion and hoſtility ceaſed. Since that day, the three allied ſtates have invariably manifeſted a ſacred regard for the obligations contracted under that treaty with the nabob Tippoo Sultaun. Of this uniform diſpoſition, abundant proofs have been afforded by each of the allies. Whatever differences have ariſen, with regard to the limits of the territory of Myſore, have been amicably adjuſted without difficulty, and with the moſt exact attention to the principles of equity, and to the ſtipulations of treaty. Such has been the ſolicitude of the allies for the preſervation of tranquillity, that they have viewed with forbearance, for ſome years paſt, various

embaſſies

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embaſſies and military preparations on the part of Tippoo Sultaun, of a tendency ſo evidently hoſtile to the intereſts of the allies, as would have juſtified them, not only in the moſt ſerious remonſtrances, but even in an appeal to arms. On the part of the Britiſh government every endeavour has been employed to conciliate the confidence of the Sultaun, and to mitigate his vindictive ſpirit, by the moſt unequivocal acknowledgment and confirmation of his juſt rights, and by the removal of every cauſe of jealouſy which might tend to interrupt the continuance of peace. Theſe pacific ſentiments have been moſt particularly manifeſted in the governor-general's recent deciſion on Tippoo Sultaun's claim to the diſtrict of Wynaad, and in the negociation opened by his lordſhip with regard to the diſtricts of Amarah and Souleah. In every inſtance, the conduct of the Britiſh government in India towards Tippoo Sultaun, has been the natural reſult of thoſe principles of moderation, juſtice and good faith, which the legiſlature of Great Britain, and the honourable the Eaſt-India company, have firmly eſtabliſhed as the unalterable rule of their intercourſe with the native princes and ſtates of India.

The exemplary good faith and the pacific diſpoſition of the allies, ſince the concluſion of the treaty of Seringapatam, have never been diſputed even by Tippoo Sultaun. Far from having attempted to allege even the pretext of a complaint againſt their conduct, he has conſtantly acknowledged their juſtice, ſincerity and good faith, and has preferred, in the moſt cordial terms, his deſire to maintain and ſtrengthen the foundations of harmony and concord with them.

In the midſt of theſe amicable profeſſions on the part of Tippoo Sultaun, and at the moment when the Britiſh government had iſſued orders for the confirmation of his claim to Wynaad, it was with aſtoniſhment and indignation that the allies diſcovered the engagements which he had contracted with the French nation, in direct violation of the treaty of Seringapatam, as well as of his own moſt ſolemn and recent proteſtations of friendſhip towards the allies.

Under the maſk of theſe ſpecious profeſſions, and of a pretended veneration for the obligations of treaty, Tippoo Sultaun diſpatched ambaſſadors to the Iſle of France, who, in a period of profound peace in India, propoſed and concluded, in his name, an offenſive alliance with the French, for the avowed purpoſe of commencing a war of aggreſſion againſt the company, and conſequently againſt the peſhwa and the nizam, the allies of the company. The ambaſſadors, in the name of Tippoo Sultaun, demanded military ſuccours from the French, and actually levied a military force in the Iſle of France, with the declared view of proſecuting the intended war.

When the ambaſſadors returned, in a French ſhip of war, from the Iſle of France, Tippoo Sultaun ſuffered the military force which they had levied for the avowed purpoſe of making war upon the allies, to land in his country; and, finally, he admitted it into his army: by theſe perſonal acts, ratifying and confirming the proceedings of his ambaſſadors.

This military force, however, was not ſufficiently powerful to enable him immediately to attempt his declared purpoſe of attacking the company's poſſeſſions; but in the mean while he advanced his hoſtile preparations conformably to his engagements with the French; and he was ready to move his army into the company's territories, whenever he might obtain from France the effectual ſuccours which he had aſſiduouſly ſolicited from that nation. But the providence of God, and the victorious arms of the Britiſh nation, fruſtrated his vain hopes, and checked the preſumptuous career of the French in Egypt, at the moment when he anxiouſly expected their arrival on the coaſt of Malabar.

The Britiſh government, the nizam, and the peſhwa, had not omitted the neceſſary precaution of aſſembling their forces, for the joint protection of their reſpective dominions. The ſtrict principles of ſelf-defence would have juſtified the allies, at that period of time, in making an immediate attack upon the territories of Tippoo Sultaun; but even the happy intelligence of the glorious ſucceſs of the Britiſh fleet at the mouth of the Nile, did not abate the anxious deſire of the allies to maintain the relations of amity and peace with Tippoo Sultaun: they attempted, by a moderate repreſentation, to recal him to a ſenſe of his obligations, and of the genuine principles of prudence and policy; and they employed every effort to open the channels of negotiation, and to facilitate the means of amicable accommodation. With theſe ſalutary views, the governor-general, on the 8th of November 1798, in the name of the allies, propoſed to diſpatch an ambaſſador to Tippoo Sultaun, for the purpoſe of renewing the bonds of friendſhip, and of concluding ſuch an arrangement as might afford effectual ſecurity againſt any future interruption of the public tranquillity; and his lordſhip repeated the ſame propoſal on the 10th of December 1798. Tippoo

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poo Sultaun declined, by various evaſions and ſubterfuges, this friendly and moderate advance on the part of the allies; and he manifeſted an evident diſpoſition to reject the means of pacific accommodation, by ſuddenly breaking up, in the month of December, the conferences which had commenced with reſpect to the diſtricts of Amarah and Souleah, and by interrupting the intercourſe between his ſubjects and thoſe of the company on their reſpective frontiers. On the 9th of January 1799, the governor-general being arrived at Fort St. George, (notwithſtanding theſe diſcouraging circumſtances in the conduct of Tippoo Sultaun) renewed, with increaſed earneſtneſs, the expreſſion of his lordſhip's anxious deſire to diſpatch an ambaſſador to the Sultaun.

The governor-general expreſsly ſolicited the Sultaun to return an anſwer within one day to this letter; and as it involved no propoſition either injurious to the rights, dignity or honour of the Sultaun, in any degree novel or complicated either in form or ſubſtance, it could not require a longer conſideration. The governor-general waited with the utmoſt ſolicitude for an anſwer to the reaſonable and diſtinct propoſition contained in his letter of the 9th of January 1799. Tippoo Sultaun, however, who muſt have received this letter before the 15th of January, remained ſilent, although the governor-general had plainly apprized that prince, that dangerous conſequences would reſult from delay. In the mean while, the ſeaſon for military operations had already advanced to ſo late a period, as to render a ſpeedy deciſion indiſpenſable to the ſecurity of the allies. Under theſe circumſtances, on the 3d of February, (eight days having elapſed from the period when an anſwer might have been received from Seringapatam to the governor-general's letter of the 9th of January), his lordſhip declared to the allies, that the neceſſary meaſures muſt now be adopted, without delay, for ſecuring ſuch advantages as ſhould place the common ſafety of the allies beyond the reach of the inſincerity of Tippoo Sultaun, and of the violence of the French. With this view, the governor-general, on the 3d of February, iſſued orders to the Britiſh armies to march; and ſignified to the commander of his majeſty's ſquadron, that the obſtinate ſilence of the Sultaun muſt be conſidered as a rejection of the propoſed amicable negociation.

At length, on the 13th of February, a letter from Tippoo Sultaun reached the governor-general; in which the Sultaun ſignifies to his lordſhip, "that being frequently diſpoſed to make excurſions and hunt, he was accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excurſion;" adding, "that the governor-general would be pleaſed to diſpatch Major Doveton to him, unattended."

The allies will not dwell on the peculiar phraſes of this letter; but it muſt be evident to all the ſtates of India, that the anſwer of the Sultaun has been deferred to this late period of the ſeaſon, with no other view than to preclude the allies, by inſidious delays, from the benefit of thoſe advantages which their combined military operations would enable them to ſecure. On thoſe advantages alone (under the recent experience of Tippoo Sultaun's violation of the treaty of Seringapatam, and under the peculiar circumſtances of that prince's offenſive alliance with the French) can the allies now venture to rely for the faithful execution of any treaty of peace concluded with Tippoo Sultaun.

The allies cannot ſuffer Tippoo Sultaun to profit by his own ſtudied and ſyſtematic delay, nor to impede ſuch a diſpoſition of their military and naval force, as ſhall appear beſt calculated to give effect to their juſt views.

Bound by the ſacred obligations of public faith, profeſſing the moſt amicable diſpoſition, and undiſturbed in the poſſeſſion of thoſe dominions ſecured to him by treaty, Tippoo Sultaun wantonly violated the relations of amity and peace, and compelled the allies to arm in defence of their rights, their happineſs and their honour.

For a period of three months, he obſtinately rejected every pacific overture, in the hourly expectation of receiving that ſuccour which he has eagerly ſolicited for the proſecution of his favourite purpoſes of ambition and revenge. Diſappointed in his hopes of immediate vengeance and conqueſt, he now reſorts to ſubterfuge and procraſtination, and, by a tardy, reluctant and inſidious acquieſcence in a propoſition which he had ſo long and repeatedly declined, he endeavours to fruſtrate the precautions of the allies, and to protract every effectual operation, until ſome change of circumſtances and of ſeaſon ſhall revive his expectations of diſturbing the tranquillity of India, by favouring the irruption of a French army.

The allies are equally prepared to repel his violence, and to counteract his artifices and delays. The allies are, therefore, reſolved to place their army in ſuch a poſition as ſhall afford adequate protection againſt any artifice or inſincerity, and ſhall preclude the return of that danger which has ſo lately menaced their poſſeſſions.—The allies, however, retaining an anxious deſire to effect an adjuſtment with Tippoo Sultaun,

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Sultaun, Lieutenant-general Harris, commander in chief of his majesty's and the honourable company's forces on the coast of Coromandel and Malabar, is authorized to receive any embassy which Tippoo Sultaun may dispatch to the head-quarters of the British army, and to concert a treaty on such conditions as appear to the allies to be indispensably necessary for the establishment of a secure and permanent peace.

By order of the right honourable the governor-general,

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

Fort St. George, Feb. 22, 1799.

(No. 10.)—ABSTRACT RETURN *of the* TROOPS *that marched for the Mysore Country from the Coromandel Coast. (Taken from the Monthly Returns of the Corps in the Adjutant-General's Office, for the month of February* 1799.)

CORPS.	Non-commissioned, Drums, Rank and File,	
19th reg. Lt. Drag.	430	
25th - -	454	
1st - Native Cav.	439	
2d - -	422	
3d - -	437	
4th - -	453	
Total Cavalry		2,635
2 Companies Bengal Artil.	139	
1st Batt. Artillery -	148	
2d - -	321	
Total Artillery		608
12th regt. Foot -	693	
33d - -	879	
73d - -	746	
74th - -	789	
Scotch Brigade -	559	
Swiss regiment -	715	
Total European Inf.		4,381
1st Batt. 1st regt.	963	
2d - 3d -	1,013	
2d - 5th -	1,080	
1st - 6th -	1,012	
1st - 8th -	910	
2d - 9th -	821	
1st - 12th -	795	
2d - 12th -	1,034	
Three Battalions Bengal Volunteers	3,057	
Total Native Inf.		10,695
Gun Lascars -	1,483	
Pioneers -	1,000	
Total Gun Lascars and Pioneers		2,483

ABSTRACT.

Cavalry -	2,635	
Artillery - -	608	
European Infantry -	4,381	
Native Infantry -	10,695	
Total Fighting Men,		18,319
Lascars and Pioneers -		2,483
Grand Total -		20,802

DETACHMENT *under the Command of Col.* ROBERTS.

1st Comp. Bengal Artil.	57	
1st - Coast -	85	
		142
1st Batt. 10th regt. B. N. I.	993	
2d - 10th -	1,008	
2d - 2d C. N. I. -	1,051	
2d - 74th -	998	
1st - 11th -	989	
2d - 11th -	1,037	
		6,076
Companies of Gun Lascars -		318
Total -		6,536

(Signed)

JOHN BRATHWAITE,
Major General.

No.

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(No. 11)—GENERAL RETURN *of the* TROOPS *belonging to the Presidency of Bombay, composing the Army assembled for Field Service—Lieutenant General James Stuart, Commander in Chief—Head Quarters, Cananore, 11th February* 1799.

CORPS.	Commanded by	Rank and File. Europeans.	Rank and File. Natives.	Fighting Men. Europeans.	Fighting Men. Natives.	Total Fighting Men.
Detachment of Artillery, and Lascars attached	Lt. Col. Lawnam	137	314	166	344	
Detachment of Engineers	Col. Sartorius	—	—	7		
Right Native Brigade, commanded by Lieut. Col. Montresor — 1st Battalion, 2d Reg. N. S.	Major Lawrence	—	584	—	658	
1st — — 4th	Major Disney	—	600	—	672	
1st — — 3d	Lt. Col. Inignam	—	599	—	663	
Centre, or European Brigade, commanded by Lieut Col. Dunlop — His Majesty's 75th regiment foot	Major Forties	200	—	223		
Honourable Company's E. regiment foot	Major Fyfe	467	—	528		
His Majesty's 77th regiment foot	Major Spry	618	—	693		
Left Native Brigade, commanded by Lieut. Col. Wiseman — 2d Battalion, 3d regiment, N. I. with Detachment of 1st or 9th Battalion	Lt. Col. Home	—	639	—	717	
1st Battalion, 5th regiment, N. I.	Major Paterson	—	593	—	668	
2d Battalion, 2d regiment, N. I.	Lt. Col. Marshall	—	597	—	675	
Pioneer Corps	Capt. B. Moncriff	—	390	—	416	
	Total	1,422	4,316	1,617	4,803	6,420

(Signed) ROBERT GORDON, *Adjutant-General.*

(No. 12.)—*An Account of* RICE *and* GRAM *collected in the Coorga Country for the Use of the Army.*

Contract RICE, provided by Choakara Mousa, and deliverable at the head of the Poodicherrum Ghaut by the 25th February, 30,000 Morahs of 40 Pucka Seers, or 80*lbs.* each — *lbs.* 2,400,000

Rice collected by the Rajah, and stored at Verajunder-Pett 1st March, 33,000 batties of 60 Pucka Seers, or 120*lbs.* each, — 3,960,000

Being at 1*lb.* per man per day, equal to the subsistence of 40,000 men for 159 days.

lbs. 6,360,000

GRAM—Deliverable at the head of the Poodicherrum Ghaut, by the 25th February, 1000 Candies of 560 *lbs.* each, or — *lbs.* 560,000

Being at 10*lbs.* per day per horse, Gram for 2,800 horses for 20 days.

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No. 9.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Mornington to the Secret Committee.

Fort St. George, April 22, 1799.

Since my arrival at this presidency, I have addressed three separate letters to your honourable committee, under date the * 13th January, 13th February, and 15th March, 1799. My separate letters of the 20th of March and of this date to the court of directors, and the letter to your honourable committee from the governor-general in council at Fort St. George of the 7th April, contain a view of such events as have happened in this quarter since the date of my last letter to you.—To these advices I do not feel it necessary to add any thing at present, farther than my assurance that every circumstance promises a speedy and advantageous issue to the war with Tippoo Sultaun, and that all such private intelligence as I have received concurs to favour this expectation.

I have the satisfaction to inform you, that, notwithstanding the export of forty lacks of rupees in specie to this presidency, and the actual commencement of hostilities with Tippoo Sultaun, the discount upon all the public securities in Bengal has experienced a considerable diminution during the course of the last month; and, with the aid of the supplies in specie which we expect from England, I flatter myself that I shall be enabled, within a short period of time, to direct an enlargement of the commercial investment at all the presidencies. I am naturally impatient to return to Bengal; but the experience of every hour convinces me more strongly, that the avowed projects of Tippoo Sultaun, combined with his acknowledged means of carrying them into effect, have been among the most efficient causes, not only of the decline of public and private credit in Bengal, but also of encouragement to the disorderly and disaffected class of your subjects. I am therefore persuaded, that the effectual reduction of Tippoo's means of mischief is indispensable to the welfare and tranquillity of all your possessions. Under this impression, I feel it my duty to remain at this presidency as long as my presence can in any degree contribute to the energy and vigour of our military operations.

By the latest accounts from Constantinople, it appears that General Bonaparte's army still consists of 17 or 18,000 fighting men. The government of Bombay have fitted out an expedition against the island of Perim, according to your orders. You will probably learn from them, that I called their attention to the same object as soon as I learnt the arrival of the French in Egypt. My letter reached Bombay towards the conclusion of the month of October; but my suggestion was not executed, in consequence of a supposed deficiency of water on the island of Perim.

Upon receiving a similar suggestion from me, Admiral Rainier forwarded a conditional order, for the occupation of the island, to Commodore Blanket, by the *Centurion*. Since the receipt of your orders, however, I understand it has been ascertained at Bombay, that the island of Perim is not deficient in water.

No. 10.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Governor General to the Court of Directors.

Fort St. George, April 20, 1799

HONOURABLE SIRS,

1. I now proceed to submit to you a detail of the operations of the armies in Mysore.

2. The

* The substance of these letters have been detailed in Lord Mornington's letter of the 20th March, 1799.

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2. The army of Bombay, under the command of Lieutenant-general Stuart, marched from Cananore on the 21ſt of February, arrived at the head of the Poodicherrum Ghaut on the 25th of the ſame month, and took poſt at Seedapoor and Seedaſere on the 2d of March, for the protection of the large ſupplies which had been collected at Verajunder Pett, in the diſtrict of Coorga. From theſe poſitions, on Lieutenant-general Harris's approach, Lieutenant-general Stuart intended to form a junction with the army of Madras.

3. The army of Madras, under the command of Lieutenant-general Harris, entered the territory of Myſore on the 5th of March, when Lieutenant-general Harris forwarded to Tippoo Sultaun my letter (forming No. 8. of the incloſures of my ſeparate diſpatch to your honourable court of the 20th March), and publiſhed the declaration (forming No. 9. of the incloſures of the ſame diſpatch.)

4. The operations of the army of Madras commenced by the reduction of ſeveral forts upon the frontier: ſome of theſe forts ſurrendered without any reſiſtance, and none of them were defended with ſpirit, although the Sultaun appears, from the improved eſtabliſhment on which he had placed their garriſons, to have provided as well as he could for a different reſult.

5. The progreſs of the army of Madras, owing to its ample equipment in every department, particularly in that of the ordnance neceſſary for the ſiege of Seringapatam, was unavoidably ſlow: its movements, however, were but little impeded by the enemy; conſiderable bodies of horſe hovered about its line of march, but without any other effect than that of rendering the communications with the company's territories extremely difficult. Some parties of horſe attacked the nizam's contingent; and his highneſs's cavalry are reported by General Harris to have conducted themſelves with great ſpirit,—a circumſtance which may partly be attributed to the improvements recently introduced into the diſcipline and eſtabliſhments of his highneſs's cavalry, at the recommendation of the Britiſh reſident, under my inſtructions.

6. At the period when the army of Madras entered Myſore, Tippoo Sultaun was ſuppoſed to be encamped in the vicinity of Maddoor, and to be preparing to move in the direction of Bangalore, for the purpoſe of oppoſing the progreſs of the army of Madras, in the event of Lieutenant-general Harris actually paſſing the frontier: but it ſoon appeared, that although the Sultaun had ſo recently affected a diſpoſition to admit an embaſſy from the Britiſh government, he had probably no other view than to conceal the deſign which he had formed, of ſtriking a ſudden and early blow againſt the army of Bombay; for, without allowing me the ſame time to anſwer his laſt letter which he had taken for replying to thoſe addreſſed by me to him, and without waiting to hear of the actual commencement of hoſtilities on the part of the Britiſh government, he came to the reſolution of attacking the army of Bombay, then aſſembled beyond the line of his frontier in the diſtrict of Coorga, under the command of Lieutenant-general Stuart.

7. For this purpoſe, Tippoo taking with him the flower of his army, appears to have marched from his camp near Senapatam on the 28th of February (when Lieutenant-general Harris was ſtill within the company's territories), and, moving rapidly in the direction of

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Periapatam, to have arrived there on the morning of the 5th of March, being the same day on which Lieutenant-general Harris entered Mysore on the eastern frontier.

8. On the 6th of March, Tippoo Sultaun passed his own frontier, and attacked a detachment of the army of Bombay under the command of Lieutenant-general Stuart, the total strength of whose entire army did not amount to more than six thousand fighting men. The attack of the Sultaun's force was sustained by a body not exceeding 2000 men; and the Sultaun's army was finally defeated and completely dispersed, before General Stuart could collect the whole of his divided force. It is with infinite satisfaction that I inclose, for the information of your honourable court, the paper marked No. 1, containing General Stuart's account of this brilliant and important action, which took place at Seedaseer on the 6th March.

9. After this signal defeat, Tippoo retreated precipitately to his camp at Periapatam, and remained there until the 11th of March, without making any farther attempt to molest the army of Bombay. The loss sustained by Tippoo's army on the 6th of March, appears to have amounted to near 2000 killed, wounded and prisoners (which included several officers of rank, and some of considerable distinction); that sustained on the 7th, by the army of Bombay, will appear in Lieut.-general Stuart's letter.

10. Adverting to the great disproportion of numbers, and to other circumstances of disadvantage, I am confident that your honourable court will be of opinion, that the conduct and success of the army of Bombay on that day has seldom been equalled, and never surpassed in India.

11. Under this impression, I take the liberty of recommending to your favourable notice the several officers and corps named by Lieutenant-general Stuart in his letter of the 8th of March; and I am anxious to request your particular attention to the distinguished conduct of Lieutenant-general Stuart, and Major-general Hartley, as well as of Lieutenant-colonel Montresor and of Lieutenant-colonel Dunlop. Major-general Hartley had already received a public testimony of my particular approbation of his extraordinary merit, in collecting stores and provisions in the district of Coorga, previously to the arrival of General Stuart on the coast of Malabar.

12. Tippoo returned from Periapatam to Seringapatam, and, arriving at the latter place on the 14th of March, moved from thence immediately to meet Lieutenant-general Harris and the army of Madras.

13. Lieutenant-general Harris had advanced on the 26th of March to a position between Sultanpet and Malavelly, having met with no considerable impediment from the enemy: the enemy made their appearance in force on that day, but without attempting to disturb our army. On the 27th of March, when the army reached its ground at Malavelly, Tippoo opened a distant cannonade upon it, which, though at first disregarded by Lieutenant-general Harris, ultimately led to a general engagement, in which the enemy was completely defeated, and driven from every post which he attempted to maintain. Our loss on this occasion was very inconsiderable; only seven rank and file being killed, and a few men (including four officers) wounded; while that of the enemy is supposed to have amounted to near seven hundred.

14. I refer your honourable court to Lieutenant-general Harris's letter of the 27th of March, which

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forms a part of the inclosure, No. 2, for a more particular account of this important victory, requesting also your attention to the merits of the several officers and corps distinguished by the notice of Lieutenant-general Harris.

15. General Harris marched on the 20th a few miles to the southward of Malavelly, without the least interruption from the enemy; from whence it may be inferred that Tippoo Sultaun was considerably dispirited by the defeat which he had sustained on the preceding day, added to the previous success obtained over him by the army of Bombay.

16. On the 29th of March General Harris happily accomplished a movement which must have greatly astonished and disconcerted the enemy: instead of proceeding in the direction of Arakerry and Karagat, Lieutenant-general Harris suddenly turned towards the river Caveri, where, finding a ford at some distance above the junction of the Caveri and Copany, he immediately crossed the Caveri with a part of his army, and occupied strong positions on both banks of that river, at the distance of about fifteen miles from Seringapatam. This movement was also made without the least opposition on the part of the enemy, who indeed does not seem to have entertained the most distant suspicion of the British General's design.

17. Lord Cornwallis, at a more advanced period of the year, having in vain sought for a practicable ford to the southward of Seringapatam, Tippoo probably concluded that Lieutenant-general Harris would have pursued his lordship's route to the ford of Caniambaddy, northward of Seringapatam, for the purpose of effecting a junction from thence with the army of Bombay. It is difficult to account otherwise for Tippoo's inaction while General Harris executed this arduous and important movement.

18. The advantages of the position thus acquired by General Harris must prove considerable. In addition to the immediate acquisition of cattle and forage, it must facilitate the junction with the army of Bombay: it must afford additional security to the abundant magazines which have been formed in the Coorga country, and favour the safe approach of our convoys from the southern districts, and from the Barrahmahl, by the pass of Coveriporam; and it promises to open to our army that range of forage situated to the southward of Seringapatam, which Tippoo seems to have reserved for the consumption of his own army.

19. Lieutenant-general Harris, with his whole army, having crossed the Caveri on the 30th of March, halted near the village of Sovelly on the 31st. On the 1st of April he moved toward Seringapatam, and on the 5th encamped two miles S. W. of that city, having experienced no opposition from the enemy since the 27th of March. On the morning of the 6th of April, after an engagement in which the enemy appears to have made considerable resistance, Lieutenant-general Harris took possession of Suttanpotta, and an adjacent tope or grove; and about the same time Major-general Floyd, with a strong detachment, was sent to effect a junction with the army of Bombay. On the morning of the 6th April, Lieutenant-general Stuart received, at Sedapore, a note from Lieutenant-general Harris, announcing the arrival of the latter at Seringapatam, and also signifying that Major-general Floyd was to be detached from the army of Madras on the 6th April for the purpose already stated. In consequence of this intelligence, Lieutenant-general

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ral Stuart had determined to march from Sedapore to Seedaſeer on the 7th April; and it is probable that the junction of the army of Bombay with the detachment under the command of Major-general Floyd, was effected on the 8th, in the neighbourhood of Periapatam. The laſt accounts received by me from General Harris are dated on the 7th inſtant, when he ſtates that he had taken up his poſition for the ſiege of Seringapatam.

20. Tippoo Sultaun, on the 7th April, had not returned any anſwer to my letter of the 22d of February, nor had he manifeſted any diſpoſition to propoſe a negociation. Lieutenant-general Harris is inſtructed to propoſe preliminary articles of peace to the Sultaun, before the Britiſh batteries ſhall be opened againſt Seringapatam.

21. While General Harris was advancing towards Seringapatam, Lieutenant-colonel Read was employed in reducing the country to the northward of Ryacottah. His operations were intended to have embraced a wide range; and he had made conſiderable progreſs in them, when the more urgent ſervice of conveying to the troops the large ſupplies which were collected in the Barrahmahl, made it neceſſary for him to change the direction of his march. He is now drawing together, in the vicinity of Coverypooram, the numerous bunjarrahs and other ſupplies intended for the army encamped before Seringapatam, which place, it is hoped, he may be able to reach early in May.

22. To the ſouthward of the Carnatic and of Myſore, Lieutenant-colonel Brown, at the head of a reſpectable detachment, began his operation by the reduction of Carroor, which ſurrendered to him, without any ſerious reſiſtance, on the 5th April. On the 8th, he ſent a detachment againſt Errode; and marched himſelf on the 9th, to reduce Aravacourchy. He would, however, be obliged to ſuſpend his intended operations in the diſtrict of Coimbator, and to unite his detachment to that of Colonel Read, with a view of forming a force ſufficiently ſtrong to give due protection to the large and important ſupplies proceeding to Seringapatam.

23. Aravacourchy, which had been conſiderably ſtrengthened ſince laſt war, ſurrendered to Lieutenant-colonel Brown on the 10th inſtant.

24. I have annexed to this diſpatch, for the information of your honourable court, copies of the ſeveral letters and notes received by me from Lieutenant-general Harris, from the 6th of March to the 7th of April inclusive, and alſo copies of the diſpatches which I have received from Lieutenant-general Stuart on the 8th of March and the 6th of April.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MORNINGTON.

22d April, 1799.

P. S. After cloſing my letter, I had the ſatisfaction to receive the diſpatches from Generals Harris and Stuart, of which copies are incloſed, making No. 4 and 5.

I congratulate your honourable court on the ſucceſsful junction of the detachment under General Floyd with the army of Bombay. The final junction of the whole with the army before Seringapatam, was expected to take place about the 13th inſtant. It may be ſafely affirmed not to be in the power of Tippoo even materially to retard this junction, which, when effected, muſt excite a ſerious alarm in the mind of the Sultaun for the ſafety of his capital, if not of his perſon.

Your honourable court will perceive that Lieutenant-general Harris, in his progreſs to Seringapatam,

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encountered the same difficulties which were experienced by Lord Cornwallis, from the failure of the cattle provided for the service of the army, which, although amply sufficient in point of number at the commencement of the expedition, appears to have rapidly decreased on the entrance of the army into Mysore. The climate and water of that country are represented to be extremely unfavourable to the cattle of the Carnatic. The delay which arose from this unavoidable contingency seems to have been considerable; but your honourable court will no doubt view with satisfaction the spirit and firmness with which this difficulty was met by the commander in chief, and the zealous exertion of the whole army, by which he was enabled to proceed on his march.

When I closed my letter, I had not received any detailed relation of the action of the 27th March, or any official return of our loss on that occasion. The dispatch since received from General Harris supplies the defect; and at the same time shows that the loss sustained by the enemy, in the battle of Malavelly, was far more considerable than I had supposed. The accounts received by General Harris on the subject of the enemy's loss, as stated in his letter to me of the 5th instant, are confirmed by the reports of some hircarrahs belonging to General Stuart, who were in Tippoo's camp subsequently to the engagement.

I have added, for the farther information of your honourable court, a sketch of the position of the army before Seringapatam on the 5th April (No. 6,) a sketch of the attack made by Tippoo Sultaun on part of the army under Lieutenant-general Stuart on the 6th March (No. 7,) and the order of battle of the army under Lieutenant-general Harris on its entrance into Mysore. (No. 8.)

(Signed) MORNINGTON.

No. 11.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-general Stuart to the Governor in Council.

Head Quarters, Seedapore, March 8, 1799.

MY LORD,

1. I had the honour to address your lordship on the 20th ultimo; and having marched from Cananore on the following day, agreeably to my intimation of that date, I arrived at the top of Poodicherrum Ghaut on the 25th of the same month.

2. I informed your lordship it was my intention to assume a defensive position close to the frontiers; and there await, in conformity to General Harris's instructions under date the 24th December, his farther orders. In pursuance of this plan, I moved the corps successively forward, and placed them in such situations as might enable me the most promptly to form the proposed junction with the principal army.

3. On the 2d instant, the right brigade, consisting of three native battalions, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Montresor, took up their ground at Seedaseer, the boundary of the Coorga country, and about seven miles distant from Periapatam. The main body of the army, with the part and provisions, remained at Sedapore and Ahmootenaar; the first eight miles, and the latter twelve, from the advanced position.

4. It may be necessary to inform your Lordship, that I was in some measure compelled, from the nature of the country, which is every where covered with thick jungles, to place the army in several divisions; but I had a farther view in occupying the post at Seedaseer, in order

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order to preſerve a more ready communication with General Harris, as this was the only ſpot from whence the ſignals eſtabliſhed between the two armies could be obſerved. Although I had no reaſon to apprehend any immediate attack, I thought it adviſable to adopt the precaution of encamping the corps at ſuch ſhort diſtances, as would either enable me to move, without much loſs of time, into the enemy's territory, or to ſupport, if occaſion ſhould require it, any quarter that might ſtand in need of aſſiſtance.

5. In the courſe of the morning of the 5th, an extenſive encampment was unexpectedly obſerved to be forming on this ſide of the fort of Periapatam. This circumſtance was diſcovered at ten o'clock in the forenoon, as the enemy were taking up their ground, by a party of obſervation, on the ſummit of the high hill of Seedaſeer, which commands a view of the Myſore almoſt to the environs of Seringapatam. Before the evening this encampment aſſumed a very formidable appearance, and covered a great extent of ground: we were able to count from 3 to 400 tents; amongſt the number, ſome of large dimenſions were diſtinguiſhed, and particularly one of a green colour, that ſeemed to denote the preſence of the Sultaun. However much the probability of this circumſtance might be ſtrengthened by the reſpectable appearance of the encampment, it was contradicted by the evidence of two hircarrahs, who had recently arrived from Seringapatam. Theſe men generally reported, that Tippoo had marched, with all his forces, on the 20th ultimo, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Madras army; and that the Benky Nabob commanded the only force in the field that remained in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam. This force was repreſented to be encamped at Caniambaddy, and to conſiſt of 5000 piadas, or irregular infantry, who were ſaid to be intended as a covering party to 7000 benjanies, and directed to bring as much proviſions as they could collect about Periapatam to the capital.

6. In this ſtate of uncertainty, I thought it prudent to reinforce Lieut.-colonel Montreſor's brigade with an additional battalion of ſepoys, and waited for more correct intelligence, which I expected hourly, to act with the whole of my forces, as affairs might render it neceſſary. On the morning of the 6th, Major-general Hartley went forward to reconnoitre; and at break of day, from the hill of obſervation, the whole of the enemy's army was diſcovered to be in motion; but their movements were ſo well concealed by the woodineſs of the country and the hazineſs of the atmoſphere, that it was impoſſible to aſcertain their object; nor, in fact, was this diſcovered until they had penetrated a conſiderable way into the jungle, and commenced an attack upon our line, which happened between the hours of nine and ten.

7. The enemy pierced through the jungles with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, that they attacked the rear and the front of our line almoſt at the ſame inſtant. This diſpatch prevented more than three of our corps being engaged; as the fourth, which was poſted two miles and a half in the rear, was unable to form a junction, from the enemy having cut in between them and Seedaſeer. The communication was effectually obſtructed by a column, which, according to the reports of our priſoners, conſiſted of upwards of 5000 men, under the command of Baber Jung.

8. Fortunately, before the enemy had accompliſhed their purpoſe,

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Major-general Hartley had time to apprize me of their attack, and remained himself to give any assistance that might be necessary. The best position was assumed for repulsing the enemy; and in this alarming situation the corps defended themselves with so much resolution, that the Sultaun's troops were unable to make any impression. The brigade was on every side completely surrounded, and had to contend against a vast disparity of numbers, besides other discouraging circumstances.

9. As soon as I received intelligence of the perilous situation of the right brigade, I marched to their assistance, with the two flank companies of his majesty's 75th regiment, and the whole of the 77th. I arrived about half past two in sight of the division of the enemy, who had penetrated into the rear, and possessed themselves of the great road leading to Seedaseer. The engagement lasted nearly half an hour, when, after a smart fire of musquetry on both sides, the enemy were completely routed, and fled with precipitation through the jungles, to regain their column, which still continued the attack in front. On arriving at Lieutenant-colonel Montresor's post, I found his men exhausted with fatigue, and their ammunition almost expended. At 20 minutes past three, the enemy retreated in all directions.

10. For this decisive, and, I hope your lordship will allow, brilliant success, considering the small number of troops who engaged, under very great disadvantages, probably the flower of Tippoo Sultaun's army, I feel myself peculiarly indebted to the judicious dispositions for defence made by General Hartley. He embraced the opportunity of observing the motions of the enemy from the hill I have above mentioned, and was thus enabled to advise Lieutenant-colonel Montresor of the best method for defeating them. I beg leave also to inform your lordship, that my best thanks are due to Lieutenant-colonel Montresor, for his very active exertions; and to the officers and men, including the artillery of his brigade, for their gallant and steady behaviour throughout the whole of this arduous affair. Lieutenant-colonel Dunlop, and the European division under his command, are likewise entitled to my particular approbation, for their spirited conduct, which finally routed the enemy.

11. Our loss on this occasion is far less than could reasonably have been expected; and I have the honour to inclose, for your lordship's information, a return of this circumstance.

12. It was impossible to ascertain the exact loss sustained by the enemy, but it must have been heavy, as in the course of so long an action, they were often exposed in crouds to the fire of grape-shot, and vollies of musquetry.

Several men of distinction were killed, and some wounded officers have been made prisoners. I have the honour to inclose the information of Mozan Khan Bhuskshy, and the commander of a kutcherry, the prisoner of the greatest rank who has fallen wounded into our hands; but concurring reports state, that Meer Ghofar is amongst the slain.

13. As the arrival of General Harris at Scringapatam will not happen at so early a period as he first intended, the immediate possession of the post of Seedaseer was no longer an object of such consequence; and to retain it, while Tippoo continued in force at Periapatam, became an affair of serious difficulty. The secrecy and expedition with which he had planned his

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his late enterprize, and the correct intelligence that the leaders of his columns appeared to have obtained of the private routes through the Coorga jungles, led to an opinion that he would not remain satisfied with this abortive attempt, but might endeavour to penetrate by another direction to the southward, still more open than the passage of Seedaseer, where he would only be opposed by Coorgs. This consideration derived a greater weight, as, if he succeeded in forcing this entrance, it would throw him into our rear, and put him, in all probability, in possession of the great depôt of rice collected by the Coorga Rajah. These motives have induced me to relinquish the post of Seedaseer, and to collect the whole of my force at this place. I have accordingly made a disposition, either to defend my position against the Sultaun, if he should again venture to attack it, or to move in defence of any part of the Coorga Rajah's territories that the enemy may threaten, provided it shall endanger our magazine of provisions; otherwise, I shall remain on the defensive until I receive advice from General Harris.

14. Since the action of the 6th the enemy have continued in their camp at Periapatam; nor have I any intelligence either of the Sultaun's designs, or of the motives that induced him to undertake his present enterprize. It is not likely that he will remain longer in this neighbourhood than after he receives intelligence of General Harris having entered the Mysore. As my communication with General Harris is become insecure, I must take the liberty of requesting your lordship to inform him of such part of these particulars as may appear to you necessary.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. STUART.

P. S. By some prisoners who have been just now brought in by the Coorga Rajah's people, I am informed that the loss of the enemy was very great, and that many men of the first distinction fell. They mention Seyed or Meer Ghofar, and the Benky Nabob, who led the centre attack, among the killed. It is added, however, that the Sultaun is collecting more forces, and is determined to make a second attack.

(Signed) J. STUART.

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(No. 1.)—GENERAL RETURN *of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, in that part of the Army engaged with Tippoo Sultaun's Troops, at and near Seedaseer, on the 6th March* 1799.——*Camp near Seedapore, 8th March* 1799.

	KILLED.						WOUNDED.										MISSING.					Grand Total.
	Captain	Havildars	Rank and file	Puckauly	Total. Europn.	Total. Natives	Lieutenants	Enfign	Subahdar	Jemidar	Serjeant	Havildars	Drummers and fifers	Rank and file	Puckauly	Total. Europn.	Total. Natives	Captain	Drummers and fifers	Rank and file	Total. Europn.	Total. Natives	
Artillery and Lascars attached	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Rt. Native Brigade, 1st battalion, 2d regt.	1	1	10	0	1	11	2	1	1	1	0	2	1	21	1	3	27	1	1	2	1	3	46
Rt. Native Brigade, 1st ditto, 4th ditto	0	1	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	3	0	3	14
Rt. Native Brigade, 1st ditto, 3d ditto	0	0	3	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	32	0	1	33	0	0	0	0	0	38
Centre or European Brigade, 75th regiment	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Centre or European Brigade, 77th ditto	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	7	0	9	0	0	0	3	3	0	14
Left Native Brigade, 1st battalion, 5th regt.	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	7
Pioneer Corps	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	6	0	6	10
Total	1	3	24	1	9	20	4	1	1	1	1	3	2	84	1	21	77	1	1	14	4	12	143

	KILLED.	WOUNDED.	MISSING.
OFFICERS' NAMES	Captain S. Thomson, 1st battalion, 2d regiment.	Lieutenant Lighton, artillery. Lieutenant H. Roome, Lieutenant Wilkinson, Enfign Eldridge, Subid. Norajee, Jemi. Mah. Sophy, } 1st battal., 2d regt. Lieutenant Maxwell, 1st battalion, 3d regimt.	Captain Shott, 1st battalion, 2d regiment.

(Signed) ROBERT GORDON, *Adjutant General.*

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(No. 2.)—*Information of* MOZEM KHAN BUKHSHY.

The wounded priſoner ſtates, that his name is Mozem Khan, and that he is Bukhſhy of the Mudgid or 5th cutcherry, conſiſting of about 2000 men.

That on the day of the action, the column with which he attacked, was compoſed of three cutcherries, the Futtah Adan Khan Bukhſhy, the Suddoor, Ghoolam Ally Suddoor Bukhſhy, and the Mudgid. That Keer Keeran Meer Haſſen led the firſt diviſion, and that Baber Jung commanded the whole column, which might amount to about 5,500 men; that the Mudgid cutcherry, of which he is Bukhſhy, occupied the centre, and emerged into the road where our two ſix-pounders were left, and attributes the failure of the enterprize to the prematureneſs of the attack in front. That Khana Jahan and Ruzza Sahel, the ſame who commanded at Ghazinoor, led the attack in front with 3 or 4000 men.

That he left Pultan with Tippoo's army, three days before that of the attack; he varies with regard to the force now with Tippoo, from forty to twenty cuſhoons, and twenty to twenty-five thouſand men, and two cutcherries of horſe of about ſeven or eight hundred each.

That there are nine guns attached to each cutcherry of foot, and that they are now at Periaputtan.

That Keer Saheb commanded the column which took the centre of the plain, attended by the Binky Nabob.

That Keer Cammer-ud-Deen is at preſent with the army, as well as Tippoo's three ſons.

That Seyed or Keer G. Nofan, by which he was indiſcriminately called, rode, on the day of the action, a dark coloured horſe, approaching to black, and wore a green turban.

That Seind Saheb commands the troops to the eaſtward of Pultan, and that Lally's corps is ſtationed a few coſs on this ſide of Bangalore, but that there are no Europeans preſent with the Sultaun.

(Signed) A. WALKER,
Mil. Sec.

No. 12.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Clive to the Secret Committee.

Fort St. George, April 17, 1799.

GENTLEMEN,

Underſtanding that the governor-general tranſmits to the court of directors by the preſent diſpatch, a full and detailed account of the war in which we are engaged with Tippoo Sultaun, and of the circumſtances and motives which have determined his Lordſhip in the choice of the meaſures which he has purſued relative thereto, I ſhould remain ſatisfied with what is written in the letter of this government, of this day's date, to the ſecret committee, did it not occur to my mind, that it may be ſatisfactory to you to know, more explicitly, my ſentiments upon the actual ſtate of our affairs reſpecting the war; and that I ſhould not do juſtice to the governor-general, if I did not expreſs my ſenſe of the conduct which has put us in a ſituation of ſuch fair and well grounded expectations, as that in which we are now placed. Upon my arrival here, the end of Auguſt laſt, I entertained the moſt ſerious apprehenſion of the Sultaun's invading the Carnatic; which, had he done, very difficult would it have been to have aſſembled the whole of our army, and vain would have been the hope of collecting a ſufficiency of ſupplies and cattle to enable us to undertake the ſiege of Seringapatam this ſeaſon, and finiſh the war in one campaign. But the fortune of the company prevented, and poſſibly the complete ſucceſs of the meaſure of annihilating the French party, and increaſing the ſubſidiary force at Hydrabad, planned with ſo much wiſdom, by the governor-general, and executed with ſo much ability by Colonel Roberts, under the direction of the reſident, Captain Kirkpatrick, confounded the Sultaun, and deterred him from bringing upon the Carnatic ſo ſevere a calamity.

From the time I was acquainted with the views and intentions of the governor-general, it became the object of my conſtant ſolicitude, in conjunction with the other members of this government, to promote his meaſures

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measures by the most zealous and cordial co-operation; and we had the gratification, upon his Lordship's arrival here, the end of last year, to receive his full and entire approbation of the exertions that had been made, and of the advanced state in which he found our preparations for war. Since that period, the same wisdom and energy which had characterized the governor-general's councils, has guided our exertions, and we have had the satisfaction to know, that the most formidable and best equipped British army that ever took the field in India, combined with a respectable force from the nizam, entered Mysore the 5th of last month. Bombay has not been less forward in its exertions. And the two victories, obtained by General Stuart on the 6th March, and by General Harris on the 27th, are presages of future success, and serve to evince how little Tippoo is able, without French aid, to contend against the force which is assailing him. The effectual assistance of the nizam, the close connection subsisting between that prince and the company, and the powerful state of our armies, encourage us to expect a speedy and glorious termination to the contest. The irreconcileable hatred of the Sultaun, and the uncertain state of the French in Egypt, of whom we have no accounts to be depended upon since August last, when Bonaparte was still at the head of 17 or 18,000 men, authorize and point out the necessity of continuing the war till we can obtain complete security, and establish the foundations of a durable and undisturbed peace.

The expences of preparation have, from their extent, been unavoidably great: but as we have reason to expect that, if the war is not entirely finished in one campaign, the weight of it will, I trust, upon the whole, prove an economical one; and that the acquisitions we may gain, and the security we shall derive from them, will amply repay the expences we shall have incurred.

Concurring as I do in the views of the governor-general, bearing testimony to the wisdom and decision of his councils, and sensible of the advantages which must ever result from the person who has the controul of the company's affairs, and the means of drawing forth the resources of the three presidencies, being as near the scene of action as possible in a contest like the present, I desire to assure you of my continuing to give my utmost support and most cordial co-operation to measures which bid fair to reflect so much honour upon Lord Mornington's administration, and to secure the most solid advantages to the company and the British empire. In these sentiments I am most heartily joined by the other members of this government.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CLIVE.

No. 13.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council, to the Court of Directors, received per Sarah Christiana, 18th Sept. 1799; *dated 11th of May* 1799.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Par. 1. It is with the utmost satisfaction that we have the honour to forward to your honourable court the inclosed copy of a dispatch received this day from Lieutenant-general Harris, announcing the important events of the fall of the city of Seringapatam, the death of Tippoo Sultaun, and the capture of two of his sons, and of many of his principal officers, on the 4th of May.

2. Your

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2. Your honourable court may be assured, that the most assiduous endeavours of the governor-general in council will be employed to derive from these events the inestimable advantages which they promise to the general prosperity of your affairs in India.

3. We have not yet received the details of the action of the 4th of May; but we deemed it to be our duty to transmit to you, without the delay of a moment, the intelligence contained in this dispatch. We shall take an early opportunity of forwarding, by an overland and sea conveyance, such further details as we shall receive from Lieutenant-general Harris, together with full information of the proceedings of the governor-general in council, in consequence of the glorious success of the British arms in Mysore.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MORNINGTON,
CLIVE,
W. PETRIE,
E. H. FALLOFIELD.

Copy of a Letter from the Commander in Chief, to the Right Hon. the Governor-General.

Seringapatam, May 4, 1799.

MY LORD,

I have the pleasure to inform you, that this day at one o'clock a division of the army under my command assaulted Seringapatam; and that at half past two o'clock the place was entirely in our possession. Tippoo Sultaun fell in the assault. Two of his sons, the Sultaun Paudshaw, and Moyen ud Deen, are prisoners, with many of the principal sardars. Our loss is trifling: our success has been complete. I will send to your Lordship a detail hereafter.

(Signed) GEORGE HARRIS.

No. 14.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council, to the Court of Directors: Received per Sarah Christiana, 18th Sept. 1799; dated the 16th May 1799.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Par. 1. On the 11th instant, we had the honour of forwarding to your honourable court the copy of a short dispatch from Lieutenant-general Harris, announcing the event of the fall of Seringapatam, and the death of Tippoo Sultaun.

2. Having since received from Lieutenant-general Harris the details relative to that memorable conquest, we inclose, for your information, a copy of the commander in chief's letter to the right honourable the governor-general; of which we have thought it advisable to omit a passage, containing matter on which an important political arrangement actually depends; and we have, therefore, no doubt that it will be more satisfactory to your honourable court, that this subject should, for the present, be communicated only to the secret committee.

3. Having already congratulated your honourable court upon the important even of the capture of Seringapatam, and having assured you of the most vigilant attention of the governor-general in council, to improve the advantages which may be expected to arise from this brilliant and decisive success, it is our principal object in this address to draw the attention of your honourable court to the merits of that gallant army which achieved the conquest of the capital of Mysore.

4. We have no doubt that your honourable court will view with admiration the consummate judgment with which the assault was planned,

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planned, the unequalled rapidity, animation and skill with which it was executed, and the humanity which distinguished its final success.

5. The lustre of this victory can be equalled only by the substantial advantages which it promises to establish, by restoring the peace and safety of the British possessions in India on a durable foundation of genuine security; and your honourable court will assuredly concur in the sentiments of national pride, satisfaction and gratitude with which we reflect, that, in this arduous crisis, the spirit and exertions of the Indian army have kept pace with those of our countrymen at home, and that in India, as in Europe, Great Britain has found, in the malevolent designs of her enemies, an increasing source of our own prosperity, fame and power.

6. Under the warmest impressions of its discipline, zeal and valour, we beg leave to recommend this brave and gallant army to the favourable notice of your honourable court, and to the applause and gratitude of their king and country.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MORNINGTON,
CLIVE,
WM. PETRIE,
E. H. FALLOFIELD.

(No. 1.)—*Copy of a Letter from the Commander in Chief, to the Right Hon. the Governor General.*

Seringapatam, May 7, 1799.

MY LORD,

On the 4th instant I had the honour to address to your lordship a hasty note, containing in few words the sum of our success, which I have now to report more in detail.

The fire of our batteries, which began to batter in breach on the 30th April, had, on the evening of the 3d instant, so much destroyed the walls against which it was directed, that the arrangement was then made for assaulting the place on the following day, when the breach was reported practicable: the troops intended to be employed were stationed in the trenches, early in the morning of the 4th, that no extraordinary movement might lead the enemy to expect the assault, which I had determined to make in the heat of the day, as the time best calculated to ensure success, as their troops would then be least prepared to oppose us.

Ten flank companies of Europeans, taken from those regiments necessarily left to guard our camp and outposts, followed by the 12th, 33d, 73d and 74th regiments, and three corps of grenadier sepoys taken from the troops of the three presidencies, with 200 of his highness the nizam's troops, formed the party for the assault, accompanied by 100 of the artillery and the corps of pioneers, and supported in the trenches by the battalion companies of the regiment De Meuron, and four battalions of Madras sepoys. Colonel Sherbrooke, and Lieutenant-colonels Dunlop, Dalrymple, Gardiner and Mignan, commanded the several flank corps; and Major-general Baird was entrusted with the direction of this important service.

At one o'clock the troops moved from the trenches, crossed the rocky bed of the Cavery under an extremely heavy fire, passed the glacis and ditch, and ascended the breaches in the fausse braye and rampart of the fort; surmounting, in the most gallant manner, every obstacle which the difficulty of the passage and the resistance of the enemy presented to oppose their progress. Major-general Baird had divided his force, for the purpose of clearing the ramparts to the right and left. One division was commanded by Colonel Sherbrooke; the other, by Lieutenant-colonel Dunlop: the latter was disabled in the breach; but both corps, although strongly opposed, were completely successful. Resistance continued to be made from the palace of Tippoo for some time after all firing had ceased from the works: two of his sons were there, who, on assurance of safety, surrendered to the troops surrounding them; and guards were placed for the protection of the family, most of whom were in the palace. It was soon after reported that Tippoo Sultaun had fallen; Syed Saheb, Meer Saduc, Syed Gofar, and many other of his chiefs, were also slain. Measures were immediately adopted to stop the confusion, at first unavoidable in a city strongly garrisoned, crowded with inhabitants, and their property in ruins from the fire of a numerous artillery, and taken by assault. The princes were removed to camp.

It appeared to Major-general Baird so important to ascertain the fate of the Sultaun,

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taun, that he caused immediate search to be made for his body, which, after much difficulty, was found late in the evening in one of the gates, under a heap of slain, and soon after placed in the palace. The corpse was the next day recognized by the family, and interred with the honours due to his rank in the mausoleum of his father.

The strength of the fort is such, both from its natural position and the stupendous works by which it is surrounded, that all the exertions of the brave troops who attacked, in whose praise it is impossible to say too much, were required to place it in our hands. Of the merits of the army, I have expressed my opinion in orders, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose: and I trust your Lordship will point out their services to the favourable notice of their king and country.

I am sorry to add, that on collecting the returns of our loss, it is found to have been much heavier than I had at first imagined.

On the 5th instant, Abdul Khalic, the elder of the princes formerly hostages with Lord Cornwallis, surrendered himself at our out-posts, demanding protection; Kerim Saib, the brother of Tippoo, had before sought refuge with Meer Allum Behauder. A cowl namah was yesterday dispatched to Futtoh Hyder, the eldest son of Tippoo, inviting him to join his brothers; Purneah and Meer Cammer-ud-Deen Khan, have also been summoned to Seringapatam; no answers have yet been received, but I expect them shortly, as their families are in the fort.

This moment Ally Reza, formerly one of the vakeels from Tippoo Sultaun to Lord Cornwallis, has arrived from Meer Cammer-ud-Deen Khan, to ask my orders for 4000 horse, now under his command; Ally Reza was commissioned to declare, that Meer Cammer-ud-Deen would make no conditions, but rely on the generosity of the English.

Monsieur Chapuy and most of the French are prisoners; they have commissions from the French Government.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE HARRIS.

Abstract of a Return of Killed, Wounded and Missing, at the Assault of Seringapatam on the 4th of May 1799.

Europeans killed—Two captains, six lieutenants, three serjeants, one drummer, and fifty-eight rank and file.

Ditto wounded—One lieutenant-colonel, four captains, eight lieutenants, three ensigns, two conductors, twelve serjeants, five drummers, and two hundred and twenty-eight rank and file.

Ditto missing—One serjeant, and three rank and file.

Natives killed—Thirteen rank and file.

Ditto wounded—One jemidar, two drummers, and thirty-one rank and file.

Ditto missing—Two rank and file.

Names of Officers Killed and Wounded on the Assault.

Killed—Lieutenant Mather, of the 75th, and Captain Owen, of the 77th; flank companies, Lieutenant Lalor, of the 73d, Lieutenants Farquhar, Prendergrast, Hill, and Shaw, of the 74th; Capt. Cornick, of the pioneers.

Wounded—Lieuts. Turner, Broughton, and Skelton, of the 75th; Lieutenant-col. Dunlop and Lieutenant Lawrence of the 77th; Lieutenant Webb, of the Bombay regiment; Captain Lardy and Lieutenant Matthews of the Mcuron regiment; flank companies, Lieut. Shawe, of the 76th, serving with the 12th; Captain Macleod, Lieutenant Thomas, Ensigns Autil and Guthrie of the 73d; Captain Caldwell, of the engineers, and Captain Prescott, of the artillery.

Copy of General Orders.

Camp at Seringapatam, 5th of May 1799.

The Commander in Chief congratulates the gallant army which he has the honour to command, on the conquest of yesterday. The effects arising from the attainment of such an acquisition as far exceed the present limits of detail, as the unremitting zeal, labour and unparalleled valour of the troops surpass his power of praise. For services so incalculable in their consequences, he must consider the army as well entitled to the applause and gratitude of their country at large.

While Lieutenant-general Harris sincerely laments the loss sustained in the valuable officers and men who fell in the attack, he cannot omit to return his thanks in the warmest terms to Major-general Baird, for the decided and able manner in which he conducted the assault, and for the humane measures which he subsequently adopted for preserving order and regularity in the place. He requests that Major-gen. Baird will communicate to the officers and men, who, on that great occasion, acted under his command, the high sense he must entertain of their achievements and merits.

The commander in chief requests, that Colonel Gent, and the corps of engineers under his orders, will accept his thanks for their unremitting exertions in conducting the duties of that very important department; and his best acknowledgments are due to Major Beatson, for the essential assistance

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assistance given to this branch of the service by the constant exertion of his ability and zeal.

The merits of the artillery corps is so strongly expressed by the effects of their fire, that the commander in chief can only desire Colonel Smith to assure the officers and men of the excellent corps under his command, that he feels most fully their claim to approbation.

In thus publicly expressing his sense of their good conduct, the commander in chief finds himself called upon to notice in a most particular manner the exertion of Captain Dowse, and his corps of pioneers, which, during the present service, have been equally marked by unremitting labour, and the ability with which that labour was applied.

On referring to the progress of the siege, so many occasions have occurred for applause to the troops, that it is difficult to particularize individual merit; but the gallant manner in which Lieutenant-colonel Shaw, the honourable Colonel Wellesly, Lieutenant-colonel Moneypenny, the honourable Lieutenant-colonel St. John, Major Macdonald, Major Skelby, and Lieutenant-colonel Wallace, conducted the attacks on the several outworks and posts of the enemy, demands to be recorded; and the very spirited attack led by Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of his Majesty's 74th regiment, which tended so greatly to secure the position our troops had attained in the enemy's works on the 26th ult. claims the strongest approbation of the commander in chief.

The important part taken by the Bombay army since the commencement of the siege, in all the operations which led to its honourable conclusion, has been such as well sustains its long established reputation. The gallant manner in which the post at the village of Agrar was seized by the force under Colonel Hart, the ability displayed in directing the fire of the batteries established there, the vigour with which every attack of the enemy on the outposts of that army was repulsed, and the spirit shewn in the assault of the breach by the corps led by Lieutenant-colonel Dunlop, are points of particular notice, for which the commander in chief requests Lieutenant-general Stuart will offer his best thanks to the officers and troops employed.

Lieutenant-general Harris trusts, that Lieutenant-general Stuart will excuse his thus publicly expressing his sense of the cordial co-operation and assistance received from him during the present service; in the course of which he has ever found it difficult to separate the sentiments of his public duty from the warmest feelings of his private friendship.

Extract from General Orders.

Seringapatam, 8th May 1799.

Lieutenant-general Harris has particular pleasure in publishing to the army the following extract of a report transmitted to him yesterday by Major-general Baird, as it places in a distinguished point of view the merit of an officer, on the very important occasion referred to, whose general gallantry and good conduct since he has served with this army, have not failed to recommend him strongly to the commander in chief.

"If, where all behaved nobly, it is "proper to mention individual merit, I "know no man so justly entitled to praise "as Colonel Sherbrooke, to whose exer- "tion I feel myself much indebted for "the success of the attack."

(Signed) P. A. Agnew, *Mil. Sec.*

(No. 2.)—*Copy of a General Order by Government.*

Fort St. George, 15th May 1799.

The right honourable the governor-general in council, having this day received from the commander in chief of the allied army in the field, the official details of the glorious and decisive victory obtained at Seringapatam on the 4th of May, offers his cordial thanks and sincere congratulations to the commander in chief, and to all the officers and men composing the gallant army which achieved the capture of the capital of Mysore on that memorable day.

His lordship views with admiration the consummate judgment with which the assault was planned, the unequalled rapidity, animation and skill with which it was executed, and the humanity which distinguished its final success.

Under the favour of Providence, and the justice of our cause, the established character of the army had inspired an early confidence, that the war in which we were engaged would be brought to a speedy, prosperous and honourable issue. But the events of the 4th May, while they have surpassed even the sanguine expectations of the governor-general in council, have raised the reputation of the British arms in India to a degree of splendor and glory unrivalled in the military history of this quarter of the globe, and seldom approached in any part of the world. The lustre of this victory can be equalled only by the substantial advantages which it promises to establish, by restoring the peace

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peace and safety of the British possessions in India on a durable foundation of genuine security.

The governor-general in council reflects with pride, satisfaction and gratitude, that in this arduous crisis the spirit and exertion of our Indian army have kept pace with those of our countrymen at home; and that in India, as in Europe, Great Britain has found, in the malevolent designs of her enemies, an increasing source of her own prosperity, fame and power.

By order of the right honourable the governor-general in council.

(Signed) J. WEBBE, *Sec. to Gov.*

No. 15.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Governor-general to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, received per Sarah Christiana, 13th Sept. 1799.

19th May, 1799.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

1. The accidental detention of the Sarah Christiana packet, enables me to forward to your honourable committee, by this dispatch, documents of great importance, explanatory of the nature of the connection between Tippoo Sultaun and the French Republic.

2. These papers were found in the palace at Seringapatam, and were transmitted officially to my military secretary, by the secretary of the commission appointed to assist Lieutenant-general Harris in all matters of a political nature.

3. The paper, No. 1, is a letter from Tippoo Sultaun to the Executive Directory, and appears to be an attested copy of that which was dispatched by M. Dubuc, with two native vakeels, on the 7th of February 1799. The letter, however, is dated the 20th of July 1798, at which time the military preparations in the Carnatic had scarcely commenced.

4. Your honourable committee will observe, that in this letter Tippoo Sultaun, in the most distinct manner, states the nature of his late embassy to the isle of France, to have been the same which I have described in my minute of the 12th of August, and in my letter to Tippoo Sultaun of 8th November, notwithstanding that he had endeavoured to put a different colour on the transaction in his letter to me of the 18th December 1798, and received at Fort St. George 25th December.

5. It is equally remarkable, that he does not attempt to allege against the British government any ground of complaint since the conclusion of the last war.

6. The object of his offensive and defensive alliance with France, appears to have been not merely the recovery of his former dominions, but the expulsion of the English from all their rich possessions in India, and the utter annihilation of their power in Asia.

7. You will farther observe, that he declares it to be his intention, to commence the attack on the first favourable occasion, and, on the whole, that he professes to make common cause with France, under the most solemn protestations of fidelity and zeal to the Republic.

8. The paper, No. 2, is a note of the demands which Tippoo Sultaun's ambassadors were authorized by him to make upon the Executive Directory at Paris: they correspond in substance with the requisitions announced in M. Malartie's proclamation at the Mauritius.

9. In the articles 5 and 6, you will perceive, that the Sultaun intended to commence his operations in the heart of the Carnatic, in concert with a French army to be landed at Porto Novo; and that he did not propose to wait the actual arrival of the French force, but was resolved to make himself master of the coast of Coromandel, as soon as he should

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ſhould find it convenient, after having received notice of the motions of the French.

10. In article 7, it appears that the Portugueze colonies in this quarter of India were to have been divided between Tippoo Sultaun and the French. All the articles of his paper demand particular attention, as tending to prove, in the moſt concluſive manner, the entire devotion of this infatuated prince to his alliance with France. This paper alſo is dated on the 20th of July 1798; both papers are ſigned in the Sultaun's own hand-writing, according to the abbreviated form of ſignature which he was accuſtomed to uſe in all his letters and other official documents. This mode of ſignature is uſual among the natives of Hinduſtân, and no doubt can be entertained of the authenticity of the papers.

11. Your honourable committee will obſerve, that the letter from Tippoo Sultaun to me, which was received at Fort St. George on the 18th of February, muſt have been written ſubſequently to the diſpatch of the papers now incloſed, as M. Dubuc, with the Sultaun's two native vakeels, embarked at Tranquebar on the 7th of February.

I have the honour to incloſe two other papers, No. 3 and 4, in the French language, found alſo in the palace of Seringapatam.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MORNINGTON.

(No. 1.)—*Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to the Directory.*

The Circar Condadad to the Executive Directory, repreſenting the Republic of France one and indiviſible, at Paris.

In the name of the friendſhip which the Circar Condadad and his nation vow to obſerve towards the French Republic, a friendſhip and alliance which will endure as long as the ſun and moon ſhall continue to ſhine in the heavens, and will be ſo ſolid that the moſt extraordinary circumſtances ſhall never break or diſunite either the one or the other.

The Engliſh, jealous of the connection and friendſhip which for a long time reigned between my Circar and France, have re-united themſelves to the Mahrattas, to the nizam Aly Khan, and to my other enemies, for the purpoſe of declaring war againſt me; a war as odious and curſed as that which laſted for ſome years before, and which was attended with ſuch fatal conſequences to me, by taking from me my fineſt provinces, three crores and 30 lacks of rupees.

The Republic is not ignorant of any of theſe unfortunate circumſtances, and of my having endeavoured to diſpute every inch of territory, which I was forced to give up to our common enemy. I ſhould not have been compelled to make theſe cruel ſacrifices, had I been aſſiſted by the French, my ancient allies, who, deceived by the perfidious projects of Governor-general Conway at Pondicherry, together with Governor Campbell at Madras, agreed to the evacuation of the place which they commanded. The French Republic, by expelling the Engliſh from their rich poſſeſſions in India, will certainly repair the faults of their ancient government.

Animated for a long time by theſe ſentiments, I have communicated them to the government of the Iſle of France through the medium of two ambaſſadors, from whom I had juſt had the high ſatiſfaction of receiving ſuch anſwers as I wiſhed for, as well as the republican colours from the chief of brigade Chappins, and the naval captain Du Buc, who have brought to me ſuch ſuccours in ſoldiers and officers as circumſtances have permitted General Malartie and Rear-admiral Sercey to ſend me.

I keep near me the former officer, and ſend you the ſecond, in quality of an ambaſſador, for the purpoſe, at the ſame time that he demands your alliance offenſive and defenſive, of obtaining forces ſufficient to attack and annihilate our common enemies. I will tranſmit to you by his means my ſtandard, which, united to that of the Republic, will ſerve as a baſis of the alliance which the two nations are about to contract. I have alſo charged him to communicate particular orders to you.

I join with him in the embaſſy Sheik Abdoubraim and Mahomet Biſmilla, my ſubjects, who are equally directed to repreſent me in all affairs which they have to tranſact with you.

Whatever may be the circumſtances in which the two nations may hereafter find themſelves, whether together or ſeparately, in

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in all their tranſactions, may the good, the glory, and the advantage of both, be always the end of them! May their reſpective ſentiments be guaranteed by the appearances of fidelity, and the ſolemn pledges given by each of them! and may the heavens and earth draw near to each other and unite, ſooner than our alliance ſhall experience the ſlighteſt alteration!

Given at my palace at Seringapatam, July 20, 1798.

(Signed)

(No. 2.—*Copy of Articles of Engagement, propoſed by Tippoo Sultaun to the Directory.*

Recapitulation of the Demands which my Ambaſſadors are to make of the Executive Directory at Paris.

ART. 1. Ten or fifteen thouſand troops, conſiſting of infantry, cavalry and artillery.

2. A naval force to carry on hoſtilities on the coaſt where our armies may be, in order to favour their operations, or reinforce them, if neceſſary.

3. The Circar ſhall furniſh all warlike ſtores and proviſions to the armies of the Republic, as well as horſes, oxen, and every neceſſary article, with the exception of European liquors, which he has not in his country.

4. The orders of the King ſhall be taken with reſpect to all the marches and military operations.

5. The expedition ſhall be directed againſt ſome point of the coaſt of Coromandel, and in preference againſt Porto-Novo, where the diſembarkation of the troops ſhall take place: and the King ſhall firſt repair thither with his army; his intention being to commence his operations in the heart of the enemy's country.

6. The King demands that notice ſhall be given to him by the Republic, in diſpatching two corvettes from Europe at a diſtance of 20 days from each other, of the number of ſhips and troops to be ſent to him, that he may immediately enter upon the campaign, and make himſelf maſter of the coaſt of Coromandel before the arrival of the republican forces.

7. All the conqueſts made from the enemy ſhall, with the exception of the provinces which the King has been obliged to cede to the Engliſh, to the Mahrattas, and to nizam Ally Khan, be equally divided between the two nations; and, according to the reſpective conventions, the ſame diviſion ſhall take place of the enemy's veſſels and the Portugueſe colonies, for the purpoſe of indemnifying the King for the expences of the war.

8. If any difficulty ſhall ariſe between the allied armies, each of them ſhall poſſeſs the right of referring to their modes of juſtice according to their laws and cuſtoms; and every diſcretionary article ſhall be agreed upon in writing between both nations.

9. That whatever may be the wiſh of the Republic to make peace with England, or to continue the war, it ſhall always conſider the King as its friend and faithful ally, and include him in all its treaties, and communicate to him all its intentions.

(Signed)

10. All the French who now are in, or may come into the ſtates of the King, ſhall be treated as friends and allies; and they ſhall be empowered to come and go, and carry on trade, without being liable to any trouble or moleſtation, but ſhall, on the contrary, receive every aſſiſtance of which they may ſtand in need.

11. This article relates to bringing into the ſervice of the Sultaun, ſeveral French artiſts and mechanics ſkilled in caſting cannon, in paper and glaſs making, with ſome engineers and builders.

Given in my palace of Seringapatam, under my ſignature, that of my prime miniſter, and authenticated with the ſtate ſeal, on the 20th July, 1798.

(Signed)

(No. 3.)—*Copy of a Letter from Du Buc to the Rajah of Travancore's Miniſter.*

MY LORD,

I expect with impatience the arrival of ſome veſſels from India, to hear from you, and to learn that your health is perfectly re-eſtabliſhed, if, as it has been reported here, it has been in a bad ſtate.

As the means of ſending intelligence to India are very fluctuating, I take the opportunity of a veſſel which is ſailing for the coaſt of Malabar, to write to the prince Tippoo Sultaun, with whom I have the honour to correſpond. I requeſt he will be pleaſed to communicate my letter to you, after having cauſed it to be tranſlated into the Oriental language, that it may not be neceſſary for you to ſhew it to any one.

I have often conſidered in my own mind, why your prince was not in alliance

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with the Sultaun; and in recollecting that the great nabob, Hyder Ally, his father, had been the friend and ally of Ram Rajah, I was aſtoniſhed that that friendſhip, which had been deranged by ſome event, had not been renewed. It is very common, in Europe, for a power which has been at war with its neighbour, to become its friend and ally. You have been at war with Bacha. I feel the ſincereſt conviction that every reſentment ſhould be forgotten, that all former diſputes ſhould be conſigned to oblivion, and that it is the duty of the two princes to enter into a treaty of alliance and friendſhip, in a way ſolid and ſuitable to their reciprocal intereſts. Were I in India, I ſhould give you, as well as the Sultaun, ſuch ſubſtantial grounds for that proceeding, that I am confident my wiſhes would be fulfilled; but it will be peculiarly your glory to unite theſe two powers.—You are the counſellor and the friend of your King; you direct his affairs ſo advantageouſly, that if you find this alliance profitable (and I do not doubt but you will), it will be ſufficient for you to propoſe it to him, and the two princes will readily come to a good underſtanding.—Should my hopes be gratified in this reſpect, my joy will be complete; for you will be conſidered our ally, in becoming that of a prince who has been for ſo long a time united with France. I pray heaven to grant you long and happy days; and that thoſe of your king may be proſperous, is the ſincere wiſh of your ſervant and friend,

(Signed) MAL. DESCOMBRE.

(No. 4.)—*Copy of a Letter from Du Buc to Tippoo Sultaun.*

December 10, 1798, *O. S.*

GRAND PACHA, *Health and Reſpect!*

The men have fortunately arrived; but we are in want of the moſt eſſential thing—the letters which they left on their way: I however hope they will arrive in a few days; they have been four months on their journey, and you may judge of their diſpatch and of their punctuality in their ſervices to you. The hircarrahs whom I diſpatched to you the 11th of laſt month, returned yeſterday with your majeſty's anſwer of the 29th of the ſame month; and I haſten to ſend them back, as they are very faithful perſons, and I wiſh them to be liberally rewarded. The perſon who was to have furniſhed the money has not made his appearance, and I fear there will be conſiderable difficulty in getting them paid. I think it indiſpenſably neceſſary for you to expedite an order, for taking up immediately all the money which is at Mercieu's, and to annex it to a letter of credit, as I had requeſted of you, on the Republic. The importance of my miſſion is ſuch, and the reſult of it muſt prove ſo advantageous to your majeſty, that I cannot too often repeat, money muſt be conſidered as nothing when affairs of ſuch immenſe moment are carrying on. It will be neceſſary for me to depart; and without money, I cannot. In all countries, money is the ſinew of war; and if your majeſty does not wiſh to be ruined by the Engliſh, and loſe the aſſiſtance of your good friends the French, give me a ſufficient demonſtration of your confidence in giving me the proper means of proceeding; ſocars with money will not be ſtopped, more particularly if it be in pagodas with ſtars. Uſe diſpatch in ſending it to me, and I ſhall inſtantly ſet off. The clothes are not yet come, and I have diſpatched people to forward them. I requeſt your majeſty will authoriſe me to take a year's ſalary in advance, as you promiſed me, in order to provide for the ſubſiſtence of my family in my abſence, ſince the ſix months for which I have been paid expire on the 8th of next month, and that I have been compelled to expend every thing in my poſſeſſion. The Engliſh having taken my ſhip and property, you will conſider my demand juſt in every point of view, when you reflect that my family are in a foreign country, deprived of every reſource. I once more repeat my earneſt deſire that your majeſty will give me full powers in that reſpect, and order me immediately to be provided with the neceſſary funds. The hircarrahs have promiſed to return within thirty days, and I ſhall be able to depart in forty. It would be prudent to have ſome other hircarrahs here, that you may receive intelligence every eight days. I beg leave to recommend earneſtly to you the Ouaquil, who is not ſufficiently paid, and has received nothing for eight months paſt: He alſo ſhould have a palankeen; for the envoy of a great prince, ſo truly noble and generous as you are, ought not to walk on foot like a cooley. Are you content with my conduct? Speak candidly. You know how much I am attached to you, and you ſhall have certain proofs of my fidelity. I beſeech your majeſty to countenance your bounty and protection to my good friend and colleague General Chaprus: See him often; and the more you ſhall ſee him, the more you ſhall know that he is worthy of your eſteem, as a man of honour and prudence.

I have learned that your majeſty has written to the government of Madras and

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to Lord Mornington. What will be the iſſue of their anſwer? Be on your guard againſt them: be ready either to defend yourſelf, or to make an attack. The preparations for war are going on with great rapidity. The army of the Nizam is already on its march; it muſt be ſtopped. The Engliſh were deſirous of carrying away Ouaquil Sadaa Chidevaran; but I diſcovered the plot, and it has not ſucceeded. It is neceſſary that your majeſty ſhould inſtantly write to the Government of Tranquebar by a ſwift courier, to demand its immediate protection for your general in chief Du Buc, his major Filletaz, the interpreter De Bay, and your Ouaquil.—Lord Mornington, governor-general of Bengal, and general Clarke, are coming to the coaſt about the end of this month, for the purpoſe of entering into negociations with your majeſty, which, if they are not advantageous to them, they will cauſe you to declare war againſt them. The reſult of that meaſure will be the invaſion of your country, and the dethroning of you, by ſubſtituting for you and your heirs a nabob of their own making. Your majeſty muſt perceive, that nothing leſs is in agitation than the deſtruction of your kingdom. You muſt exert yourſelf, and negociate every where, to maintain your power, until the moment when I ſhall be able to ſecure it forever for yourſelf and your auguſt children. It is very eaſy for the Engliſh, in conſequence of their intrigues in every part of India, to cauſe troubles of a ſerious kind, and deprive you of all your allies. Should they ſucceed in the war againſt your majeſty, they would afterwards effect the deſtruction of the power of the Mahrattas, and deprive them of every poſſeſſion which might be ceded to them by a new treaty of peace. It is therefore evidently their intereſt to treat jointly with you, for the purpoſe of finding a certain and mutual guarantee, and that each member may defend the ſtipulations and ceſſions made by each at the peace which you ſigned in your capital with the contracting parties. The Engliſh threaten you: the Mahrattas are bound to ſupport you, and not ſuffer you to be overcome. The barrier which ſeparates you from the former, ſhould exiſt without any encroachment. You may rely on your allies as long as you poſſeſs intereſts in common; and you would be abandoned by them, were theſe common intereſts to ceaſe.

The time is ſhort and precious. You muſt give proofs of your good intentions, and gain over the Engliſh, and at the ſame time throw obſtacles in the way of their negociations at Poonah. In ſuch a conjuncture, the Mahrattas ought to give to the law of treaties all poſſible weight, and not to omit recalling to the minds of the Engliſh the aſſiſtance granted by them againſt your majeſty. Should their remonſtrances be neglected, and the means of conciliation prove fruitleſs, let them inſtantly take up arms and threaten the nation guilty of a breach of the treaties. Such a proceeding would perhaps ſtop all military deſigns and operations againſt your majeſty. But if the event ſhould prove different, the ſword muſt be drawn, and the ſheath thrown ſo far as to render every ſearch for it uſeleſs.

We have no intelligence of any peculiar intereſt from Europe. The republic is uniformly victorious, and continues to refuſe peace to England. Scindiah has already taken Delhi, and I think that he muſt have alſo finiſhed the conqueſt of Agra. It would be prudent in your majeſty to diſpatch couriers to him to acquaint him with the ſituation in which you are placed. I intreat your majeſty to read my letter attentively. It has been dictated by candour, truth, and a ſenſe of your intereſt.

I pray God to grant ſucceſs to the exertions of your majeſty; to whom I have the honour to be, with reſpect,

(Signed) Du Buc,
Commander in Chief, Naval Captain of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

Major Filletaz begs you to accept his homage and attachment to your majeſty.

No. 16.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Mornington, to the Chairman of the Court of Directors.

Fort St. George, 19th May 1799.

SIR,

The Sarah Chriſtiana having been detained for a few hours, I am enabled to acknowledge the receipt of the diſpatches of the ſecret committee, under date 24th December.

The intelligence which I have received this day from Seringapatam, induces me to believe that I ſhall be able to effect a ſettlement of the country, without quitting this preſidency. My brother and Lieutenant-Colonel Kirkpatrick are far advanced on their way towards Myſore, and I ſhall wait for their

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report before I move from hence. I requeſt you to apprize the court of directors of the probability of my being able to raiſe the inveſtment nearly to the ſtandard originally propoſed.

The advices from Egypt are by no means ſatisfactory; it appears that the French had gained ſome conſiderable advantages in Syria, and had taken the town of Joppa; it alſo appears that they had fortified Suez, and had begun to collect craft at the head of the Arabian gulph. The Centurion and Albatroſs, and two of the company's cruizers, were gone up the Red Sea for the purpoſe of deſtroying the craft collected, and of preventing the collection of more. The Princeſs Charlotte, Indiaman, armed, together with the Fox frigate, were probably off the Straits of Babelmandel; having quitted Bombay for that deſtination ſome time before. The laſt intelligence of Commodore Blankett, was of the month of January, when he was contending with adverſe winds off the coaſt of Africa, a very few degrees to the northward of the line. Admiral Rainier was at Cananore on the 8th of May. It is a ſatisfactory circumſtance to reflect, that if the French ſhould be able, by any accident, to puſh a force to India by ſea, after Admiral Rainier ſhall have quitted his ſtation, they will find no friend to ſupport them. Their arrival, under our preſent circumſtances, would, I am perſuaded, only ſerve to add another triumph to the Britiſh arms in India.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MORNINGTON.

No. 17.

Copy of a Letter from Lieut. General George Harris, to the Chairman of the Court of Directors.

Head Quarters, Seringapatam, May 6, 1799.

SIR,

I have the honour of congratulating you, and the hon. court, on the proſperous iſſue of the expedition committed to my charge by the right hon. the Earl of Mornington.

Seringapatam was carried by ſtorm at mid-day on the 4th inſt.; Tippoo Sultaun killed, with many of his principal officers, and thouſands of his adherents; and his family, with the families of his chief ſirdars, is in our poſſeſſion.

My attention is now directed to ſecure my poſition, and maintain our advantages, until I can receive farther inſtructions from the right honourable the governor-general.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEO. HARRIS.

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PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT,

RELATIVE TO THE

AFFAIRS OF INDIA,

DURING

THE THIRD SESSION OF THE EIGHTEENTH PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1799.

Heads of Mr. Secretary DUNDAS's Speech, *in the Houſe of Commons, on the* FINANCES *of the* EAST-INDIA COMPANY, *12th March* 1799.

THE accounts now before the committee exhibit the ſituation of the finances of the Eaſt-India company to the 30th April 1797 abroad, and to 1ſt March 1798 at home; alſo eſtimates of the proſpects entertained in both inſtances for the ſucceeding year. In ſtrict compliance with the preſcriptions of the act of the 33d, theſe accounts ſhould have been laid before the houſe during the laſt ſeſſion. The cauſe of the omiſſion was explained at the time to have ariſen from a diſappointment in the receipt of the moſt material documents from India: As thoſe documents have ſince been received, it has been thought proper to move for the accounts of the years above-mentioned, in order to preſerve the regular and connected chain of information on the ſubject of Indian Finance which it has been uſual to bring annually to the view of Parliament. The next period of account muſt ſhortly come under review, when both years might be taken into conſideration at once, whereby much time would be ſaved to the committee: but when the extenſive and complicated nature of the ſubject is attended to, as well as the abſolute neceſſity of every exactneſs practicable in a concern of ſo great importance, I truſt it will be admitted that the mode now adopted is moſt correct, as it may not only prevent the poſſibility of confuſion, but may likewiſe prove of eſſential ſervice in any future examination of the ſtate of the affairs of the company.

As the nature of theſe accounts muſt, in courſe, have become familiar, it would be a waſte of time to enter into a detailed deſcription of them in this place: I ſhall, therefore, immediately requeſt the attention of the committee to the ſeveral obſervations which have occurred, during a very cloſe inveſtigation of the many items of reſource and expenditure, both actual and eſtimated, alſo of the debts and aſſets: and, to the end that the moſt clear and diſtinct information may be afforded, I ſhall digeſt and arrange the ſubject in the ſame manner as on former occaſions, ſtating, under the ſeveral preſidencies reſpectively, averages of the three paſt years, compared with the average laſt drawn; compariſon of the actual accounts with the eſtimates; eſtimates for the next year:—and, after explaining the cauſes of variations, I ſhall combine the whole, in order to give a general view of the reſource and expenditure in India, both on actual account and on eſtimate, adding thoſe articles which are not uſually included in the ſtatements of revenues and charges. By this method will be aſcertained the net ſurplus of the Indian revenue, which, with the produce of the ſale imports, &c. forms the fund deemed applicable to the purchaſe of inveſtments. The advances actually made for commercial purpoſes, and the amount of cargoes ſent to Europe, will then be ſhewn. In the next place, the debts and aſſets in India, compared with the preceding year.

The home accounts will then be brought under remark; and the committee will, in like manner with the foreign, be furniſhed with explanations of the differences between the eſtimated and the actual, and of the variations in the debts and aſſets. And laſtly, I ſhall draw a general compariſon of the debts and aſſets both at home and abroad, in order to arrive at a concluſion,

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ſion, as accurate as poſſible, as to the ſtate of affairs, contraſted with the laſt year.

Having fulfilled all theſe intentions, I ſhall only have occaſion to treſpaſs a little farther on the time of the committee, by requeſting their attention to a few obſervations, applying to the company's affairs generally, both with regard to the Indian poſſeſſions, and to the ſtate of the commerce.

BENGAL.

The firſt object for conſideration being the revenues and charges of the ſeveral preſidencies reſpectively, I ſhall commence with thoſe of Bengal, as contained in the accounts, No. 1, 2, and 3.

The ſtatement No. 1, exhibits a view of the revenues for the three years 1794-5, 1795-6, and 1796-7, the average whereof is 5,778,677*l.*; and appears to be leſs than the average drawn from the accounts one year back, 56,013*l.* The cauſe of this defalcation is chiefly to be attributed to the declenſion of the opium trade, which was explained to the houſe on a former occaſion.

It has not been cuſtomary to ſtate the average of charges, on account of fluctuations from incidents ariſing only from particular events in ſome of the years. The propriety of the objection is peculiarly applicable to the preſent periods, on account of the war. I therefore proceed to the compariſon of the eſtimated and actual accounts of the year 1796-7, as contained in the ſtatement, No. 3. The revenues were eſtimated to amount to 5,710,511*l.* their actual amount was 5,703,906*l.* being leſs than eſtimated 6,605. A difference ſo trivial would hardly appear to require any remark. The circumſtance, however, of a diſappointment in the proſpects entertained of the reſources of Bengal, where the eſtimates for ſo many years have been uniformly exceeded, demands particular attention; and the more, as, on a view of the account referred to, it is found, that notwithſtanding the ſmall amount of the deficiency on the balance, there are ſeveral conſiderable fluctuations, ſome of the items having exceeded, and others having fallen ſhort of the expectations; but I ſhall only notice the differences in the greater branches of revenues.

The actual receipt has exceeded the eſtimate, under the heads of Benares revenue, police taxes, judicial fees, fines, &c. and the ſale of ſalt and opium.—The exceſs at Benares amounts to 13,403*l.* It ariſes partly on the cuſtoms; but the principal ſurplus is in the land revenue of the current year. The exceſs, in the firſt inſtance, is a favourable event; in the latter, a proof of the proſperity of the diſtrict: for, although the balance of the year preceding, left due from a caſual circumſtance, was conſiderable, the whole has been diſcharged, and the expectation of the preſent year more than realized.—The police taxes, judicial fines, &c. were 13,778*l.* more than eſtimated. The productiveneſs of this reſource in the year 1795-6 beyond the eſtimate, was explained to have ariſen principally from fees on ſuits in the Dewanny courts. The great arrear of cauſes was the occaſion of ſo large a receipt, which was not to be expected in future. The eſtimate for the preſent year was properly taken conſiderably below that produce, partly from the knowledge that many cauſes have been diſpoſed of, and partly from the ſuppoſition that the intention of Government in the inſtitution of thoſe fees would be accompliſhed by checking the diſpoſition to litigation too prevalent among the natives. The police aſſeſſments were more than eſtimated 9,095*l.*, and exceeded likewiſe the actual receipts of laſt year, 9,950*l.* They have ſince been aboliſhed, as will be explained hereafter.—The ſales of ſalt have exceeded the eſtimate 88,603*l.* The expectation of an exceſs was noticed when the finances of the Eaſt-India company were laſt under review. I have great ſatisfaction in remarking, that this valuable branch of revenue has for ſome years exceeded the eſtimates; as it not only evinces the caution obſerved in forming the eſtimates, but, from having been brought to its preſent amount, under a wiſe and judicious ſyſtem of management, in which the rights and comforts of the manufacturers have had due conſideration, there is every proſpect of the permanency of the reſource. The preſent exceſs is owing to a larger ſale at an increaſe of price.—The proſpect of the receipts from the ſales of opium being more than eſtimated, was likewiſe ſtated on the laſt occaſion. The exceſs amounted to 46,550*l.* which is conſiderably more than was expected. I have great pleaſure in being enabled to ſtate, that there is every reaſon to look for the reſtoration of this article, as the cauſes of the declenſion of the trade are wearing away; and in the countries where it is principally in demand, the advices ſtate, the price is rapidly riſing.

The deficiency of expected receipts is under the heads of Oude ſubſidy, land revenues, and cuſtoms.—The diſappointment in the receipt from Oude amounted to 78,425*l.* This is not explained in the advices, but is ſuppoſed to have ariſen from the diſordered ſituation of the finances at Lucknow, during the latter period of the life of the late Vizier. The changes ſince his death in September 1797, and the proſpect

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ſpect of an additional ſubſidy, will, at the proper period, be brought to the notice of the committee.—The proſpect of a defalcation in the revenue from the lands, was ſtated in my obſervations on the examination of the eſtimate. I am concerned to find it has amounted to ſo large a ſum as 85,596*l.*: the deficiency has ariſen chiefly on the Jumma of the preſent year. In ſo immenſe a collection, it cannot be expected that all the rents will be paid at the exact cloſe of the year. The balances left due in the preſent year are greater than in the laſt: the advices ſtate the proſpect of their realization with but little exception. —The deficiency in the cuſtoms is apparently ſmall, only 4,934*l.* It is proper to ſtate, that the eſtimate could not provide for an additional duty laid on exports and imports by ſea, to defray the expence of an armament for the protection of the trade, ſubſequent to its formation. The collection on this account amounted to 8,466*l.*; the actual difference from the ſum eſtimated muſt therefore be taken at 15,400*l.* As the cuſtoms depend entirely on the quantum of the trade, their produce muſt be always ſubject to fluctuation. On the preſent occaſion, the war and other circumſtances have been the cauſe of fewer ſhips being diſpatched. With the exception of the year 1795-6, the actual produce has nevertheleſs been, even on the reduced rate, more than in any year ſince the government cuſtoms were aboliſhed.—It is ſtill ſatisfactory to obſerve, that notwithſtanding theſe diſappointments, the receipts in the preſent year have exceeded thoſe of the laſt in about a lack of rupees.

The charges of the year 1796-7 were eſtimated to amount to 3,733,860*l.* They actually amounted to (by No. 3.) 3,862,942*l.*: being an exceſs above the eſtimate of 129,082*l.* So large an exceſs calls for explanation, as it may be ſuppoſed to be an impeachment of the caution ſo frequently noticed and commended in the formation of the Bengal eſtimates. An attentive examination of the cauſes of the exceſs is the more neceſſary, as it was to be hoped that the ſum of ten lacks, in which the eſtimate exceeded the actual account of laſt year, would have amply provided for the additional expence of the military arrangements, and all contingencies, eſpecially as the charges incurred in that year were very high. The difference to be accounted for, ariſes from an accumulated increaſe on the items of charge, with very few exceptions: for the groſs exceſs is 140,637*l.* and the deficiency only 11,554*l.* Of the latter, 3,865*l.* is in the civil charges generally. In ſome articles, theſe charges were more than eſtimated; but the difference is occaſioned by the expence of durbar charges, and temporary and other embaſſies, being conſiderably below the amount expected. A deficiency of charge has likewiſe occurred in the ſupreme court, in conſequence of the eſtabliſhment not being complete. The difference in buildings and fortifications, and ſalt advances and charges, requires no remark.

The exceſs of charge is as follows, *viz.* In the defined charges of the civil department, 9,589*l.*: of this, near 20,000 rupees is in the mint. The eſtimate was ſtated below the laſt year, in conſequence of the reduction of the eſtabliſhment. The expence attending a new coinage of copper, not provided for, has occaſioned the greateſt part of the exceſs. The poſt-office charges were alſo eſtimated below the laſt year; the exceſs has ariſen from an addition to the poſtmaſter's ſalary, and a larger expence having been incurred both in the direct and croſs dawks. The expence of the reſidency at Lucknow exceeded the eſtimate in a ſmall amount; but by far the moſt conſiderable part of the difference to be accounted for, is at Benares: this is chiefly to be aſcribed to the impoſſibility of aſcertaining with preciſion, at the time of forming the eſtimate, the expence of the judicial arrangements recently extended to the diſtrict.

The expence of the adawluts and police exceeded the eſtimate 16,273*l.* from a variety of cauſes. In ſome inſtances, increaſe or extenſion of eſtabliſhments; in others, the increaſe of Sibundy corps, in order to a more efficient police: a conſiderable part is in the diet of priſoners, and other contingencies, which of courſe cannot be eſtimated with preciſion.

The largeſt difference is in the military charges, and amounted to 56,544*l.* Having already remarked, that it was to be hoped that the large proviſion made in the eſtimate would have been fully ſufficient for every purpoſe, I have only farther to obſerve, that the committee muſt be aware that in time of war no calculation of probable expence can be made with any degree of accuracy; for the preſent exceſs has not ariſen on the regular and eſtabliſhed charges (they were below the eſtimate), but from the expence of the captured ſettlements, and from charges of various deſcriptions, abſolutely unavoidable, when in a ſtate of preparation to meet probable events, in dependencies ſo extenſive as thoſe of Bengal.—The exceſs in the marine charges, amounting to 9,696*l.* was occaſioned by the building ſome pilot ſchooners.

The revenue charges having ſo conſiderably exceeded the eſtimate, is in part

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to be aſcribed to the expence of repairing the bunds or embankments, in ſeveral of the diſtricts, damaged by an inundation. The greateſt part of the exceſs is on articles for which no proviſion was made in the eſtimate, as ſyer compenſations, loſs on remittances, &c. And advances for opium, according to the terms of the contract, depend on the quantity manufactured. Adding the exceſs of the charges to the deficiency in the receipts, the actual amount is worſe than the eſtimate 135,687*l.* And the total net revenue of the preſidency of Bengal, in the year 1796-7, amounted to 1,840,964*l.*

The ſtriking variations between the eſtimates and the actual accounts, have induced me to enter more fully into detailed explanations than would otherwiſe have been requiſite. I have only to add, that as the cauſes of diſappointment in the receipt, and exceſs in the diſburſement, appear to be, in moſt inſtances, of a temporary nature, there is every proſpect that, when thoſe cauſes ſhall ceaſe to operate, the ſurplus produce of the revenues of Bengal will amount to a ſum equal to every expectation that could be entertained, after allowing for the expence of the military arrangements.

Eſtimates, 1797-8.

The proſpects of the year 1797-8 are ſtated in the laſt columns of the accounts No. 1 and 2. The revenues are eſtimated to amount to 5,743,848*l.*; the charges, to 3,893,991*l.*; leaving a net revenue of 1,849,857*l.* On the revenue ſide, particularly, the eſtimate appears to be formed with great caution, the expected receipts being ſtated above the actual of the year preceding, only in the ſum of 39,942*l.* Several variations are, of courſe, expected to occur, on a compariſon with the actual receipts of the laſt year. The revenue from Benares is taken at a leſs amount, on account of the large balance received in 1796-7. The receipt from Oude this year is expected to exceed the laſt, partly from an addition to the ſubſidy, and partly from the proſpect of recovering the balance left due. A farther alteration is known to have taken place in the treaty with Oude, which will be noticed at the proper period, as already mentioned. The land revenues are eſtimated at only four lacks above the actual collection of laſt year, which is conſiderably under the eſtimate for that year.—The great alteration under the head of police taxes, &c. ariſes from the reſolution of the government to aboliſh the police aſſeſſments; as they were diſcovered to be difficult in the collection, and oppreſſive to the inhabitants. A ſtamp duty has been ſubſtituted in lieu of it, and is eſtimated to produce 58,000*l.*—The ſalt is eſtimated at the ſame amount as for ſome years paſt, and the cuſtoms nearly on the actual collection of laſt year. The opium ſales are taken at about half a lack of rupees below the produce of laſt year. The contract was to expire only in September 1797: the effect of the new ſyſtem of management cannot be known until the expiration of another year; but from the favourable appearance of the ſales, in conſequence of the increaſed demand and riſing price to the eaſtward, there is every proſpect of the eſtimate being exceeded.

The charges muſt of neceſſity be very high this year: they are eſtimated to exceed the laſt in the ſum of 31,049*l.* The mint charges are expected to be about half a lack leſs, from a reduction of ſome of the eſtabliſhments. The charges of the poſt-office, of Benares and of Lucknow, are taken at nearly the amount of the actual accounts of laſt year: the other charges of the civil eſtabliſhment are eſtimated at about 4,000*l.* more; principally from the expectation of a larger expence for temporary embaſſies, and from an addition to the eſtabliſhments of the public granaries.—In the judicial departments, the charges are eſtimated, on the whole, to exceed the laſt year in about 4,005*l.* The expence of the adawluts and police eſtabliſhments is expected to be leſs, on account of ſome reductions, and of the proſpect of a ſmaller diſburſement for contingencies: the expected increaſe ariſes entirely in the department of the ſupreme court, from the proſpect of the arrival of the judges from England, to fill up the vacancies in the eſtabliſhment.—The military charges, as naturally to be expected, are ſtill eſtimated at an immenſe amount, although the exceſs beyond the laſt year is not more than three lacks of rupees. The proſpect of ſo large a diſburſement under this head, ariſes from the neceſſity of increaſing the force ſtationed in Oude, and indeed the military forces in general, and the great expence of ſtores and extraordinaries, in conſequence. The preparation for expeditions has alſo materially added to the eſtimate under this head. The marine charges are taken at a leſs amount, from the expectation of a ſmaller advance being required for the building of pilot ſchooners.—The buildings and fortifications are expected to exceed the laſt year 14,600*l.* from the neceſſity of extenſive repairs, and additions to the ſeveral works and barracks, both for ſtrengthening the defences, and furniſhing accommodation to the increaſed number of troops, European and native. The differences in the charges of the cuſtoms, and the expences of the

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salt and opium departments, being small, do not require any remark. A new head of charge has arisen in consequence of the establishment of a stamp-office: the expence is taken at 2,900*l.*—On the whole, the net revenue, estimated for the year 1797-8, is expected to exceed that of the year 1796-7, 8,893*l.*; but from the many contingencies which affected the accounts of that year, to the disappointment of expectations apparently well-founded, it may be improper to hazard an opinion with regard to the complete realization of the prospects entertained in the year for which this estimate is made; and the more, as there is reason to believe, that in the latter year, the government of Bengal has been exposed to an equal, if not a greater number of contingencies than in the former.

MADRAS.

The finances of the presidency of Madras come next under review. The accounts No. 4, 5, and 6, exhibit the state of the revenues and charges, during the years 1794-5, 1795-6, and 1796-7, and as estimated for the year 1797-8.

On former occasions, objections were stated to drawing an average of the revenues of this presidency in like manner with Bengal, on account of receipts incidental to particular years only. From an inspection of the account No. 4, it will appear that the objection does not now exist, as the resources of the several years have, with the single exception of Ceylon in 1796-7, arrived at the state at which their amount may in general be calculated. In this view, the average of the revenues, in the three years 1794-5, 1795-6, and 1796-7, may be stated at 1,846,074*l.*

The company's revenues, exclusive of the several subsidies payable at this presidency in those respective years, and of Ceylon in 1796-7, amounted, on the average, to more than the average of the three years 1793-4 to 1795-6, 61,468*l.*

The obstacle to an average of charges, as stated under Bengal, applies equally to this presidency: I shall therefore beg the attention of the Committee to the account No. 6. In that account the actual revenues and charges of the year 1796-7 are compared with the estimate. The revenues were estimated to amount to 2,159,402*l.*; their actual amount was 1,996,328*l.*; being less than the estimate 163,074*l.* The expectations stated in the estimate were only exceeded in three instances, amounting, in the whole, to 34,009*l.* Of this sum, 28,437*l.* is in the customs, and is owing to the estimate having included those at the presidency only; the remainder is in the post-office collections, and the revenues from the ceded countries. With regard to the latter, it is satisfactory to observe, that from the flourishing state of the districts, the resources have manifested a gradual state of improvement.

The deficiency of expected receipts amounted, in the gross, to 197,083*l.* Of this, the sum of 41,982*l.* is in the several subsidies as follows:—from the Nabob of Arcot, 8,064*l.* By the treaty of 1792, a part of this subsidy is paid by peshcush from the poligars, which is collected by the company: the greater part of the deficiency is in that article, which, in common with all collections of rent, cannot be always realized to a day. The exact amount of the collections from Ramnaud was not ascertained at the time of closing the account. From the improving state of the Pollams, under the present management, there is little doubt of the recovery of the balance. The largest amount deficient is from Tanjore, 27,805*l.* The disappointment, in this respect, may be accounted for, from the change of circumstances since the formation of the estimate. The estimate was formed on the supposition, that in consequence of the government having taken possession of three districts for the security of the company's demand, the collections would have provided, not only for the current subsidy, but also in part for the arrears. An alteration took place in the course of the year, and the prospects were disappointed: more information on this subject will be offered to the committee hereafter. The small deficiency in the receipt from the Nizam does not require notice, as the company have a running account with him.

The collection of land revenues, as I have before observed, being a resource of the most material consequence, always occupies my particular attention. The deficiency under this head amounted to 112,640*l.* On the first inspection of the estimate, I confess that I was doubtful of a complete realization of the amount stated on the current revenue: as to the recovery of balances, the expectation has been exceeded. I have no hesitation in saying, that I think the estimate was rated too high; although the government appear to to have been, in some measure, warranted in thus stating it, from the collection of the year 1795-6, and the apparently improving situation of many of the districts. In the Jaghire there is the appearance of the utmost prosperity, which, it is but just to state, is owing to the abilities and integrity displayed in the present management. The estimate has, in this instance, been exceeded in 26,400*l.* The greatest

disappointment

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disappointment has been in the Circars: but the principal cause of it is stated to have arisen from the immense production of grain, so far exceeding the demand as to occasion a fall in price, in a degree which prevents the renters from discharging the dues of government. In one of the districts, some inconvenience has been felt from a dispute between two principal natives, and also by the effects of an inundation, which rendered it necessary to allow a remission of rent. It is, however, satisfactory to observe, that notwithstanding the produce of the land revenue has been less than the estimate, and also below the collection in the last year, it is, with the latter exception, the largest amount ever realized under this head.

Under farms and licences, the actual collection has fallen short of the estimate 9,842*l.* and is partly owing to some interruption to the exclusive privilege held by the Arrack farmer, and to the short sales, in consequence of the failure in the provision of tobacco, under the contract for that article.

The expectation from Ceylon was stated on very imperfect information, as noticed when the subject was last considered: the deficiency amounted to 32,610*l.* Part of it may be ascribed to the abolishing some taxes, which existed under the Dutch government, discovered to be oppressive.

The charges of the year 1796-7 were estimated to amount to 2,005,225*l.*; they actually amounted to (No. 3.) 2,408,492*l.*; being more than estimated 403,267*l.*

By the account referred to, it appears, that the estimate has been exceeded in every item. My apprehensions on this subject were stated to the committee, when the estimate was under consideration: for it must be obvious, that in time of war, it is next to an impossibility to calculate, with precision, the probable expence in the course of the year. On an investigation, it is found, that of the ten lacks, in which the actual expences have exceeded the estimated, near nine and a half have been from circumstances which could not be foreseen at the time of making the estimate, or with regard to which no calculation of expence could be made. Of the nine lacks and a half of pagodas adverted to, nearly eight are in the military charges; partly from the arrival of a greater number of his Majesty's troops, both infantry and cavalry, and the purchase of horses. The completion of the new military arrangements has occasioned some addition; but the major part of the expence has arisen from expeditions and the support of prisoners. The expence in the island of Ceylon and the Dutch settlements was upwards of a lack more, in consequence of the maintenance of the prisoners, and the subsistence of the European inhabitants.

A new head of charge is stated, amounting to nearly 18,000*l.* and is in consequence of the assumption of the districts in Tanjore, as mentioned under the revenues. As to the remaining differences, the post-office charges do not require remark; the excess in the civil charges, amounting to pagodas 19,110, was in part occasioned by the establishment of a new court of cutcherry: the great amount of the revenue charges was owing to the extensive repairs of the tanks in many of the districts, but chiefly in the Circars: an additional expence also attended the collection of the assigned peshcush. There is a small excess in the charges of collection in the ceded countries, and the estimate has been exceeded under buildings and fortifications. Adding the excess of charge to the deficiency of revenue, the actual account appears to be worse than the estimate by 566,341*l.*; and, deducting the actual revenue of the year 1796-7 from the actual charge, the net charge is found to amount, in that year, to 412,163*l.*

Estimates, 1797-8.

The prospects entertained with regard to this presidency in the year 1797-8, are stated in the fourth columns of the accounts No. 4 and 5.

The revenues are estimated to amount to 2,334,676*l.*; the charges to 2,482,838*l.* being an excess of charge 148,162*l.* On the revenue side, the expectation is stated, under many of the heads, at an amount so fully warranted by the produce of former years, as to require no remark; I shall therefore only notice those items, in which the probability of increase, in any material degree, is shewn. The subsidy from the Nabob of Arcot is taken at a larger amount than the sum stipulated by treaty, under the idea, that the deficiency in the last year will be paid, and that the balances of the peshcush from the polyiars will be recovered. The large amount, estimated to be received from Tanjore, is in consequence of the measures the government have adopted, to ensure any resource under this head. The inattention of the Rajah to fulfil the terms of his treaty with the company, has rendered indispensable the assumption of the districts assigned as security for the punctual discharge of his engagements. The estimate states both the full subsidy and the collections of the districts; but expresses some doubt with regard to realizing the former. The collections of land revenue and from the ceded countries, according to all present appearance, are likely to be realized, as well

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well as the amount eſtimated under the head of farms and licenſes. The revenues from Ceylon and the Dutch ſettlements are eſtimated at two lacks above the preceding year: the expectation is chiefly founded on the advantageous diſpoſal of the pearl fiſhery. On the whole, the revenues are eſtimated to exceed the laſt year by 338,347*l.*

The charges for the year in queſtion are eſtimated to exceed, generally, the actual amount of the laſt 74,347*l.* They are but in few inſtances expected to be lower: the buildings and fortifications in a ſmall ſum; the revenue charges is about pagodas 43,000, or 17,200*l.* on account of leſs expence being likely to be incurred in tank repairs; and the charges of Ceylon and the Dutch ſettlements in about pagodas 8,000, or 3,200*l.* Of thoſe heads of charge, which are eſtimated above the expence of laſt year, the trivial difference in the poſt-office and civil expences does not require remark. The military charges are taken at pagodas 162,430, or 64,972*l.* more, principally on account of the additional number of troops arrived from Europe. The increaſed charge on the aſſumed revenues of Tanjore, is to provide for the expence of management in thoſe diſtricts. The increaſe expected in the charges of collecting the revenues of the ceded countries, is in conſequence of diſturbances having been occaſioned by the collieries in the neighbouring diſtricts, which would render it neceſſary to take additional meaſures for the protection of the inhabitants of the company's provinces.

The net charge of the year 1797-8, is expected to be leſs than the year 1796-7, 264,000*l.* Notwithſtanding the ample allowance for every eſtabliſhed and contingent charge that could be foreſeen at the time of forming this eſtimate, and notwithſtanding the caution with which the expectations on the revenue ſide are ſtated (excepting the receipt from Tanjore), the ſituation of affairs at this preſidency was ſuch, in conſequence of the great military preparations, that I am apprehenſive the ſurplus charges will rather exceed the amount here ſtated.

BOMBAY.

The ſtate of the revenues and charges of the preſidency of Bombay and its ſubordinates, in the three years 1794-5, 1795-6, and 1796-7, is ſhewn in the accounts, No. 7, 8, and 9. In the three firſt columns of the account No. 7, are the revenues from 1794-5 to 1796-7, inclusive, the average of which is 302,004*l.*; which exceeds the average ſtated on the three years to 1795-6, by 7,067*l.* The actual amount of the revenues and charges of the year 1796-7, compared with the eſtimate, is ſtated in the account No. 9. The revenues were eſtimated to amount to 284,959*l.*; the actual amount was 315,937*l.*; being more than eſtimated 30,978*l.*

The only diſappointment, in regard to the eſtimate of this preſidency, according to the account now referred to, is the ſubſidy from Travencore; but this is merely in appearance. The company have an account with the Rajah, and pay him a much larger amount, annually, on the contract for pepper, from which there is the moſt complete ſecurity for the fulfilment of the ſtipulations of his treaty; and it is probable, that he has been debited for this demand in his contract account. The land revenues, including farms and licences, have exceeded in a ſmall amount; and it is very ſatisfactory to find, that the produce of the cuſtoms, and the collections from the ceded diſtricts, have again, in this year, exceeded the eſtimate. The exceſs in the cuſtoms was 15,012*l.* and has ariſen from the increaſing trade of the ſettlement. The exceſs in the revenue of the ceded diſtricts was 24,701*l.*: the gradual improvement of this head of revenue, under circumſtances from which the oppoſite effect was to be looked for, allows the hope, that as the quiet of the country is eſtabliſhed, the reſources will finally be equal to the expectations originally entertained.

The charges were eſtimated to amount to 777,973*l.*: their actual amount was 841,825*l.*; being more than eſtimated 63,852*l.* By the account now referred to, it appears, that the eſtimate at this preſidency has been exceeded in every item, although it was formed on the ſuppoſition, that the charges would exceed the actual amount of the preceding year by four lacks of rupees. The probability of an exceſs in the military charges was ſtated when this ſubject was laſt before the houſe, as the eſtimate was calculated on a peace eſtabliſhment. The difference under this head was 30,947*l.* and may be accounted for by the increaſed expenditure for extraordinaries in conſequence of the war, and the expence occaſioned by the diſturbances in the northern diſtrict of the Malabar province. The exceſs in the civil charges amounted nearly to a lack of rupees, and was occaſioned, in part, by a new eſtabliſhment formed at Cochin; but the greateſt difference aroſe from the increaſed expence at Buſſorah, and from the charge attending the tranſmiſſion of packets. The marine expences were increaſed by

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by the purchaſe of armed boats, and by the acquiſition of Cochin. The charge attending the fortifications aroſe from the neceſſity of ſtrengthening the ſeveral works. The additional expence on the revenues and cuſtoms, partly originates in the new eſtabliſhment at Cochin, but chiefly in contingent articles, not provided for in the eſtimate. The exceſs in the ceded countries, amounting to upwards of 10,125*l.* was occaſioned by the diſturbed ſtate of the Malabar province, as before noticed; alſo by a marine eſtabliſhment recently formed there. Deducting the exceſs of the revenues from the ſurplus of the charges, the actual account appears more unfavourable than the eſtimate by 32,874*l.* with regard to which it may be remarked, that if the ſubſidy from Travencore had been brought to account in the ſtatement received from Bombay, as I have reaſon to think it might, the difference would have been leſs, by a lack of rupees. From this it may be inferred, that the eſtimate was formed with a conſiderable degree of preciſion, allowing for the extraordinary ſituation of the preſidency from war, and the diſturbance in the Malabar province, which took place ſubſequent to its formation.

Deducting the actual revenue of the year 1796-7 from the actual charge, the net charge amounts to 525,888*l.*

Eſtimate, 1797-8.

This does not materially differ, in the groſs, from the actual out-turn of the 1796-7. The revenues and charges are ſtated in the laſt columns of the accounts No. 7, and 8. The revenues are eſtimated to amount to 319,101*l.*; the charges to 844,050*l.*; making an exceſs of charge of 524,949*l.*; which is only about 8000 rupees leſs than the laſt year: ſeveral variations do, nevertheleſs, appear in the detail. The revenues and cuſtoms are taken but at a ſmall amount more. The ſubſidy from Travencore is ſtated at 19,687, the computed rate of the temporary treaty; on the ſuppoſition of the realization of the apparent arrear of laſt year, a much larger ſum might have been ſtated. The collection from the ceded diſtricts is rated at about 20,105 leſs; that of 1796-7 having been larger from the recovery of balances. The total of the eſtimated revenue is expected to exceed the actual of laſt year, by 3163*l.* The charges are eſtimated above thoſe of the year preceding 2,225*l.*

With the exception of the military charges and thoſe of the revenue department, the general expences of this year are eſtimated to be leſs than their amount in the laſt. The increaſed expenditure, in the former inſtance above-mentioned, was to be expected moſtly from the continuance of the troubles in the Malabar province; but as they have completely ſubſided, the expence may be conſidered temporary. The only difference in the other items, to an amount requiring notice, is in the civil charges, about 9900*l.* leſs, and chiefly ariſes from a ſmaller expence to be incurred for Buſſorah, and for the charge of packets. The net charge is eſtimated to be leſs than the actual of laſt year, as before noticed, by 938*l.* With regard to the revenues, I flatter myſelf little doubt need be entertained of the full realization of the eſtimate; but the ſame objection exiſts, as at the other preſidencies, to the hazarding an opinion as to the charges.

Having afforded the committee every explanation that the accounts of the ſeveral preſidencies, reſpectively, from their almoſt unprecedented variations, appeared to demand; I ſhall proceed to point out other articles of expence, which will occaſion a farther reduction from the ſurplus of the revenues of India. Theſe are the charges of the ſettlements of

BENCOOLEN, PINANG, &c.

The amount of the revenues and the charges of Fort Marlbro' and its ſubordinates, is ſtated in the account, No. 10. On the average of three years, 1794-5 to 1796-7, the revenues amounted to 4,932*l.* and the charges to 89,713*l.* being a net charge of 84,781*l.*; which is 10,967*l.* more than the average ſtated laſt year. The greateſt increaſe of charge has been in the buildings in the two laſt years; it having been found neceſſary to erect new offices at the reſidency, and a large advance having been made to rebuild a conſiderable part of the town, deſtroyed by fire. The expences of this reſidency, and of Prince of Wales's Iſland, &c. are principally defrayed by the preſidency of Bengal. On former occaſions, the actual amount of thoſe ſupplies has been taken as the charge. Theſe ſupplies were eſtimated to amount, in the year 1796-7, to 90,364*l.*: and amounted (by No. 18) to 101,190*l.*; being more than the eſtimate 10,826*l.* from the increaſed expence at Marlbro', as before adverted to, and from a larger ſupply to St. Helena.

By No. 11, the ſupplies in the year 1797-8 are eſtimated to amount to 85,840*l.* which is leſs than the laſt year 15,350*l.* Of this difference, 7273*l.* is in conſequence of the ſettlement of the Andamans being withdrawn; the remainder is occaſioned by a leſs ſupply being intended to be ſent to the reſidency at Marlbro'.

GENERAL

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GENERAL VIEW.

The general result of the revenues and charges of the several presidencies in India, in the year 1796-7, is as follows:

REVENUES OF

Bengal, by No. 3,	£.5,703,906	
Madras, by No. 6,	1,996,328	
Bombay, by No. 9,	315,937	
Total Revenues,		8,016,171

CHARGES OF

Bengal, by No. 3,	£.3,862,942	
Madras, by No. 6,	2,408,492	
Bombay, by No. 9,	841,825	
Total Charges,		7,113,259
Net revenue of the three presidencies		902,912
Deduct, supplies from Bengal to Bencoolen, &c. as before stated per No. 18		101,190
The remainder is the excess above the civil and military charges.		801,722
From this is to be deducted the interest paid on the debts at		
Bengal, by No. 18,	£.352,325	
Madras, by No. 19,	37,040	
Bombay, by No. 20,	37,482	
Total Interest on Debts		426,847
The difference, amounting to — is the net surplus of the territorial revenues.		374,874
To which is to be added, the amount received in India on the sale of import goods, and for certificates on the court of directors, as per No. 15,		381,938
The Total, is the sum applicable, in this view, to the purchase of investments, and to the payment of the charges of the commercial department.		£.756,813

The next object for consideration is, the amount actually advanced for the payment of the charges of the commercial department, and the purchase of investments: it was as follows, *viz.*

In Bengal, by No. 18.		
Charges of the Board of Trade at the Aurunga, *C. R.*	996,161	
Advances for the Investment, with commission, -	107,46,208	
	1,17,42,369	
Add supplies to Canton, for the investment there,	281,575	
Total, Bengal, -		£.1,202,394
At Madras, per No. 19.		
Charges, allowances, &c. in the commercial department, *Pags.* - -	1,28,459	
Advances for the Investment with charges, - -	14,52,661	
	15,81,120	
Add Bills remitted to Canton, for Investment there,	24,000	
Total, Madras, *Pags.*	16,05,120	or 642,048
At Bombay, per No. 20.		
Salaries, &c. in the commercial department, *Rs.*	1,18,408	
Advances for Investment, with charges,	21,72,778	
	22,91,186	
Add supply to Canton	2,59,153	
Total, Bombay, *Rs.*	25,50,339	or 286,913
At Bencoolen, by No. 22.		18,183
Total advances for investment and commercial charges, -		£.2,140,538

This sum is 251,467*l.* less than the amount actually applied to the purposes of commerce in 1795-6; the difference is in consequence of the purchase of grain sent to England in that year. It is more than the sum above ascertained to be forthcoming on the surplus of the revenues, and from the sale of imports, 1,392,725*l.* Of this amount, near 600,000*l.* has been supplied by bills drawn on the court of directors, and from the cash in the treasury at the commencement of the year: the remainder has occasioned an addition to the debt in India, as will be noticed under that head. These calculations are made on a supposition (which appears to be well-founded), that after providing for the general expenditure of the several establishments, every rupee that can be raised is applied in discharge of the commercial engagements.

The account, No. 22, shews the amount of the cargoes actually invoiced to Europe in 1796-7, with the charges of the commercial department not added to the invoices: together, they amounted to 1,877,431*l.* This is less than the advances 205,195*l.* after deducting the amount supplied to China. No comparison, however, can be made, with propriety, between the advances and the cargoes in one year; because it seldom or never happens, that those cargoes wholly consist of goods actually provided in the year the advances are made. The value of the export goods in warehouse, on 30th April 1797, beyond the preceding year, more than accounts for the difference now stated.

I now proceed to state a general view of the prospects of the year 1797-8, according to the several estimates.

REVENUES OF

Bengal, by No. 1,	£.5,743,848	
Madras, by No. 4,	2334,676	
Bombay, by No. 7,	319,101	
Total Revenues,		8,397,625

CHARGES OF

Bengal, by No. 2,	£.3,893,091	
Madras, by No. 5,	2,482,838	
Bombay, by No. 8,	844,050	
Total Charges,		7,220,879
Net estimated revenue of the three presidencies : : :		1,176,746

Deduct

Deduct ſupplies from Bengal to Bencoolen, &c. (by No. 11)	85,840
The remainder is - - and exceeds the actual amount laſt year, 289,184*l.*	1,090,906
Intereſt payable on debts, by No. 16, - - - - -	576,775
Eſtimated ſurplus from the revenues - - - -	514,131
Add amount to be received on ſale of imports, and for certificates, by No 15, - - -	500,336
The Total - - - - is the amount applicable, in this view, to the purpoſes of commerce, and is 25,654*l.* more than the ſum aſcertained to be thus applicable by the actual accounts of the laſt year.	£.1,014,467

Upon the preſent extenſive ſcale of the Eaſt-India commerce, to which may be added the purchaſe of ſpices at the captured iſlands, a much larger ſum is, in courſe, expected to be applied to the purchaſe of inveſtments, than that now ſtated.

By the neareſt calculations I can make, from the accounts now before the committee, the advances in India for the inveſtments for Europe, and the charges on the commerce, in the courſe of this year, may be eſtimated to amount to about 2,700,000*l.* including the ſupplies to Canton.

DEBTS IN INDIA.

The Committee were appriſed, when the laſt ſtatements were before them, that from the increaſe of the inveſtments, the payments to the creditors of the nabob of Arcot, and other circumſtances, a large addition was expected to be made to the company's debts in India. The ſtate of theſe debts is ſhewn in the account No. 16. The total, on the 30th April 1796, amounted to 7,146,084*l.*; on the 30th April 1797, by No. 16, they amounted to 9,294,539*l.*; making an increaſe of 2,148,455*l.*

The ſubſcription to the remittance plan, by the account No. 17, was 544,402*l.* This ſubſcription has operated to the leſſening the debt by the amount ſubſcribed: without it, the increaſe would have been 2,692,857*l.* Of this amount, more than 1,000,000*l.* has ariſen from the iſſue of company's bonds, for the payment of arrears to the creditors of the nabob of Arcot: a very conſiderable part of the remainder has ariſen from the commercial advances, and will be found in the aſſets, either in India or Europe. The proviſion of funds for advances to commanders of European ſhips, the purchaſe of grain for the public granaries, &c. have alſo added to the Indian debt.

The debts bearing intereſt, by the accounts of laſt year, amounted to 5,590,142*l.* By No. 16, they amounted to 7,479,162*l.*; making an increaſe in the debt at intereſt, 1,889,020*l.* By laſt year's account, the intereſt payable annually was 419,345*l.* By No. 16 of the accounts now preſented, the annual intereſt is 576,775*l.* Increaſe of intereſt payable annually, 157,430*l.* The ſame rate of exchange is continued in the calculation of the debts as in former years, in order to preſerve uniformity in the compariſon.

ASSETS IN INDIA.

The value of the aſſets in India, conſiſting of caſh, goods, ſtores, and debts owing to the company, calculated at the like rates of exchange as the ſtate of the debts, amounted, on 30th April, 1796, to 8,958,669*l.*: their amount, on 30th April 1797, by No. 21, was 10,531,145*l.*; making an increaſe of 1,572,476*l.*

I have formerly remarked, that the increaſe of aſſets, generally, may not be taken as a fixed criterion of improvement. This remark is particularly applicable to the increaſe in the year now under conſideration; for the diſappointment noticed under the head of land revenues has produced an addition to the ſum due on balances from renters, which, though apparently an increaſe of property, is by no means a deſirable circumſtance. The increaſed value of the ſtores in conſequence of the war, whether received from Europe or provided in India, cannot with propriety be reckoned upon as an improvement. The larger amount of import goods is ſatisfactory; and the addition to the aſſets by the grain in ſtore may account for the advances made under that head. As to the commercial aſſets, their increaſe is found to account for the effect produced on the debt by the advances for the inveſtment. Deducting the increaſe of aſſets, 1,572,476*l.* from the increaſe of debts, 2,148,455*l.* the ſtate of the company's affairs in India is, in theſe reſpects, worſe than the laſt year 575,979*l.*

HOME ACCOUNTS.

I proceed, in the next place, to offer to the view of the committee, ſome obſervations on the ſtate of the company's affairs at home; and propoſe to introduce ſuch remarks thereon as may appear requiſite, by way of explanation of the ſeveral variations which have occurred during the year. This branch of the finances is compriſed in the accounts No. 23, 24, and 25. As the ſales of the goods form the grand ſource from which the fund for all the diſburſements is derived, I ſhall, in the firſt place, advert to them, although the account No. 25, in which they are ſtated, does not apparently firſt come under notice.

The

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The aggregate amount of ſales of company's and private trade, and Dutch goods, in the year 1797-8, was, by the account referred to, 6,053,401*l.*; which is leſs than the ſales of the preceding year 2,198,908*l.* On the company's goods alone the difference was 1,434,488*l.* The ſale of private trade goods exceeded the year 1796-7, 30,746*l.*, and is alſo more than any former ſale. The remaining difference is in the ſale of the Dutch goods, and was to be expected from the nature of the concern.

The ſales of the company's goods in this year were eſtimated to amount to 6,284,882*l.*; the actual amount, by No. 25, was 4,718,822*l.*; being leſs than the eſtimate 1,566,060*l.* The remark ſo often repeated, on the impoſſibility of forming eſtimates with any degree of preciſion during war, applies with ſingular force upon the preſent occaſion: it is nevertheleſs ſatisfactory to find, that although the interruption of the demand upon the continent for ſome ſort of goods has in a ſmall degree affected the ſales, yet the principal cauſe of the defalcation is more to be attributed to the want of goods, eſpecially from Bengal. This deficiency has ariſen in part from the neceſſity of detaining the ſhips in India, and in part from the arrival of thoſe diſpatched not being in time for the ſale. The circumſtances before ſtated will be found to have had a very ſtriking effect upon the receipt and expenditure at home; and conſiderable differences are found between the eſtimated and the actual accounts. The caſh tranſactions of the company, during the year 1797-8, are exhibited in the account No. 23. The differences on both ſides of the account were to a great amount, which, the committee will obſerve, have been occaſioned by cauſes moſtly ariſing from the principal one already ſtated, but in no inſtance very materially implying any interruption of the flouriſhing ſtate of the company's commerce. On the receipt ſide, by far the greateſt differences appear to have ariſen, from the company having availed themſelves of reſources on their own credit. The receipt for the ſale of goods was eſtimated to amount to 6,555,166*l.* By No. 23, the amount actually received was 5,946,468*l.*; making a deficiency, on the expected receipt from the ſale of goods, of 608,648*l.* This is greatly below the amount in which the actual ſales varied from the eſtimate, or from the ſales of the preceding year. The receipt was eſtimated on the expectation of a far greater ſale, and that 1,200,000*l.* would become payable after the cloſe of the year. The diſappointment above explained muſt be conſidered to have completely changed the ground on which the calculations in this reſpect were made; for the amount left due, on 1ſt March 1798, on the ſale of goods, was only 314,600*l.*

The charges and profit on private trade were eſtimated to amount to 196,000*l.* and actually amounted to 115,808*l.* being leſs than eſtimated by 80,192*l.* which ariſes, in great part, from ſome accounts not having been adjuſted. The difference in the receipts or payments on private trade requires no farther remark, depending entirely upon circumſtances over which the company have no controul; and the eſtimates, in this regard, ſimply ſtate the expectation of receipt or payment on ſales already made. At the time of forming the eſtimate, it was in contemplation to add to the capital ſtock; but from the ſtate of the times, it has been thought more prudent to provide funds by the iſſue of bonds: this has been done to the amount of 1,417,000*l.* The large payments made by the purchaſers at the ſales in bonds, has ſo operated, that the bond-debt, notwithſtanding the above iſſue, is only increaſed 459,938*l.* A farther reſource has been found, in the ſums paid by government for ſaltpetre, and ſtores and ſupplies to the troops, &c.; together, they amounted to 670,241*l.*: this was not ſtated in the eſtimate. The eſtimate did not calculate on the diſpoſal of the loyalty loan, to the amount of 957,385*l.*; nor for the loans from the bank, amounting to 1,000,000*l.* on different ſecurities: ſo that, on the whole, the net difference between the eſtimated and the actual receipts into the treaſury was 2,826,271*l.*

On the payment ſide, the difference will not be found, in any proportion, ſo great. The cuſtoms, after adjuſting the private trade, were 142,000*l.* leſs than eſtimated; although a ſmaller ſum is due on that head than at the cloſe of laſt year. The freight, on the ſame adjuſtment, was likewiſe below the eſtimate: the difference amounted to 1,280,476*l.* and the amount due on freight was leſs than the laſt year 644,907*l.* In both theſe inſtances, the difference has been occaſioned by the non-arrival of the ſhips. In connection with this circumſtance is likewiſe the ſmaller payment for charges of merchandize: the actual payment, on this head, was 255,200*l.* below the eſtimate; but of this ſum, the payment to military officers, ſtated ſeparate in the actual accounts to the amount of 25,225*l.*, was included in the eſtimate. The eſtimated payment of the dividends on ſtock was calculated on the ſuppoſition that an additional million of capital would be raiſed: as this circumſtance did not take place, the actual

expenditure

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expenditure in this inſtance was above 100,000*l.* leſs than the eſtimate. The bills from India and China beyond the eſtimate amounted to 124,089*l.* and were drawn from the neceſſity of having recourſe to this method of raiſing funds for the inveſtment, as already noticed. Of the remaining differences in the eſtimated and actual payments, ſome have been adverted to in the remarks upon the receipts; the others do not appear to require notice.

On the whole, the actual payments have exceeded the eſtimate by 449,305*l.*: and the general reſult of the compariſon of the eſtimated and actual account is as follows: The balance of caſh was, in conſequence of the large payments expected on freight, and other accounts, and reckoning only on an increaſe of capital, eſtimated to be againſt the company, on the 1ſt March 1798, 1,836,320*l.*; whereas, by an iſſue of bonds inſtead of increaſing the capital, by loans from the bank, by receipts from government, and by ſmaller payments for freight, &c. the actual balance was in favour 540,646*l.*; making the balance better than eſtimated 2,376,966*l.*

Eſtimate, 1798-9.

The eſtimate for the year 1798-9, is likewiſe included in the account No. 23, already referred to: it was formed, at the concluſion of the year 1797-8, on the principles preſcribed by the circumſtances of that time. The balance appears to be unfavourable in the extreme; but it muſt be taken into conſideration, that no expectation is ſtated of receipt, either from an iſſue of bonds or an increaſe of capital, which, under the authority of parliament, the company are completely competent to have recourſe to. On the payment ſide, the probability of a payment to the bank of 800,000*l.* in addition to the ſhort proviſion eſtimated in the receipts, has ſwelled the amount of the balance.

The expected receipts for ſales are ſtated at 5,905,927*l.* which is about 40,000*l.* below the receipt of the laſt year. The proſpect, in this inſtance, is ſtated on the ſuppoſition that the ſales will amount to 6,691,327*l.*; that of this amount there will remain unpaid, after the 1ſt March 1799, 1,000,000*l.*; and that there will be paid of the amount due on ſales made previous to March 1798, 214,600*l.*; making, as above, 5,905,927*l.* On this head, I have great ſatisfaction in having it in my power to inform the committee, that the eſtimates have been exceeded to a degree, making ample amends for the diſappointment in the laſt year. On the payment ſide, few obſervations are neceſſary. The cuſtoms are rated on the quantity of goods expected. the freight and demurrage are taken at a large amount, on account of the additional number of ſhips, ſome of which had been detained in India, and others having arrived out of time, as adverted to already. Theſe circumſtances will alſo add to charges merchandiſe, which are likewiſe increaſed by the additional buildings now erecting.

The eſtimated export of bullion is known to have been exceeded; alſo that of goods and ſtores. The reſult of the expectations of this year, in ſo far as the caſh concerns are affected, is, that in conſequence of calculating on a large payment for freight, and of 800,000*l.* to the bank, without reckoning upon any extra reſource from additional capital, or the iſſue of bonds, or loans, the balance againſt the company, on 1ſt March 1799, is expected to amount to 1,318,937*l.* By the eſtimates of the preceding year, the proſpects, in this view, were ſtill more unfavourable; but by the judicious management of the court of directors, the reſult at the cloſe of that year was, notwithſtanding the diſappointment in the ſales, ſuch as to exceed my moſt ſanguine expectations: this was accompliſhed by extraordinary aids derived from the credit of the company. In the preſent year, a moſt favourable iſſue may be looked for, or rather is now known in part to have taken place, from the immenſe productiveneſs of the ſales.

DEBTS AT HOME.

The next ſubject for conſideration, is the ſtate of the debts at home. The debts amounted, on the 1ſt March 1797, to 7,916,459*l.*; on the 1ſt March 1798, by No. 23, their amount was 7,284,694*l.*; being a decreaſe in the laſt year of 631,765*l.* The addition to the bond-debt already mentioned, and the additional loans from the bank in the courſe of the year 1797-8, with the bonds iſſued to the commanders whoſe ſhips were worn out, chiefly compoſe the items on which any increaſe of debt in the year has occurred. Thoſe items from which the decreaſe has been produced, have already been in part adverted to, as cuſtoms, and freight and demurrage. A leſs amount is due on bills of exchange, Tanjore bonds, on private trade and Dutch goods, and from the department of the committee of ſhipping.

ASSETS AT HOME AND AFLOAT.

The amelioration of the home affairs has already been made to appear, from the view of the caſh concerns, and the diminution of the debts. It is ſatisfactory to obſerve, that the ſtate of the aſſets is a farther evidence of improvement. The value of aſſets, on the 1ſt March 1797,

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was 12,476,813*l.* On the 1st March 1798, by account No 23, it amounted to 13,211,370*l.*; making an increaſe in this year of 734,557*l.* By adding this to the decreaſe of debts 631,765*l.* the ſtate of the company's affairs at home is better this year by 1,366,322*l.*

CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

The foregoing favourable view is, however, conſiderably diminiſhed by the reverſe of ſituation in the ſtock at China. The balance of the ſtock account at China, in the laſt year, was in favour of the company 279,250*l.* By the account No. 24, the balance of the year 1796-7 was againſt the company 718 945*l.*; therefore the ſituation in China has become worſe, in the preſent year, by 998,195*l.* The balance at St. Helena was laſt year in favour of the company 58,463*l.* The balance in favour 1796-7, was 54,248*l.*; ſhewing a leſs balance at St. Helena than in the former period 4,215*l.*; and exhibiting, on the compariſon with the laſt year, a more unfavourable view of China and St. Helena by 1,002,410*l.* Here it is proper to remark, that the amount of the difference at China has been greatly enhanced by the increaſed rate of exchange in the latter period.

General Comparative View of the Company's Debts and Aſſets in the laſt and preſent year's accounts.

Having completed the inveſtigation of the ſeveral accounts in detail, I proceed to the next object in contemplation, which is to aſcertain, whether, taking this immenſe concern at large, both abroad and at home, the actual property of the company has improved or not, during the laſt years of account? and this end will be obtained, by combining the increaſe or decreaſe of debts and aſſets in both inſtances as follows:

The debts in India have appeared to increaſe 2,148,455*l.*; the debts at home have decreaſed 631,765*l.*; which, deducted from the increaſe in India, ſhews a net increaſe of debt amounting to 1,516,690*l.* The aſſets in India have increaſed 1,572,476*l.*; the aſſets at home have alſo increaſed 734,557*l.*; making together an increaſe of 2,307,033*l.*; from which is to be deducted the decreaſe at China and St. Helena 1,002,410*l.*; the net increaſe of aſſets will then amount to 1,304,623*l.* Deducting this ſum from the above increaſe of debt, the difference is 212,067*l.* But to this ſum is to be added the value of the cargoes of four ſhips from Bombay, arrived in England in time to be included in the home aſſets, which is diſcovered by the advices to have been included in the aſſets of that preſidency, on 30th April 1797, 201,153*l.* The total, 413,220*l.* is the amount in which the general ſtate of the company's affairs is become worſe, on the compariſon with the accounts of the year preceding laſt preſented to parliament.

The account No. 24, entitled ſtock by computation, exhibits the entire ſtate of the company's property, both in India and England, but, with regard to the former, taking in the balances only of the ſtock accounts of the ſeveral preſidencies and ſettlements. It it very deſirable, that the compariſon of the balances of theſe accounts from year to year, ſhould corroborate the general reſult on the compariſon in the manner now drawn; but it can ſeldom happen, as the books at home are always balanced on the 1ſt of March, and this balance muſt be made up on the ſtock accounts then received from India, which are not always of ſo late a date as thoſe from which the ſtate of the debts and aſſets abroad are calculated upon theſe occaſions, *viz.* the 30th April, the concluſion of the official year, in order to accord with the receipts and diſburſements. This confuſion of dates has occurred upon the preſent occaſion; from whence reſults the impoſſibility of any accordance between the two views of the company's affairs.

The object in view, by the production of the accounts which have been under examination, having been ſtated, alſo that thoſe of the next year will be brought before parliament in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion, and having furniſhed every explanatory remark which to my judgment appeared requiſite, I ſhall at this time only have occaſion to requeſt the attention of the committee to a few ſhort obſervations, ariſing from the ſubject already diſcuſſed, or relating to the general ſituation of the affairs of the company. It has always been my endeavour, as it has ever been my wiſh, that the ſubject of Indian finance ſhould be rendered as clear and intelligible as poſſible. By the mode now in practice, a compariſon of different periods can eaſily be effected; and whether changes occur for the better, or otherwiſe, the cauſes may be traced with great facility. It afforded me real ſatisfaction, when I laſt addreſſed the committee, to be thereby enabled to ſtate, upon authentic documents, the improvement of this valuable concern, on a compariſon between the year 1786 and the period then under examination. By the preſent ſtatements it has appeared, that an alteration has taken place on the unfavourable ſide. The balance of property, contraſted with

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the laſt year, has, from a variety of circumſtances, turned out to be leſs in favour of the company; but as the cauſes have been clearly diſcovered and pointed out, and as they appear to have been effected in the moſt part by means of a temporary nature, ſome of them ariſing from the preſſure of contingencies unavoidably produced by a protacted war, I truſt it will become a matter of ſurpriſe, that under ſuch events the general ſtate of the affairs has not ſuffered a more conſiderable reverſe. It is, however, ſtill ſatisfactory to reflect, that in India the only inconvenience produced by the war has been upon the treaſuries, in a certain degree; but this effect, it may be preſumed, will not be permanent. The ſucceſsful termination of the ſeveral important expeditions by which the enemies of this country have been deprived of their ſettlements in the Eaſt, has afforded additional ſecurity to the poſſeſſions of the company, and has likewiſe opened new ſources of wealth, from which there is every reaſon to hope a full compenſation will eventually be derived for the pecuniary ſacrifices that have been made.

The immediate effect of theſe meaſures has been, to abſorb the major part of the funds which would have been derived from the Indian revenue towards the proviſion of the inveſtment. The immenſely increaſed demand on this account, has enhanced the value of money, ſo as to occaſion the neceſſity of having recourſe to loans, at higher intereſts than formerly in practice; the rate of exchange has alſo increaſed in proportion: the additional call upon the treaſuries for intereſt will for a time operate unfavourably, and the prime coſt of goods muſt incur ſome increaſe. The reſult of all theſe events, however temporarily diſtreſſing, is not to be mentioned in a compariſon with the more ſubſtantial and permanent benefits which may ultimately be expected, both abroad and at home. At home, an increaſe of aſſets, and a decreaſe of debts, has clearly been demonſtrated, and the net improvement aſcertained to be 1,366,322*l.* Although the Indian concern has been ſo conſiderably affected by the circumſtances above pointed out, and although the balance of ſtock at China is more unfavourable by near a million, the general balance, on the compariſon with laſt year, is only 413,000*l.* worſe. Againſt this ſtatement it may be objected, that credit is taken in the calculations for articles in India which cannot juſtly be reckoned upon as an improvement of property; but, on the other hand, it is fair to ſtate, when making a compariſon, that the debts have increaſed more than a million, from a circumſtance which by no means applies to the concerns of the year, *viz.* the iſſue of bonds for payment of arrears to the private creditors of the nabob of Arcot.

The improvement at home would have ſtill been more conſiderable, if diſappointment had not occurred as to the arrival of the goods: the property in India, it is true, would have been leſſened, but not in proportion. The ſhort amount of the ſales has been ſtated to ariſe from this circumſtance alone; and it is ſatisfactory to find, that ſo far as the commerce is concerned, there is every appearance of proſperity. The immenſe ſale of private trade goods affords a diſplay of the riſing commercial proſperity and increaſing wealth of the ſettlements abroad, and proves the advantage derived and to be derived from the extenſion of privilege to private traders by the act of 1793. The increaſing demand for almoſt every ſpecies of Indian produce, whether raw or manufactured, ſtrengthens the probability, that in this point of view the proſpects formerly held out will ultimately be completely realized.

But as it may, with apparent truth be aſſerted, that the improvement of the concern at home has been accompliſhed at the expence of that abroad, and in a manner which may bring in queſtion the prudence or the propriety of extending the trade; becauſe the purchaſe of inveſtments has been made principally by money raiſed on loans at a high rate of intereſt, from which the debts in India have increaſed beyond all reaſonable bounds, and of courſe the demands for intereſt, ſo as to intrench in an alarming degree upon the reſources which the revenues ſhould ſupply towards the proviſion of inveſtment; it is expedient to obſerve, that it was certainly the duty of the company to embrace the favourable opportunity of adding to their trade, which offered by the removal, for the moſt part, of foreign competition. My opinion to that effect was formerly given; and I have now to add, that if they had not done it, diſaſtrous effects might have been produced: the induſtry of the natives would have been cramped, the cultivation of the raw material diſcouraged, and the manufacturers deprived of ſupport. The conſequence in the company's provinces, in theſe caſes, is ſo ſelf-evident as to require no explanation: and if it be aſked, how the ſituation of the company has been or will be affected by the meaſure of extending the trade at this time, and by the means now adopted?—the reply is, an undue proportion of advantage will fall to the home concern; becauſe a conſiderable part of the prime coſt

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coſt of the cargoes is paid for in India, by the addition to the debt there. The inconvenience produced thereby is great, but may not be looked upon as laſting, as meaſures may be adopted to ſupply from Europe the deficiency. The produce of the ſales muſt furniſh conſiderable means; and the court of directors are empowered, by act of parliament, to raiſe money by an addition to the capital ſtock. The ſatisfactory accounts from India, of the increaſing demand and profitable ſale of the produce and manufactures of this country, encourage the proſpect of great advantage by an enlarged export; ſo that, by a ſuitable application of the funds which muſt be forthcoming, eſſential relief may be afforded to the financial ſyſtem in India, and the ſtate of the concern, abroad and at home, reſtored to a proper level.

The internal ſituation of all the diſtricts under the immediate government of the company, continues to exhibit the appearance of increaſing proſperity, of which I was enabled to congratulate the committee when I laſt addreſſed them. Having been protected, by the ſucceſsful operations of our fleets and armies, from becoming the theatre of war, no interruption has offered itſelf to the exertions of the induſtrious inhabitants. The encouragement afforded in all inſtances where a proſpect of general advantage exiſted, has been productive of the happieſt conſequences. By accounts received from Bengal it is found, that articles ſcarcely known a few years ago as an export, have been manufactured and ſhipped, to an immenſe amount; and that the export trade of thoſe provinces by ſea has been increaſed in a quintuple degree within the laſt twenty years, and has been doubled in the laſt ten: it muſt therefore appear, that the events of an unfavourable nature which have been explained to the committee, are not of a deſcription to affect the proſperity or the wealth of the ſubjects under the Britiſh dominion in India.

My remarks upon the accounts in detail have been ſo much at length, that it is only requiſite to make very few obſervations upon the ſubject of the revenues. The productiveneſs of the reſources ariſing from the lands have continued, from year to year, at an amount which admits the hope of permanency. In Bengal, the preſent ſyſtem is ſo well underſtood, and is ſo acceptable to the zemindars and renters, that no oppoſition is ever offered to the authority of government; neither does any other interruption occur to the collection of the public demands than what muſt always be expected on a rental ſo extenſive. Under the preſent regulations, proviſion is made for the realization of balances, and ſecurity is found in the improved value of the lands.

The idea of the precarious tenure of the reſource from ſalt has been done away for ſome years. Under the preſent ſyſtem of management, which took place in 1793, the improvement has been ſubſtantial; becauſe the objections which might, with a great degree of reaſon, be raiſed to the principles on which the monopoly was upheld, can no longer be ſaid to exiſt. The labour of the molungees, or ſalt-makers, is not now compulſory: diſtinctions in the ſeveral claſſes are aboliſhed and each receives a juſt and equal reward of induſtry. The laws againſt illicit trade having been effectually put in force, the purchaſer at the ſales reaps the expected profit from his dealings; and although the price has, within the two laſt years, ſuffered an augmentation, the conſumer is not expoſed to the inconvenience formerly known, becauſe, from the increaſing wealth of the provinces, more profitable means to employ are daily found.

Every advice from India ſtates the riſing price of opium. The contract under which this article was furniſhed, expired in September 1797, and the ſyſtem of agency has been ſubſtituted. No judgment can be formed, till the expiration of 1798-9 of the effect of the change; but as meaſures are taken to remove a very material cauſe of the firſt declenſion of the trade, the debaſed quality of the drug, and as the markets are again opening, it may be expected that the profit will ſoon equal its former amount.

I have had great pleaſure in remarking the attention of the company's government to the happineſs and comfort of the natives, and the endeavours always manifeſted to remove every ſpecies of oppreſſion. They have appeared, in a particular degree, in the abolition of the police aſſeſſment. This was a tax levied on the houſes of the inhabitants in the diſtricts, for the expreſs purpoſe of maintaining an efficient police. The charges have, from the firſt inſtitution, greatly exceeded the receipts; but notwithſtanding the gradual increaſe of the latter, as the mode in which, of neceſſity, the collections were raiſed, was repreſented to be oppreſſive, the tax has been altogether aboliſhed, and a ſtamp-duty ſubſtituted for defraying the expence of this eſtabliſhment.

In the diſtricts under the preſidencies of Madras and Bombay, although it has not yet been practicable to carry into full effect the beneficial regulations eſtabliſhed in Bengal, reſiſtance againſt the company's authority is leſs frequent, and the

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improvement of the land-revenues becomes each year more apparent. The disturbance in a northern district of the Malabar province, noticed in my last address to the committee, has been quelled, and the refractory rajah reduced to terms of submission: measures have also been taken to prevent a similar occurrence in future.

From my observations on the accounts of the last year, as well as on the present occasion, the committee will have been led to expect some additional information of the situation with the princes in alliance with the company, who are under engagements for the payment of subsidies. The changes at Oude will come more properly under remark when the accounts of the next year shall be brought forward. The princes to whom I particularly allude at this time are the nabob of Arcot and the rajah of Tanjore: their territories are so contiguous to those of the company, and the terms on which the connection with them exists are of such a nature, that although, under the treaties, the presidency of Madras have no authority to interfere in their governments while their engagements are discharged, yet they cannot but be essentially interested in the prosperity of their countries. For many reasons, a modification of those treaties was desirable, both as it concerned the company, and the interest of the princes themselves. Representations and remonstrances to that effect have been made to the nabob of Arcot. As to the rajah of Tanjore, the committee are already apprised of the summary measures resorted to with him. In the year 1796, he was prevailed upon to agree to terms of an arrangement, from which there was every reason to expect the most beneficial consequences, both to his country and to the company; but, from some particular circumstances, this arrangement was set aside. The long train of evils, arising from the grossest extravagance and mismanagement, which had occasioned the necessity of this interference, soon produced the effect naturally to be expected: the stipulated engagements were not discharged; and in 1797 it was found requisite to enforce the treaty of 1792, and to take possession of the districts assigned as security for the company's demand.

My remarks upon the charges have, in like manner with the revenues, been very full: I have therefore only to add, that the expences in India have been, and for a time must continue to be, very burthensome; but, with the exception of the new military arrangements, and some others of a judicial nature, a large amount may be considered temporary. Economy is enjoined in every department; but, in the present situation of affairs, it would be completely unwise to relax in attention to every measure requisite to a state of readiness to meet the attempts of the enemy on any part of the dominions.

From what has been stated, the inference is perfectly just, that the wealth of the Indian provinces has been progressively improving, and that the affairs of the East-India company have derived every advantage that could be expected from this improvement, on contrasting the amount of the balance of property at this time with what it was ten years back.

There can be no difference of opinion as to the propriety of the company's availing themselves, to the utmost extent of their means, of the commerce, the monopoly of which they hold by their exclusive privilege: but it is to be recollected, that the imperial interests of the country must likewise come under the consideration of those to whom the controul over this great concern is committed; for if a statement which has been made to me be correct, that the export of the wealth of India to Europe amounts to no less a sum than five millions sterling annually, of which it appears that the company are not able to bring to this country much more than two millions, while the rest finds its way to the several ports of Europe in other vessels than those which should form a part of the strength of the Empire, there is nothing deserves more the attention and ardent exertions of his majesty's ministers, than to devise some mode to remedy an evil of so great magnitude: the interests of our commerce, our navigation, and our power, call for it; and if the plan at present in contemplation, with regard to the regulation of the duties, should not be sufficient, something farther must be brought forward before the close of the present session.

The pre-eminence established by this country in India is truly gratifying; and it is the duty, both of the government and of the company, so to frame their regulations, that no part of the advantages to be derived from it be lost. The act of 1793 had this for its leading object; and it was hoped, that the port of London would have become the grand receptacle of Indian produce. Why this object has not been more fully obtained, must be made a subject of the most minute examination. The right of monopoly vested in the East-India Company by their charter, should be supported to the fullest extent; and it is my wish their means were equal to the bringing home the entire wealth of India:

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India: but if it ſhall appear, that all the funds they can command will not embrace more than the half of it, the neceſſity of an arrangement by which the remainder ſhall be ſecured to the country, muſt be admitted as of the firſt importance.

Colonel MARK WOOD obſerved, that Ceylon was not in the account, like the other parts.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS ſaid, that it was in the account; but he begged the committee to remember, that the accounts in general were made of eſtimates ariſing upon an average of three years. That could not be done with reſpect to Ceylon, becauſe Ceylon had not been in our poſſeſſion for three years.

Colonel MARK WOOD ſaid he was glad that the ſurplus wealth of India amounted to five millions ſterling: but there was a part of what the right honourable gentleman ſaid, on which he wiſhed him to be more explicit; for if it ſhould go abroad as he had ſtated, there would be a great alarm among the proprietors of India ſtock. They had hitherto looked to the right honourable gentleman as the protector of their chartered rights. He had given a ſort of notice of bringing forward ſome meaſure that might affect them in the poſſeſſion of thoſe rights. He agreed with the right honourable gentleman, that if, by the preſent arrangement of affairs of the Eaſt-India company, they cannot bring home all that wealth, ſome other arrangements muſt be made; but he begged the right honourable gentleman would be more explicit on that head. Did he intend, that, if poſſible, the Eaſt-India company ſhould have the entire monopoly—that they ſhould continue to be the carriers from India?—or, did he intend that the trade from India ſhould in any manner be thrown open to the country in general? If the right honourable gentleman had no ſuch intention as that of throwing the Eaſt-India trade open, he hoped he would explain himſelf, and prevent the alarm which muſt otherwiſe ariſe among Eaſt-India proprietors upon the going abroad of part of what he had ſaid to-night.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS—"The honourable member ſeems to have miſapprehended me. It never entered my imagination to deſtroy, or even to attack, the monopoly of the Eaſt-India company.—I might be acquitted of any ſuſpicion of that ſort; for it is not long ſince I came forward for (and the legiſlature granted) a renewal of the charter of the Eaſt-India company; and therefore I can hardly be ſuſpected of having a wiſh to attack that charter. But I will go farther, and declare, that I am perfectly clear the Eaſt-India company's monopoly muſt be ſupported to the full extent of enabling them to bring over to this country every ſingle rupee of Indian wealth which they can by poſſibility bring home. I have not ſaid they cannot do ſo; I wiſh they may. But as to what I have ſaid going abroad, I confeſs I wiſh it to go very widely abroad—that I hope the Eaſt-India company will continue to flouriſh in their commerce, and be able to bring home all the wealth of India; but if the Eaſt-India company ſhall not be able to bring home that wealth, ſome means muſt be provided by which that wealth, in ſome ſhape or other, ſhall come to Great Britain, rather than let it go in foreign ſhips to ſome foreign ports."

Colonel MARK WOOD was glad, he ſaid, to hear this explanation.

The reſolutions were then put and carried in the uſual form; and, the Houſe being reſumed, the report was ordered to be received on the following day.

WEDNESDAY,

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WEDNESDAY, *March* 13.

Mr. STRACHEY (according to order) reported from the committee of the whole houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider of the ſeveral accounts and papers which were preſented to the houſe upon the 22d day of January laſt, by Mr. Owen (from the directors of the Eaſt-India company) the reſolutions which the committee had directed him to report to the houſe; which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the table, where the ſame were read, and are as followeth, *viz.*

Reſolved, That it appears to this committee, that the annual revenues of the Eaſt-India company, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, and from Benares and Oude, under the heads of mint or coinage duties, poſt-office collections, Benares revenue, Oude ſubſidy, land revenues, cuſtoms, and the receipts from the ſales of ſalt and opium, amounted, on the average of three years, 1794-5 to 1796-7 both incluſive, to the ſum of five crores ſeventy-ſeven lacks eighty-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-two current rupees.

That it appears to this committee, that the annual revenues of the Eaſt-India company, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, and from Benares and Oude, under the ſame heads, which were eſtimated for the year 1796-7 to amount to five crores ſeventy-one lacks five thouſand one hundred and thirteen current rupees, amounted to five crores ſeventy-one lacks thirty-nine thouſand and ſixty current rupees.

That it appears to this committee, that the charges incurred by the Eaſt-India company, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, and in Benares and Oude, under the heads of civil, judicial, military and marine, the charges of buildings and fortifications, of collecting the revenues and cuſtoms, and the advances and charges on account of ſalt and opium, which were eſtimated for the year 1796-7 at three crores ſeventy-three lacks thirty-eight thouſand five hundred and ninety-eight current rupees, amounted to three crores eighty-ſix lacks twenty-nine thouſand four hundred and twenty current rupees.

That it appears to this committee, that the annual revenues of the Eaſt-India company, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, and from Benares and Oude, under the heads of mint or coinage, duties, poſt-office collections, Benares revenue, Oude ſubſidy, land-revenues, cuſtoms, and the receipts from the ſales of ſalt and opium, for the year 1797-8, are eſtimated by the governor-general and council to amount to the ſum of five crores ſeventy-four lacks thirty-eight thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-ſeven current rupees.

That it appears to this committee, that the charges to be defrayed by the Eaſt-India company, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, and in Benares and Oude, under the heads of civil, judicial, military and marine, the charges of buildings and fortifications, of collecting the revenues and cuſtoms, and the advances and charges on account of ſalt and opium, for the year 1797-8, are eſtimated by the governor-general and council to amount to the ſum of three crores eighty-nine lacks thirty-nine thouſand nine hundred and ten current rupees.

That it appears to this committee, that the annual revenues of the Eaſt-India company at the preſidency of Fort Saint George, and the ſettlements ſubordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and Northern Circars, excluſive of Ceylon, under the heads of mint or coinage duties, poſt-office collections, ſea and land cuſtoms, ſubſidies from the nabob of Arcot, the rajah of Tanjore and the nizam, land revenues and farms, and licenſes, amounted, on the average of three years, 1794-5 to 1796-7 both incluſive, to the ſum of forty-ſix lacks fifteen thouſand one hundred and eighty-ſix pagodas.

That it appears to this committee, that the annual revenues of the Eaſt-India company at the preſidency of Fort St. George, and the ſettlements ſubordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and the Northern Circars, under the heads of mint or coinage duties, poſt-office collections, ſea and land cuſtoms, ſubſidies from the nabob of Arcot, the rajah of Tanjore and the nizam, land-revenues and farms, and licenſes, which were eſtimated, for the year 1796-7, to amount to fifty-three lacks ninety-eight thouſand five hundred and ſix pagodas, amounted to forty-nine lacks ninety thouſand eight hundred and twenty-one pagodas.

That it appears to this committee, that the charges incurred by the Eaſt-India company at the preſidency of Fort St. George, and the ſettlements ſubordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and Northern Circars,

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Circars, under the respective heads of post-office, civil, military and revenue charges, for buildings and fortifications, which were estimated, for the year 1796-7, to amount to fifty lacks thirteen thousand and sixty-two pagodas, amounted to sixty lacks twenty-one thousand two hundred and twenty-nine pagodas.

That it appears to this committee, that the annual revenues of the East-India company at the presidency of Fort Saint George, and the settlements subordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and Northern Circars, under the heads aforesaid, for the year 1797-8, are estimated by the governor and council of Madras, to amount to fifty-eight lacks thirty-six thousand six hundred and eighty nine pagodas.

That it appears to this committee, that the annual charges to be defrayed by the East-India company at the presidency of Fort Saint George, and in the Carnatic and Northern Circars, under the respective heads aforesaid, in the year 1797-8, are estimated by the governor and council of Madras to amount to the sum of sixty-two lacks seven thousand and ninety-six pagodas.

That it appears to this committee, that the annual revenues of the East-India company at the presidency of Bombay, and the settlements subordinate thereto, amounted, on an average of three years, 1794-5 to 1796-7, both inclusive, to the sum of twenty-six lacks eighty-four thousand four hundred and eighty-six rupees.

That it appears to this committee, that the annual revenues of the East-India company at the presidency of Bombay, and the settlements subordinate thereto, which were estimated, for the year 1796-7, to amount to twenty-five lacks thirty-two thousand nine hundred and seventy-four rupees, amounted to twenty-eight lacks eight thousand three hundred and thirty rupees.

That it appears to this committee, that the charges incurred by the East-India company at the presidency of Bombay, and the settlements subordinate thereto, which were estimated, for the year 1796-7, to amount to sixty-nine lacks fifteen thousand three hundred and twenty-two rupees, amounted to seventy-four lacks eighty-two thousand eight hundred and ninety-two rupees.

That it appears to this committee, that the annual revenues of the East-India company at the presidency of Bombay, and the settlements subordinate thereto, for the year 1797-8, are estimated by the governor and council of Bombay to amount to twenty-eight lacks thirty-six thousand four hundred and fifty rupees.

That it appears to this committee, that the annual charges to be defrayed by the East-India company at the presidency of Bombay, and the settlements subordinate thereto, in the year 1797-8, are estimated by the governor and council of Bombay to amount to seventy-five lacks two thousand six hundred and sixty-seven rupees.

That it appears to this committee, that the annual revenues of the East-India company at the residency of Fort Marlborough and its dependencies, arising from customs, farms and licenses, amounted, on an average of three years, from 1794-5 to 1796-7, both inclusive, to nineteen thousand seven hundred and thirty Spanish dollars.

That it appears to this committee, that the debts owing by the East-India company at the several settlements in India, amounted on the 30th of April 1797, to the sum of nine crores twenty-nine lacks forty-five thousand three hundred and ninety-four current rupees.

That it appears to this committee, that the part of the aforesaid debts bearing interest, amounted to seven crores forty-seven lacks ninety-one thousand six hundred and twenty-six current rupees, and that the interest thereon amounted to fifty-seven lacks sixty-seven thousand seven hundred and fifty-two current rupees.

That it appears to this committee, that the value of assets in India, consisting of cash in the treasuries, of bills receivable, of goods provided to be shipped for England, of goods imported to be sold in India, of salt, opium, &c. and of stores for use or sale, amounted, on the 30th of April 1797, (including current rupees five crores forty-three lacks forty thousand five hundred and sixty-eight of debts stated to be owing to the company there) to ten crores fifty-three lacks eleven thousand four hundred and fifty-three current rupees.

That it appears to this committee, that the balance of stock against the East India company's commerce in China, amounted, on the 31st of May 1797, to the sum of seven hundred and eighteen thousand nine hundred and forty-five pounds.

That it appears to this committee, that the debts owing by the East-India company in Great Britain (including one million and ninety-one thousand nine hundred and twenty-five pounds of debt transferred from India), amounted on the 1st of March 1798, to seven millions two hundred and eighty-four thousand six hundred and ninety-four pounds.

That it appears to this committee, that the effects of the East-India company in England, and afloat outward, consisting of annuities, cash in the treasury, goods

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ſold not paid for, goods unſold, cargoes afloat, and other articles in their commerce, amounted, on the firſt of March 1798, to the ſum of thirteen millions two hundred and eleven thouſand three hundred and ſeventy pounds.

That it appears to this committee, that the ſales of the Eaſt-India company's goods, which, in February 1793, were eſtimated on an average to amount to four millions nine hundred and eighty-eight thouſand three hundred pounds, amounted, in the year 1797-8, to the ſum of four millions ſeven hundred and eighteen thouſand eight hundred and twenty-two pounds.

Ordered,

That the ſaid report be taken into farther conſideration on Friday morning next.

TUESDAY, *June* 18.

Lord HAWKESBURY moved the order of the day for the ſecond reading of the bill for prohibiting the export of copper by the Eaſt India company, for a time to be limited. He then ſtated, that a longer time having been occupied in the diſcuſſion of the buſineſs than was expected, and ſeveral alterations and new proviſions having been found neceſſary, he ſhould, on account of the advanced period of the ſeſſion, move to defer the buſineſs to another ſeſſion, when, he aſſerted, he would bring it forward. He noticed a paper which had been publiſhed, called an Impartial Statement of the Evidence on the copper Trade, by a Birmingham Manufacturer; which paper he conſidered as an *ex parte* ſtatement, and he concluded by moving the ſecond reading of the bill on this day three months.

Mr. GREGOR ſaid, that the copper ſales were free and open, and that the riſe in the article ſprung from competition alone. He therefore conceived it to be unfair, that Parliament ſhould interfere in order to reduce the value of the article.

Mr. WILLIAMS mentioned that he had ſeen the paper alluded to by Lord Hawkeſbury, in the hands of a Birmingham manufacturer, who avowed it to be his production.

Mr. Chancellor PITT could hardly conceive that the paper could come from a perſon intereſted in the preſent proſperity of Birmingham. The meaſure did not tend arbitrarily to affix the price of copper; Parliament might fix the exports and imports of copper, as they did thoſe of corn and wool; and, indeed, it was their duty to take care that no article increaſed in price in ſuch a manner, as to injure the home manufacturers. With reſpect to copper, it had riſen, even whilſt this bill was pending, from 113l. to 128l. a ton. It had been aſſerted that the biddings were open; but as he had heard that nearly all the purchaſes were made on account of one company, it would be right to prevent ſo neceſſary an article from falling into a few hands.

Mr. RASHLEIGH ſaid that he had juſt been informed, that one mine in particular could ſcarcely maintain itſelf at the preſent ſtandard.

Sir, J. MORDAUNT ſaid he was glad to find the matter was not to be abandoned, as a careful peruſal of the report would ſhew that the ſituation of the manufacturers evidently required relief.

The bill was then ordered to be read a ſecond time this day three months.

FRIDAY, *June* 21.

Mr. TAYLOR, purſuant to a notice which he had given on a former day, called the attention of the Houſe to the ſubject of the depoſition of the late Nabob of Oude. He entered into the particulars of that tranſaction; and ſtated his rea-

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ſons for apprehending that Vizier Ally was improperly depoſed. His preſent object he ſtated to be, only an inquiry into this meaſure, preparatory to a diſcuſſion of it next ſeſſion of Parliament. He concluded with moving in ſubſtance, that there be laid before the Houſe, copies of all the diſpatches, documents, or other papers received from India, relative to the appointment of the Nabob of Oude, and alſo of the depoſition of Vizier Ally, together with ſuch diſpatches of the court of directors, and board of controul, as may relate to the above ſubject.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS admitted, that if there was any thing wrong in this tranſaction, as far as the government was implicated in it, the board of controul was anſwerable. He juſtified entirely, and applauded highly the conduct of Lord Teignmouth in India. And if any rumours went thither that there was any doubt of the propriety of the ſucceſſion of Aſoph ud Dowlah to the province of Oude, the government of this country were ſo far from entertaining that doubt, that it was determined to ſupport him in it to the utmoſt extent of force that would be neceſſary for that purpoſe. He entered into a long account of the affairs of India, as they related to the particulars of this ſucceſſion; and maintained, that, beyond all doubt, Vizier Ally was not a legitimate ſon of Aſoph ud Dowlah. He then obſerved, that he had a deſire that this ſubject ſhould be clearly explained: but he ſubmitted to the good ſenſe of the honourable gentleman, whether the preſent motion ſhould not be confined to the minute of Lord Teignmouth: for, if it ſhould appear that they were ſufficient, the granting copies of any other documents would then be unneceſſary. He was apprehenſive this minute would be ſufficient to ſatisfy the honourable gentleman, and he knew his candour would ſay ſo when he felt it. If they did not, he could call for others, and others he might have, unleſs it ſhould appear that they could not be granted without a public inconvenience which would outweigh the advantages to be afforded by the farther inveſtigation of this ſubject At all events, he recommended to the honourable gentleman a peruſal of this minute, and he recommended that peruſal with a perfect confidence it would ſatisfy the honourable gentleman.

Major METCALF defended the conduct of the government of India; and entered into a ſhort hiſtory of the circumſtances of the caſe before the houſe. He praiſed the character of Lord Teignmouth, and agreed with the right honourable gentleman, that the minute he alluded to would be ſufficient for the general underſtanding of the ſubject. If the honourable gentleman ſhould think any papers in poſſeſſion of the directors of the India company were neceſſary for elucidation, he believed he did not undertake too much when he promiſed they would be ſhewn to him with readineſs, without any motion in the houſe for that purpoſe.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR, in reply, ſaid, that he was entitled to expect every information on the ſubject before the houſe. It was by no means his intention to arraign the conduct of Lord Teignmouth; but he could not regard his ſtatement as ſufficient in a tranſaction where his lordſhip himſelf was engaged.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS ſaid, that what he had offered was the minute of the council, accompanied by all the evidence and documents, and this was all that could be requiſite in the preſent caſe.

Mr.

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Mr. TAYLOR was satisfied with the offer, and withdrew his motion; upon which Mr. Dundas moved for the minutes of the council, dated January 18, 1798.—Ordered.

THURSDAY, *July*, 11.

Mr. BROGDEN expreſſed his ſurpriſe, that no notice had been taken in the houſe, of the Eaſt India private trade. There was a conſiderable portion of the Eaſt India trade, which the capital of the Eaſt India company would not admit of their carrying on; and other perſons being prevented by their charter from engaging in it, the conſequence was, it fell into the hands of foreign merchants. This was an evil, for which he thought ſome remedy ought to be provided; and therefore early next ſeſſion he ſhould ſubmit a motion on the ſubject.

FRIDAY, *July* 12.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS ſaid, that if the papers reſpecting the exports from this country to India, and the imports from thence, which were now laid before the houſe, had been produced ſooner, he ſhould in conſequence of the notice he had given at an early part of this ſeſſion, have entered upon the ſubject of the trade between Great Britain and India. At this period, however, while the houſe was about breaking up, he would not trouble them farther than to ſtate, that, in his opinion, the court of directors of the Eaſt India company had ſufficiently the means in their own hands, to grant ſuch facilities to the private trade, and eſtabliſh ſuch regulations as would with great benefit to themſelves and to the ſtate at large, ſecure to this country the whole of the trade from Britiſh India; and which trade, certainly would naturally find its way to the port of London, if proper arrangements were made. At all events, if meaſures were not taken ſoon to effect this deſirable object, he ſhould deem it his duty to call the attention of the houſe to the ſubject as ſoon as they met again.

Fourth Seſſion of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

FRIDAY, *October* 4.

WAR IN INDIA.

Lord GRENVILLE, immediately after prayers were over, roſe to make the motion for the diſcuſſion of which he had moved that their lordſhips be ſummoned. The taſk he had undertaken to perform, he perfectly felt it to be as arduous as it was ſatisfactory; and he had only to lament his inability to do any thing like juſtice to the claims of ſuperior merit and unrivalled ſervices which he had this day to recommend to the attention of their lordſhips, and to the gratitude of the nation at large. In his endeavours to diſcharge the duty he had impoſed upon himſelf, he would begin by tracing the origin and progreſs, and marking the event of a war which had been embarked in after repeated and anxious attempts at amicable negociation had proved unavailing, and which terminated in the total annihilation of a power that had perfidiouſly planned every meaſure of miſchief and

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and hoſtility againſt the Britiſh intereſts in India, of which it had meditated the extinction, by combining with our moſt powerful and inveterate foe to effect our total expulſion from that country.—It was alſo a taſk, (a taſk which he had undertaken with peculiar delight), to call their Lordſhips' attention to the merits of thoſe, by whoſe vigilance theſe menaced miſchiefs were averted, and by whoſe courage and energy the moſt glorious triumphs were achieved. He was thoroughly ſenſible how inadequate he was to the performance of ſuch a taſk, and how ſhort even the moſt forcible expreſſion muſt fall of the public merits and ſervices which diſtinguiſhed the names and exertions of thoſe to whom he intended to move the thanks of their lordſhips. Nor did he imagine that the great degree of intimacy and friendſhip in which, without the leaſt interruption, he paſſed his life with the preſent governor general of Bengal, could in the leaſt tend to weaken the faint tribute of praiſe which he was anxious to pay to his very ſignal deſerts. In attempting the panegyric of that diſtinguiſhed noble lord, he obeyed the call of his public duty, and of the gratitude of the public, full as much as any private propenſity, and inſtead of any danger that his private friendſhip might prompt him to think like exaggerated praiſe, he was conſcious, on the contrary, that the higheſt ſtrain of eulogy in which he could indulge, would but very inadequately repreſent the talents and virtues which he had ſo long loved and admired. They happily, however, loudly ſpoke for themſelves, and evinced themſelves in actions, the reſult of which has proved ſo glorious and ſo ſerviceable to the country. A detail of theſe actions might be deemed neceſſary to ſhew the extent and ſolidity of theſe ſervices, and the wiſdom and honour of thoſe by whom they were performed.

His lordſhip then entered into an hiſtorical retroſpect of the time and manner in which Lord Mornington had undertaken a general and uncontrouled ſuperintendance over the Britiſh dominions in India. On his arrival in India, Lord Mornington found the princes of the country at peace with our India company; but that peace was not to be of long duration. Their lordſhips were well acquainted with the great efforts that had been made by France, to fit out the formidable expedition which ſailed from Toulon; nor was any man here ignorant of its deſtination and object —it meditated hoſtility and deſtruction to the Britiſh empire in India, which France aimed at effecting, by gaining over ſome of the native powers to co-operate in her plans. Tippoo Sultaun was the firſt, and the moſt eager to go every length to derive advantage from that expedition, and to lend it every aſſiſtſtance in his power. For this purpoſe, he ſent an embaſſy to the Iſle of France, not with a view to complain of any grievance, or to ſolicit any redreſs, or to prefer any complaint, but to encourage and urge the attempts of the French, and embark himſelf in the deſign, for our utter expulſion from our Indian poſſeſſions—ſuch was his perfidious conduct towards thoſe from whom he had ſo frequently experienced the utmoſt forbearance, the moſt unparalleled magnanimity. The motives of this embaſſy, Tippoo did not endeavour to conceal.—They were avowedly an attachment to the cauſe of the French Republic—hatred and hoſtility to the intereſts of England. His letters, addreſſed not only to the government of the Iſle of France, but to the executive directory

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directory of France, openly invited them to conclude an offenſive and defenſive alliance with him, and offered to ſubſidize whatever troops France might furniſh him with, to enable him to commence hoſtilities againſt the Britiſh forces, and by their joint efforts and co-operation to realize the ardent anxiety which he felt of expelling the Britiſh nation from India. The firſt notice which Lord Mornington received of this propoſed alliance, was in the month of June 1798; and, coupling it with the information he had likewiſe received of the naval expedition which ſailed from Toulon, he immediately took every meaſure which prudence could ſuggeſt, and activity and deciſion could enforce. On the 18th of June 1798, the Governor-general received an authentic account of the proclamation that had been iſſued in the Iſle of France, and of the deſign which that proclamation unfolded and was calculated to realize. He then formed the reſolution (a reſolution evidently ſpringing from wiſdom and foreſight) not to await, but to anticipate the attack of the enemy. He accordingly diſpatched orders to the Governors of Madras and Bombay, to prepare for the event; and ſo forward were the preparations, that a deciſive blow was ſtruck even that year. Great doubts and difficulties however aroſe in aſſembling the army at Madras, and it was much feared that long before it was in readineſs to act, Tippoo's alarms might be excited, which would defeat all the meaſures which the Governor-general was concerting. No ſituation could be more critical, or more full of perplexing anxiety, than that in which Lord Mornington was then placed—to await the danger with his eyes open to its approach, would be a flagrant neglect of his duty; to attempt to avert it by a ſudden and abrupt attack, ſeemed to the moſt experienced military men a meaſure of very doubtful and hazardous iſſue: Such was the trying dilemma in which the Governor-general was entangled; and whatever ſide he was to embrace, he felt that he muſt incur the whole of the reſponſibility. The co-operation he was to expect from the native powers in alliance with Great Britain, was either doubtful, or of little advantage. The Mahrattas were rendered unable to afford any ſubſtantial aſſiſtance; nor was their good will to be called in queſtion. The abſence of their ſupport aroſe from real and undiſſembled inability—from the co-operation of the Nizam, little or nothing could be expected; his councils and army were at that period under the influence of a French faction, and two French officers were at the head of the ſepoys in the Nizam's ſervice; and indeed the whole of his military force was at the diſpoſal of the French officers. The aſpect of theſe difficulties created neither deſpondency nor fear in the heart of the Governor-general—he, on the contrary, adopted the moſt ſpirited and deciſive meaſures: an armed force was immediately detached into the territories of the Nizam; the French army was not only ſurrounded and made priſoners, but a new treaty was concluded with the Nizam, by which the diſpoſal of his forces were put into the hands of the Britiſh; and that very army which had been raiſed and deſtined to attack them, was immediately turned againſt the enemy. What could diſplay greater ability than this maſterly manœuvre? But if it was great in ability, how much more uſeful was it in its conſequences, which ſo powerfully contributed to our ſubſequent ſucceſſes, by placing us in a ſituation to

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fruſtrate all the plans, and defeat all the attacks that had been meditated againſt us. Till this was accompliſhed, nothing was ſafe; but as ſoon as it was achieved, a negociation was opened. Lord Mornington was not unmindful that it was the beſt policy to remain contented with our ſituation in India; to offend no power by our encroachments, or give umbrage to them by any plan of ambition or aggrandizement, but faithfully and punctually to obſerve the faith of exiſting treaties. Such, indeed, was the nature and tendency of the orders under which, as Governor-general, he was bound to act. He had, however, ample juſtification for purſuing an oppoſite plan; for what more clear and undiſguiſed hoſtility could there be than that which he experienced from thoſe who would negotiate with our worſt enemy for our ruin, and enter into offenſive alliance with him for our deſtruction? who ſtood forward in military array againſt our troops, and who aſſumed, if not the meaſures of actual hoſtility, at the leaſt the attitude of hoſtile preparation and menace; who propoſed to France that if ſhe would ſuccour them with a military force from Europe, they would favour their landing at Porto-Novo; they would lead them into the heart of the Dutch territories, into which they were ready to penetrate themſelves, and co-operate with the French arms, in expelling us from every foot of ground, and every trace of our dominion in India? Nor was it againſt the Britiſh eſtabliſhments alone that they concerted this hoſtile attack, but alſo againſt thoſe of Portugal, on account of her alliance with great Britain. In the ſtorming of that capital, where theſe machinations were hatched againſt us, and in the fall of that power who acted ſuch a perfidious part againſt us, not only, therefore, great military ſkill and talent have been exerted and diſplayed, but the moſt conſummate wiſdom and firmneſs, and the moſt ſober juſtice had been evinced. With this crafty and perfidious power, Lord Mornington had, however, propoſed to open a negociation, even when Tippoo was doing all the evil and miſchief in his power, without uttering one word of grievance or complaint. Notwithſtanding his flagrant violations of all faith towards the Engliſh Government, Lord Mornington ſtill repeated and renewed his offers to remove every cauſe of difference and diſaffection, if any really exiſted. The whole of theſe patient and pacific offers were received either with ſullen ſilence or ſtudied duplicity, and at laſt with open preparations of hoſtile aggreſſion. When Tippoo ſaw the ruin he was drawing down upon his own head, his inveterate and rancorous animoſity ſuggeſted to his wicked imagination, that he already ſaw the gigantic plan of the French Republic on the eve of being realized, and that the hour was come for the ſubverſion and downfal of the Britiſh dominions in India. He was alſo anxious to gain time, and defer the meaſures that were taking againſt him, in order that the ſeaſon of the year might intervene, and allow time to receive the ſuccours with which he was to co-operate in our overthrow. But was it not unneceſſary, the noble Lord obſerved, to dwell any longer on theſe details; or on the wiſdom, firmneſs, and ſound policy of the meaſures adopted by the Governor-general, who months after months had made propoſals for negociation to an enemy, who, inſtead of a ſincere deſire to eſtabliſh peace, was ſecretly endeavouring to diſable and deſtroy us? And if, after theſe repeated

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peated provocations, and avowed preparations for hoſtilities, his noble Friend had reſolved upon offenſive operations, it was eaſy to relieve the Governor-general from all reſponſibility for his conduct—a conduct which, when rightly viewed and appreciated, will be diſcovered not only to have averted the formidable perils and ruin which hung over our Indian empire, but, moreover, eſtabliſhed it on a baſis of more permanent ſecurity than it ever before enjoyed. He truſted their Lordſhips ſhared with him in the ſenſe he felt of theſe ſolid and memorable achievements, and that they would unite with him in expreſſing the thanks which he had to propoſe, and which ſuch ſignal ſervices ſo juſtly and ſo imperiouſly called for. There was one point more, and that a very ſtriking one, to which he would beg leave to advert, and that was the judicious manner in which the Governor-general had proceeded to compoſe and reconcile all the jarring and diſcordant opinions which formerly prevailed among the ſervants of the India Company. In this he ſucceeded, by a wiſe and temperate uſe of the ſole controuling power with which he was inveſted; and a greater and a more refined ſatisfaction aroſe in his breaſt, from obſerving this ſalutary effect, when he perceived that this jar and diſcord of ſentiment were ſilenced, not merely by the interpoſition of this ſuperior controul, but by an appeal to the wiſdom and good ſenſe of the different governors. Among them, the conduct of Lord Clive ſtood peculiarly eminent, and reflected the greateſt honour on his heart and head. That noble lord, ſpurning all little jealouſies, and ſuggeſtions of mortified pride, when obliged to ſtoop to ſuperior power, has not only expreſſed a very decided opinion in favour of the propriety of the meaſures purſued by the Governor-general, but by his zeal and ſpirit had principally contributed to promote the views, and ſecure the benefits which the adoption of theſe meaſures had in contemplation. The ſame ſpirit guided the conduct and animated the exertions of the governor of Bombay, Mr. Duncan, who equally concurred in forwarding the ends of the Earl of Mornington, and in ſecuring the ſupport of the Engliſh government and eſtabliſhments. In conſequence of theſe wiſe, ſpirited, and well-concerted meaſures, when the army was put in motion, it evidently appeared to be compoſed of troops the beſt diſciplined and appointed of any that was ever collected in India. The event, indeed, beſt ſhews the zeal and ſpirit, the courage and intrepidity with which it glowed, and by which all its movements were directed. It was not his intention to attempt detailing its different operations, or the ſucceſſes with which they were crowned. He could not, however, forbear mentioning the gallant action of the 6th of March, when a ſmall diviſion of the Britiſh army attacked and defeated a powerful and numerous force of the enemy, and by that victory laid the ground of the ſubſequent ſucceſsful actions, which were cloſed by that final and brilliant event which was brought about by an army compoſed almoſt entirely of Europeans, who, during the intenſe heat of the day, attacked, and took by aſſault, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes that exiſts, and, in the ſpace of two hours, made themſelves maſters of the capital of the moſt implacable and perfidious foe, whom the Britiſh intereſts had to dread in India. Theſe were achievements which baffled all deſcription, and ſoared above all praiſe;

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praiſe: he would not, therefore, attempt a word more in their commendation. He truſted that the houſe was convinced of the merits of the Governor-general, and of thoſe who acted under him on this glorious occaſion, as he was, and he therefore did not doubt of their moſt cordial concurrence in the vote which he would have the honour to propoſe. Whatever he might have omitted to throw light upon the operations he had been deſcribing, would be found in the papers on their lordſhips' table, which, they would obſerve, were written with the ſame ſpirit and ability with which were accompliſhed the glorious events they ſo forcibly record.

His lordſhip concluded by moving reſolutions ſimilar to thoſe moved by Mr. ſecretary Dundas in the Houſe of Commons (for which ſee page 146); which were carried *nemine diſſentiente.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, *October* 4.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS roſe to move the thanks of the houſe to a noble perſon who had a great ſhare in the late glorious war in India; and ſpoke in ſubſtance nearly as follows:

"I confeſs I am at a loſs adequately to expreſs all I feel on this glorious occaſion; and probably the beſt way would be for me to confine myſelf within a very narrow compaſs. It was with this view that I moved for the papers which are now upon the table, relating to the ſubject; and which will fully enable every perſon who has peruſed them, to judge of the merits of this important buſineſs.

"The houſe will recollect, that at the commencement of the adminiſtration of my right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt), the affairs of that part of the globe were a good deal diſcuſſed; for it was a topic on which gentlemen differed, particularly with regard to the mode in which thoſe invaluable poſſeſſions ſhould be governed. But there was one topic on which there was no difference of opinion in the houſe;—it was, in truth, a point in which all underſtandings were completely ſatisfied;—that where there was an immenſe territory, ſo far removed from the mother-country, it was in vain to imagine it could ever be governed otherwiſe than by a mixture of different ingredients; that, on the one hand, there ſhould be a powerful and energetic force, capable of reſiſting thoſe, whoſe very ſyſtem made them the eternal enemies of civilized ſociety, and the unceaſing diſturbers of the peace and harmony of the world; while, on the other, this force and energy ſhould be balanced, and tempered by juſtice, humanity, and moderation, together with a due attention to the intereſts of ſurrounding nations, without which our mere power would ill anſwer the purpoſe that induced us to maintain a government in India. Theſe were points in which the common underſtandings of mankind were ſatisfied; and, without a due regard to them, it was impoſſible we ſhould continue our power in India. It is with this view that I think it neceſſary theſe papers ſhould be produced; and I am confident I do not ſay too much, when I affirm, that the peruſal of them will give ſatisfaction to every one who has at heart the intereſts of his country, and who knows the value of its poſſeſſions.

"The propoſition eſtabliſhed by theſe papers was, that every exertion was made, that could be made, on our part, to avoid hoſtilities with Tippoo Sultaun: and there does not remain any doubt on the face of theſe papers, that while he

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was profeſſing an unlimited friendſhip for England, there was ſtrong preſumptive evidence, now brought clearly to light by the unequivocal diſcovery which has been made, that, at that very period, and when he was evading every explanation with this country, poſtponing it under futile and idle pretences, he was determined to do every thing in his power to work our deſtruction in India: he endeavoured to amuſe us until he thought the military preparations he had made would be fit for open hoſtility: and while he was thus ſtriving to impoſe upon the government of India, he was ſecretly (as he thought) entering into an agreement with our moſt implacable enemy.

"I do not take notice of the papers, to which I refer you, for the truth of theſe aſſertions; becauſe, in fact, the matter is too clear to require any illuſtration.

"Under ſuch circumſtances, our government in India was critically ſituated. The Governor-general was not to enter haſtily into an attack; nor was he to wait, at all events, until the attack was made on us, or until an advantage was obtained againſt us. The firſt thing to be ſaid of the Earl of Mornington was, that, in this delicate and critical ſituation, there was to be obſerved, on his part, an accurate medium, ſuitable to the real intereſt and dignity of the Britiſh empire. On the one hand, he was forcible and dignified; and on the other, moderate and cautious; and wiſhing always to avoid an open rupture which had long been determined by the enemy. This he perhaps carried beyond the verge of prudence; but where there was complete ſucceſs in the reſult, it was never gracious to complain of the moderation and forbearance of the ſucceſsful party. God forbid I ſhould ſay any thing againſt the moderation of my noble friend, when the ſupport of the dignity of Great Britain was his object! and, without adverting to particulars, I ſhall only ſay, that the conduct of Lord Mornington was of the moſt maſterly kind. Yet, when ſpeaking of that conduct, I cannot forbear to obſerve, that it was in train, and was part of a ſyſtem which he found eſtabliſhed on his arrival in India; he walked in the footſteps of that illuſtrious perſon whoſe conduct in the former war was highly honourable to the Britiſh name. Upon the whole, it is ſufficient to ſay, that, on both occaſions, the conduct of each of theſe diſtinguiſhed perſons was complete, and directly tending to the glory, as well as the moſt valuable intereſts, of the Britiſh empire—whether conſidered as to its moderation and dignity on the one hand, or for its promptitude and vigour on the other.

"Theſe obſervations apply merely to the *Myſore*; but there is another part of the conduct of Lord Mornington, and that which, in my opinion, forms the moſt prominent feature of his character as a judicious ſtateſman. There was an army of 14,000 men, well diſciplined and trained, and guided by French officers, intended to act upon a plan of general confederacy, and which was to co-operate with the French army in Egypt, for the purpoſe of accompliſhing our deſtruction in India. But Lord Mornington, by his admirable foreſight, promptitude, and addreſs, annihilated the influence of the French, and turned this army, thus intended for our deſtruction, into an engine for our ſupport. This is a circumſtance for which I think we ought to be thankful to Providence.

"I muſt now advert to another noble and illuſtrious character, who has

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has acted in a manner so glorious, that persons of little minds will scarcely believe it of an human character—I mean the conduct of Lord Clive:—it was not the conduct of a man affected by little jealousy, or peevish ambition; but it was at once plain, direct, open, honourable, cordial, and manly—such as was worthy of the breast that pants for the glory of its country. He joined his efforts to those of the Governor-general, for the common good. I say this for various reasons; I know the private sentiments and feelings of that nobleman; and they were expressed in private correspondence, which he did not intend to reach his majesty's ministers, but which, as well as his actions, prove that he wishes to emulate the glory of his illustrious ancestor, who long ago laid the foundation of the British glory in India.

"With regard to the military, I can only say, that from the highest of them to the lowest, they vied with each other in doing service to their country; to all of whom a proper acknowledgment should be made by this house. But I cannot help just observing here, the great praise that is due to General Baird, for his brave conduct at the storming of Seringapatam. It is singular that this heroic officer was three years in imprisonment in irons, by the order of the very tyrant whose barbarity, in this instance, he was the instrument of Providence to avenge!

"Before I sit down, I must again say, that the papers before the house prove, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that this war on our part was purely defensive: and the actions also prove, that all the persons employed in it did their duty in the most gallant manner:—they are entitled to the best thanks their country can give them; for, by their efforts, the British power in India is placed in a situation of so much security and permanence, that nothing but mismanagement can ever endanger it. The world must know that we are great and powerful in India: that, when necessary, we can repel an aggression, or punish an insult; and that we can call forth the vengeance of a great empire, when any attack is made either on its interest, or its honour. But, above all, let the world know, that we exercise our power with justice, and temper our resentment with moderation. Let us bring the minds of the people of India to this reflection—that we are guided by humanity and mildness; that they will be safe, only, as they submit to us; and that the happiness of themselves and their posterity will depend on their being subjects of the British empire."

Mr. DUNDAS then moved the following resolutions, which were adopted by the house, *nemine contradicente*, viz.

Resolved, That the thanks of this House be given to the Right Honourable Richard Lord Wellesley, Earl of Mornington in the kingdom of Ireland, and Governor-general of the British possessions in the East Indies, for the wisdom, decision, and energy, with which he discharged the arduous duties of his station, from the time of his taking upon him the said government to the glorious termination of the late war by the capture of Seringapatam; during which period, by opposing to the perfidy of the late Sultaun of Mysore an uniform moderation, dignity, and firmness, and by counteracting with equal promptitude and ability the dangerous intrigues and projects of the French, particularly by destroying their power and influence in the Deccan, he prepared the way for the rapid and brilliant operations carried on under his superintendance and direction, the result of which has finally disappointed all the designs of our enemies in that quarter, and has established, on a basis of permanent security, the tranquillity and prosperity of the British empire in India.

That the thanks of this house be given to

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to the Right Honourable Lord Clive, governor of the ſettlement of Fort St. George, for his zealous, cordial, and honourable concurrence, in forwarding the wiſe and dignified views of the Governor-general in Council, by which he has furniſhed a ſalitary and memorable example of the advantage of unanimity and concord among the perſons employed in high ſtations in the Britiſh dominions in the Eaſt Indies, and has, to the utmoſt of his power, promoted the ſucceſs of thoſe meaſures from which the moſt important public benefits have reſulted to this country.

That the thanks of this houſe be given to Jonathan Duncan, eſq. governor of Bombay, for the zeal and promptitude of his conduct in preparing the army of that preſidency for the field, agreeably to the orders of the Governor-general in Council, whereby that army was enabled materially to contribute to the ſucceſsful and glorious termination of the late war in India.

That the thanks of this houſe be given to Lieut. General George Harris, for the whole of his able and meritorious conduct in the command of the forces of his Majeſty and of the Eaſt India Company, during the late glorious and deciſive war with the Sultaun of Myſore, and particularly for the ability, judgment, and energy, with which he planned and directed the aſſault of Seringapatam; the ſucceſs of which brilliant achievement has ſo highly contributed to the glory of the Britiſh name, and to the permanent tranquillity of our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt.

That the thanks of this houſe be given to Lieut. General James Stuart, commander in chief of the Bombay army, which ſo glorioufly co-operated in the ſucceſs of the late campaign in India; and alſo to Major Generals John Floyd, Thomas Bridges, William Popham, James Hartley, and David Baird, and to the reſpective officers of the armies employed on that occaſion againſt the enemy, for their diſtinguiſhed and meritorious ſervices.

That this houſe doth highly approve of, and acknowledge, the ſervices of the non-commiſſioned officers and private ſoldiers employed againſt the enemy in the late glorious and deciſive war in the Eaſt Indies; and that the ſame be ſignified to them by the commanders of the ſeveral corps, who are deſired to thank them for their gallant behaviour.

It was then ordered, That Mr. *Speaker* do tranſmit the ſaid reſolutions to the right honourable the Governor-general; and that his lordſhip be requeſted, by Mr. Speaker, to ſignify the ſame to the governors, generals, and other officers, referred to therein.

PRO-

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PROCEEDINGS AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE,

From December 1798, *to January* 1800.

WE have the advantage of commencing this part of our Publication in a year which has been as fruitful in intereſting domeſtic occurrences as any in the whole annals of the EAST INDIA COMPANY. Some of the ſubjects which are diſcuſſed in the following details, are of the utmoſt moment to every perſon who is in any way concerned with the affairs of our Indian Empire, as well as of no ſmall importance to the Nation at large: and the manner in which the ſubjects are treated, while it reflects great credit on the talents and liberal views of the different Gentlemen who debated them, throws conſiderable light both on the Politics and Commerce of Aſia, as they are connected with Europe. We have, therefore, endeavoured to give the Debates as much at length as the limits of our work would permit; and although we have been under the neceſſity of abridging ſome very able and eloquent ſpeeches it will be found that the ſubſtance of them has been preſerved entire.

A preciſe ſtatement has been given of the proceedings of the Honourable the COURT of DIRECTORS, relative to the inveſtigation concerning the ILLICIT TRADE; and we cannot but expreſs our ſincere ſatisfaction, that this delicate buſineſs has terminated ſo much to the honour of every party concerned in it.

FRIDAY, *December* 6, 1798.

LORD HOBART'S PENSION.

A General Court was held at the India-houſe, for the purpoſe of reconſidering an unanimous reſolution of the court of directors, of the 8th of Auguſt laſt, for granting a penſion of 1500*l. per annum* to the right honourable ROBERT, lord HOBART, late governor of Fort St. George.

The letter, ſigned by ten proprietors, for calling the court, having been read by the deſire of the chairman, the buſineſs was opened by

Sir JOHN COX HIPPISLEY, who, after an elegant apology for taking the lead, and a very handſome encomium on General Caillaud, proceeded to mention the ſituation of the company, more particularly, as it referred to Bonaparte's expedition into Egypt, at the time when the unanimous vote of its executive government was negatived in a general court of proprietors, without a reaſon aſſigned, or even a word offered, for withdrawing their confidence. After ſome further preliminary obſervations, Sir John Cox Hippiſley moved for the production of the following papers, which were immediately read:—

1. Minutes of the court of directors, 23d October 1793, unanimouſly appointing Lord Hobart to ſucceed Sir Charles Oakley in the government of Madras.
2. Minutes of the court of directors, 24th December 1793, appointing Lord Hobart (by ballot) to ſucceed to the government-general of Bengal, on the reſignation of Lord Cornwallis.
3. The public letter of the directors to Fort Saint George, dated 22d March 1797, paragraphs 4, 5, 6, and 7, announcing the re-appointment of Marquis Cornwallis to be governor-general.
4. The public letter of the directors to Fort Saint George, dated 18th October 1797, paragraphs 3 and 4, noticing the appointment of Earl Mornington to be governor-

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governor-general, in lieu of Marquis Cornwallis, for reaſons of a peculiar nature, and expreſſing an high ſenſe of Lord Hobart's ſervices.

5. Minutes of the court of directors, dated 8th Auguſt 1798, containing their unanimous thanks to Lord Hobart, for his conduct as governor of Madras; and ſtating their opinion, that it having been expedient to revoke his ſucceſſion to the government-general, it was incumbent on them to beſtow a mark of their favour as a teſtimony of his conduct, and recommending a penſion of 1500*l. per annum.*

6. The motion made at the general court on the 28th Auguſt 1798, for confirming the above reſolution paſſed in the negative—For the motion, 27—Againſt it, 35—Majority, 8.

Sir J. C. Hippiſley then ſaid, that, with theſe ſtrong and reiterated teſtimonials before the court, it would be wholly unneceſſary to enter into any minute detail of Lord Hobart's oriental adminiſtration: yet there were certain prominent features of his government, which it was neither juſt to the company, nor to his lordſhip, to paſs over without ſome particular obſervation. Sir J. C. Hippiſley then proceeded to ſtate Lord Hobart's ſervices in promoting the capture of the Dutch ſettlements in Ceylon, &c. the vigour of the meaſures which were adopted to ſecure thoſe conqueſts, and the rapid exertions which had been employed in them. He next adverted to the conduct of Lord Hobart, reſpecting the propoſed expedition to the Manillas. He truſted the court would be ſtrongly impreſſed with the merit of this act of his lordſhip's adminiſtration, which had been marked with no leſs diſcretion and forbearance, than he had manifeſted vigour and perſeverance in the direction of other more important enterprizes. It was a moſt delicate and trying exigency, attaching to it an uncommon ſhare of reſponſibility, which his lordſhip willingly invited. This expedition had been poſitively ordered from home, and Lord Hobart felt every diſpoſition to give effect to a meaſure ſo ſtrongly enjoined by the company and his majeſty's miniſters. The troops and ſtores were embarked, and the whole expedition on the eve of ſailing, when Lord Hobart received information from the company's agent at Conſtantinople, that the treaty between the Emperor and the French republic had been ſigned at Campo Formio. He anticipated, in a moment, all the ſerious conſequences which might eventually reſult from this material change of the political ſituation of affairs in Europe.—Nearly the whole of the naval force, and a very large proportion of the troops, were to be detached from the coaſt, on a very diſtant enterprize. The domeſtic riſk to be hazarded, by perſeverance in ſuch an enpedition, would not, in his lordſhip's eſtimation, be compenſated by any advantage to be derived even from complete ſucceſs. Relieved, as it appeared, from the burthen of a continental war, it would be highly irrational to ſuppoſe that France would not reſume thoſe plans of conqueſt in India which were certainly in her contemplation when ſhe had to contend with powerful and vigorous armies; and the records of the company proved, that a conſtant communication had been maintained between the French directory and the durbar of Tippoo Sultaun. Such were the reflections that preſented themſelves to Lord Hobart's mind; and his determination was inſtantly made. He communicated his ſentiments to the commander in chief, avowing it to be his decided opinion, that it was now become his duty to oppoſe the further progreſs of the expedition; and to diſembark the forces, for the additional ſecurity of our valuable ſettlements in the Carnatic.

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He then ſtated to the admiral the probable conſequences of depriving India of the protection of her naval force at ſuch a conjuncture. The admiral conſidered the ſubject in the ſame point of view, and the enterprize was relinquiſhed. Thus did the noble lord, by a judicious and rare forbearance, dictated by what he conſidered an imperious duty, directly oppoſe the letter of his inſtructions, and, though preſiding over a ſubordinate ſettlement, invite all the weighty reſponſibility attached to the contravention of ſuperior orders. Lord Hobart diſcovered, on this occaſion, the intelligence of a profound ſtateſman: his foreſight anticipated the events which afterwards occurred in the menacing expedition of Bonaparte; and this act of wiſe forbearance might eventually have conſtituted the ſalvation of India. Sir J. Cox Hippiſley dwelt with great force on this circumſtance, which, he contended, taken apart from his general meritorious adminiſtration, fully deſerved the acknowledgment which had been voted by the court of directors.—After the many ſignal ſervices of Lord Hobart, he was aſſured that the oppoſition which had been ſo unexpectedly made to the motion at the laſt general court, could not have ariſen from any want of liberality in the proprietors, but becauſe the nature and extent of thoſe ſervices had not been authoritatively ſtated to them. That court had never been ſlow in attaching rewards to eminent ſervices; and he flattered himſelf that they would not, on the preſent occaſion, deviate from their accuſtomed generoſity. Sir J. C. Hippiſley then proceeded to take notice of ſome expreſſions that had fallen from the Chair in opening the proceedings of the former general court, on Lord Hobart's ſubject, where it was ſaid, that the diſputes and differences which had exiſted between his lordſhip and the ſupreme government had occaſioned his ſuperceſſion. If, continued he, ſuch expreſſions are paſſed by unnoticed, as they have found their way into moſt of the public papers, whether correctly or not, conſtructions extremely unfavourable to his lordſhip's temper and judgment might poſſibly obtain, and operate injuriouſly on the minds of ſome proprietors, even in the deciſion of the preſent queſtion. In vindicating Lord Hobart, he was far from imputing blame to any one. He could well imagine the difficult ſituation of the court of directors, as well as of another board, in coming to a deciſion on the differences which had prevailed: he could well appreciate the importance of harmony between the governments in India, eſpecially at ſuch a criſis, when embarraſſments connected with the ſituation of the military eſtabliſhment wore a ſerious aſpect. It was but common juſtice to ſay of Lord Hobart, that, with a ſtrong and ardent mind, a man of more eaſy and amiable manners did not exiſt. It was fairly to be preſumed, therefore, that the differences and diſputes in queſtion, were incident to the ſituation in which he was placed, and ſcarcely to be avoided. Was there any proprietor preſent who was unacquainted with the difficulties and embarraſſments which another noble lord had experienced in the ſame ſituation, and under whoſe meritorious government he himſelf had the honour of ſerving the company?—Sir J. C. Hippiſley here took a review of Lord Macarteny's ſituation in the government of Madras. That noble lord, he ſaid, had not only differences with the durbar of the Carnatic, and the ſupreme government,

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but alſo with the king's commanders in chief, both by ſea and land. Few will think that the contention of a Madras governor with the durbar of the Carnatic, is to be taken as a proof, that ſuch governor prefers his own intereſt to thoſe of his conſtituents. Thus was Lord Macartney circumſtanced. The ſituations of the two noble lords were, in many reſpects, ſimilar: the diſputes in which they were involved originated from the ſame cauſes—from a zealous exertion to realize the large balances due to the company from the native durbars, and to bring into action, for the company's ſupport, the reſources of the Carnatic. Such was the ſimilitude of the ſituations of the two noble lords; but the conduct obſerved towards them differed in the extreme. One noble lord received his appointment to the government of Bengal ſubſequent to the report of theſe differences to his conſtituents; and it was by his lordſhip's own act that the company was deprived of his future ſervices in the ſupreme government. The noble lord who was the object of the preſent diſcuſſion, and had accepted the ſubordinate government on condition that he ſhould ſucceed to the government-general, is, by an act of the company, deprived of all the advantages and honour which had been ſo ſolemnly granted to him; and no other motives have ever been aſſigned for the ſuperſeding his appointment to that eminent ſtation, but the exiſtence of theſe differences.

Sir J. C. Hippiſley proceeded to obſerve, that it had been maintained, and might that day be urged, that it was the act of the king's miniſters, not of the company, which had ſuperſeded his lordſhip, and that the king's miniſters, therefore, ought to indemnify him. Such reaſoning, however, could only obtain from not adverting to the preſent conſtitution of the company. The act of 1784 had conſtituted a board of commiſſioners, having the ſuperintendance of the revenues and principal affairs of the company; and ſuch a board was an integral part of the company's preſent conſtitution. Formerly it was not ſo. But in the preſent day, the preſident of the board of commiſſioners, having a legal controul over the acts of the company, on addreſſing the court of directors, muſt not be conſidered as a miniſter of the crown, but as preſiding over a conſtituted and controuling department of the company. Such was the letter and ſpirit of the act of parliament under which the company held its excluſive privileges. As well might Mr. Dundas, when acting as preſident of that board, be conſidered merely as the miniſter of the crown when he delivers his balloting liſt as a proprietor. Sir J. C. Hippiſley truſted there could be no difference of opinion on this ſubject; but, even ſuppoſing the poſſibility of it, let it not operate to the prejudice of the noble lord; let his caſe ſtand on its own merits; and let not the injurious opinion prevail, that the miniſters of the crown are willing to make the *amende honorable* to the noble lord at the expence of the company. Neither let it be concluded, that by voting a penſion to Lord Hobart, we are eſtabliſhing a miſchievous precedent for penſioning every governor who returns from a ſituation of great and liberal allowance, on the bare plea that he has not neglected the duties of his ſituation. Lord Hobart's pretenſions are founded on different and very ſuperior claims. It was alſo fair to ſtate, in juſtice to the noble lord, that he had quitted a very high ſtation in the ſiſter kingdom, expreſsly to receive the commands

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of the company. He was at that moment minister of Ireland; and even in that situation, it was the fate of the company to be materially indebted to his ministerial exertions, as he had there carried through a bill of the utmost importance to their particular interests, securing them the full effects of their EXCLUSIVE trade.

The learned baronet then proceeded to state the services of the noble lord by his resistance to the destructive system of advances on usurious loans to the subjects of the country powers, and the recognition of the court of directors of that important service. He then said, that he would only intrude further on the general court, by adverting to the several addresses which Lord Hobart had received on quitting his government which were more peculiarly grateful, as the private interests of so many of the individuals as had signed them, must have been materially circumscribed by that measure of his lordship's government to which he had just adverted. Yet these addresses came from every description of persons, to an unexampled extent; from the king's and company's military officers; from the company's civil servants; from the British and native inhabitants in general; all expressing their regret at his departure, and their high sense of the merit of his government. As these addresses had appeared in print, he should only particularize the address from the whole body of the army stationed in the provinces of the Carnatic, which was the more flattering, as it originated after his lordship's departure, and was transmitted to him since his return to this country, when no motives of personal interest could have influenced the measure. This testimony was the more valuable, as Lord Hobart's government had been marked by a vigorous system of check and controul in the military department. If, therefore, in times of peculiar turbulence and agitation in many parts of the world, the government of Madras had been remarkable for the due respect which had been paid to it's authority, some merit may be allowed to those by whom it had been conducted.

Sir J. C. Hippisley expressed his anxious hopes that Lord Hobart had not quitted India for ever, and that, at some future period, the wisdom of the company would urge him to accept the high appointment which had before been allotted to him.

After declaring his expectation of hearing, from behind the bar, the detail of those eminent services of Lord Hobart, on which they had founded their own resolutions, Sir J. C. Hippisley concluded a very able and much admired speech by moving—

"That this court doth approve and confirm the resolution of the court of directors of the 8th day of August last, whereby a pension of 1500*l. per annum* is granted to the right honourable Lord HOBART, payable out of the territorial revenues in India, for the period of the company's exclusive trade, if he shall so long live, and to commence from the time of his quitting the government of Madras."

Mr. WATSON rose to second the motion. He trusted, he said, that the whole court would feel it to be equally their interest and their duty to indemnify Lord Hobart for the disappointment he had sustained, and to reward him for the services he had performed. He urged the propriety of supporting the resolution of the court of directors, on the principles of justice, and from the considerations of interest. The faith of the company had been pledged to Lord Hobart, that he should succeed the Marquis Cornwallis as governor-general, and if subsequent circumstances had compelled them to

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violate the engagement, it became a duty in them to give him an equivalent ſome way or other: and when an implacable and inſatiable enemy threatened the Malabar coaſt, it was their intereſt to hold out to their ſervants the proſpect of future reward, for inſtances of meritorious exertion. He concluded, by expreſſing his opinion, that it was, in every point of view, moſt conducive to the honour and advantage of the company to ſupport the recommendation of the directors; and he ſhould cheerfully give his vote for the penſion, not becauſe Lord Hobart had been governor of Madras, but for the zeal, promptitude, and energy, which had diſtinguiſhed the acts of his government.

Mr. BOSANQUET (the Chairman) ſaid, that at a court ſo reſpectably attended, he thought it right to explain the general outline of the motives which had induced the directors to make the recommendation in favour of Lord Hobart, which was now ſubmitted to the conſideration of the proprietors.

The noble lord had, in the year 1793, been recommended to the court of directors by his majeſty's miniſters, and had been accordingly appointed to the government of Madras. He had been taken from a ſituation of high reſpectability; and at the ſame time had been nominated by the directors to ſucceed as governor-general. He thought it would hardly admit of a queſtion, whether the directors did or did not do right, in nominating his lordſhip to the ſucceſſion: but if there was any fault, the directors were anſwerable for it, and not Lord Hobart. It is certain that nothing ſhort of that ſucceſſion would have tempted him to proceed to India. Under theſe circumſtances, his lordſhip went to Madras, in the government of which he preſided three years; during which time, the chairman aſſured the proprietors, that he had done his duty as an able, active, and meritorious ſervant. To the inquiry, why Lord Hobart was not appointed governor-general, he ſhould only ſpeak in a general way. All who were acquainted with the circumſtances which called for the return of Marquis Cornwallis to India, will feel the delicacy of the diſcuſſion. During the adminiſtration of Lord Hobart, an event had happened which could not have been foreſeen on his appointment,—the death of the Nabob of Arcot. His lordſhip thought this a proper opportunity to reſcue the rich and beautiful country of the Carnatic from the oppreſſion it had long groaned under, and to place it under the protection of the company; but, whether owing to the ardour of Lord Hobart, or ſome other cauſe, the attempt unfortunately failed; and this failure involved his lordſhip in an altercation with the ſupreme government. Though the court of directors thought it right to ſupport their government general, and to recal Lord Hobart, much might be ſaid on both ſides of the queſtion; and it would be highly unjuſt to have recalled him, without making ſome compenſation for what he had loſt, by their deciſion of a point of conſiderable difficulty. Whether the directors were wrong in the preſent recommendation, was for the proprietors to decide. Lord Hobart's character was well eſtabliſhed before he proceeded to India; and as a governor of an important ſettlement, he had ſhewn himſelf completely equal to the taſk: if therefore, ſome compenſation were due to Lord Hobart for the ſervices which he had rendered the company, and for the diſappointment which he had experienced, he would aſk the court, whether the ſum now propoſed was

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too large? In eſtimating this, nothing had been ſaid of the honours he had loſt by the ſuperceſſion, although their attainment formed a conſiderable part of his motives. Viewing it in a pecuniary light, it ſhould be conſidered that one year's emoluments as governor-general, would have enabled his lordſhip to purchaſe an annuity equivalent to the penſion now propoſed. For his own part, Mr. Boſanquet ſaid, his object in recommending the penſion had been more with a view to the intereſts of the company, than with any reference to Lord Hobart. He thought it moſt material to the proſperity of the company, that governors ſhould go out to India with perfect dependance on the liberality of their employers. This object appeared ſo important to his mind, that if the rectitude and exertions of governors, could be ſecured by doubling or trebling their ſalaries, he ſhould conſider ſuch expenditure as the beſt applied diſburſement the company could make.

Mr. INGLIS (late chairman) followed Mr. Boſanquet, with a warm eulogium on Lord Hobart's character and ſervices; and obſerved that there was on the records of the company more than ſufficient to warrant the recommendation of the directors. The zeal he had ſhewn in the equipment of the expedition againſt Ceylon, was a memorable inſtance: but it was not in ſchemes of conqueſt alone, he ſaid, that Lord Hobart had ſhewn himſelf an able governor. In the adminiſtration of the revenues he had been indefatigable: his exertions had been conſpicuous in our own provinces, and had been acknowledged by our tributaries as well as by the Carnatic at large. In matters of commerce, his exertions ſtood unrivalled in the annals of the Eaſt. During his three years adminiſtration, inveſtments, amounting to forty-two lacks and ten thouſand pagodas, had been actually furniſhed, and he left to the amount of two lacks of pagodas ready to come home on his departure, making a ſum of forty-four lacks of pagodas realized in inveſtments, during the period of his holding the reins of government; being, on an average, twelve lacks ſixty-eight thouſand pagodas *per annum*: while the average of the ſeven years preceding his adminiſtration had been only four lacks five thouſand pagodas. His earneſt endeavours to ſuppreſs thoſe uſurious loans, ſo injurious to the company, and ſo pernicious to the native powers with whom they were entered into, deſerved the utmoſt praiſe. He knew that infinite injury had ariſen from the ſtatement made of theſe diſputes between the noble lord and the nabob and rajah of Tanjore. But he alſo knew, that had Lord Hobart been leſs attentive to the company's intereſts, and leſs mindful of his own honour, he need not have been before the court for a penſion that day: and it was but juſtice to the noble lord, to ſhew him, that though injurious circumſtances had baffled his expectations, the company were not unmindful of his merits. Mr. Inglis concluded with expreſſing his hopes, that on this occaſion, the court would act with dignity and liberality.

Sir FRANCIS BARING enforced the arguments of thoſe gentlemen who had preceded him; and wiſhed particularly to impreſs on the mind of the court, the perfect unanimity which governed the recommendation in favour of Lord Hobart. He ſaid that thoſe directors who were out by rotation, as well as thoſe who were in, concurred in entertaining a due ſenſe of Lord Hobart's claims and ſervices, and of the juſtice of rewarding them.

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Mr. BENSLEY (a director) took the ſame line of argument; and aſſured the court, that, in giving his concurrence to the meaſure in queſtion, he had not conſidered the individual who was to be benefited, but the intereſt of the company's government in India, which would be eſſentially promoted, by rewarding upright and meritorious ſervices.

Mr. CHISHOLME obſerved, that, if Lord Hobart had done nothing more than attempt to ſuppreſs uſurious loans, he ſhould have thought him entitled not only to the thanks of the company, but to a conſiderable reward. When governors, he ſaid, have it in their power to make money, and do not, they were moſt deſerving of the notice of the court. —He thought a grant like the preſent the beſt way in which the company could ſpend its money. His only objection was, that it was too little.

Mr. PETER MOORE oppoſed the motion, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length. He declared it to be very unpleaſant to his own feelings to oppoſe the gratuity moved to be granted to Lord Hobart, and to withhold aſſent to a penſion ſo meritoriouſly deſerved: He did not however oppoſe it, from the quantum of the ſum, which he did not think ſufficient, but becauſe they were not then called upon to remunerate the noble lord for ſervices performed, but to make good the miniſter's breach of faith, in ſuperſeding him in the regular ſucceſſion to the government general to which he ſtood appointed. Mr. Moore then begged leave to conſider ſome of the leading arguments of Sir J. C. Hippiſley's ſpeech, and began by enlarging on the utility and efficacy of general courts, whoſe rights and powers did not appear to him to have been conſidered by the honourable baronet, as poſſeſſing the importance which belonged to them; he accordingly warned the directors againſt encouraging any attempts to leſſen the conſideration of the court of proprietors, as their own exiſtence depended on that of the general courts.—He then proceeded to defend the conduct of the laſt court, which had been accuſed of over-ruling the unanimous recommendation of the court of directors, *in ſilence;* and this he attributed to their conduct. Without the production of any written evidence in proof of the noble lord's ſervices, when their own records were overcharged with it, a dry queſtion, he ſaid, was brought forward, which was moved and ſeconded by the two Chairs, without any other document than perſonal recommendation, and not one argument adduced either on one ſide of the bar or the other.

After a ſeries of preliminary obſervations, Mr. Moore reverted to the leading principle of his argument. He ſaid, if the Marquis Cornwallis, who had been again appointed to the government general, had proceeded to India, there might have been ſome ſtate plea for ſuperſeding Lord Hobart: when, however, the noble marquis refuſed to go, why was not Lord Hobart then ſent forward to Bengal? but inſtead of benefiting the public ſervice by his experience, another noble lord is fixed upon, and without any one of the pretended reaſons of ſtate-neceſſity aſſigned for ſending the Marquis Cornwallis, the covenant with Lord Hobart is violently broken by an unexpected ſuperceſſion. This, ſaid Mr. Moore, I term the breach of faith, for which we are now called upon to make indemnity; but it was the act of the miniſter, and not of the India company, and the indemnity ought not to be made here. The penſion lists

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lists of England and Ireland are full; it is therefore in this quarter that ministers wish to supply the deficiency; and, day after day, are we called upon to vote away that property which ought to be divided among the proprietary.

Mr. Moore then proceeded to consider the pension list of the company; which he stated to amount to nearly thirty thousand pounds *per annum*; the whole of which had been incurred since the establishment of the board of controul; but before he entered into the particulars, he reprobated at large the institution, conduct and views of that board, stated the upright conduct of former governors under the old system, who remained unpensioned and unrewarded, and continued a strain of invective against the influence of ministers in the East India company, till he was called to order by several of the proprietors. He, however, proceeded to represent the change which had taken place in the affairs of the company in the following manner.

Let the proprietary recollect, that their exclusive trade and chartered rights, of which they have always been so jealous, have been opened to all the world, *except British subjects*; that ministers have attempted to deprive them of their army; that the board of controul has obtained large salaries not designed by their original institution; that, failing in the attempt to take the army from us, they withheld the power to recruit, so that the army might moulder away, while they have been pouring the king's forces without number into India; and that they have established additional courts of judicature, at a burthensome expence to us, with a perpetual pension-list tacked to the tail of that bill.—There are many more of these encroachments, said Mr. Moore, of which you may be hereafter reminded; but, at present, I shall bring up the rear with the pension list, which is the subject of this day's meeting, but does not afford a single precedent for the pension that is now the subject of our consideration.

The pension most in point on this occasion, Mr. Moore stated to be that which had been granted to Lord Macartney, as governor of Madras: but still it did not bear such an affinity as to justify the grant proposed on the present occasion. This opinion he supported by a very enlarged view of that nobleman's conduct in India, of the cause in which his pension more immediately originated, and his pre-eminent services, none of which appeared to bear the being cited as an example for the reward which was claimed for Lord Hobart. From circumstances which he enumerated, Mr. Moore did not think the company was in a state to grant pensions, and especially on an occasion which did not originate with them. He could not comprehend why pensions are to be always granted to governors returning to England: and wished to know if there was no department, in which the experience of those who had served the company in India could be appropriated to the public benefit. Lord Hobart, he thought, could be more honourably rewarded by being placed at the board of controul, the salary of which was equal to the pension then asked, than to receive the latter in the manner which was the object of the present motion. After repeating his former favourable opinion of Lord Hobart, Mr. Moore moved to adjourn.

The Chairman wished to explain himself relative to the pension list, which he had no doubt, whatever might have been said by the

List

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laſt ſpeaker, would be found highly creditable to the company, when it was fairly and juſtly repreſented. He could not ſuppoſe that the court would think an annual diſburſement of 26,000*l.* for that was the utmoſt amount of it, an exorbitant ſum, to be diſtributed in rewards for meritorious ſervices, when it referred to the adminiſtration of the government of a country producing ſeven millions. From the 26,000*l.* was to be deducted 14,000*l.* which went in penſions to officers under the new military regulations, and could not be fairly included: of the remaining 24,000*l.* nine thouſand had been granted by the court of proprietors, by two votes; one to Marquis Cornwallis, who, by a ſingle act of his government had added 120,000*l.* annually to the company's income; the other to Mr. Haſtings, who, ſetting aſide the conſideration of his ſervices, had ſuffered under an unmerited proſecution. Deducting theſe two ſums, there would remain about 14 or 15,000*l.* of which 4000*l.* was appropriated to retired ſervants of the houſe, and to their fatherleſs children and widows. This would reduce the penſion liſt to no more than 10,000*l. per annum*, and he thought that, when the magnitude of the adminiſtration of the company was conſidered, if their concerns could be carried on with no heavier burthen for penſions, the amount could never deſerve to be called enormous, or thoſe who had the care of the company's purſe, extravagant. The unlimited power of granting penſions, till within theſe three or four years, had centered in the directors. They had never abuſed it; and when it was propoſed to be taken from them, they had made no objection to the meaſure.

The Chairman concluded this information relative to the penſion-liſt, with offering to the proprietors the moſt ſatisfactory aſſurance of the proſperity and ſecurity of the company.

Mr. DURANT ſaid, the queſtion reſolved itſelf into two conſiderations; the merit of Lord Hobart, and the compact which had been made with him. Theſe were diſtinct grounds; but they had been blended from the commencement of the debate, and were made to help one another. The firſt topic was the compact; and before he proceeded to obſerve upon this, he would put a queſtion of law to the company's counſel, the ſolving of which was material to the opinion he ſhould form—Whether it was conſiſtent with law, and whether there was any precedent for ſuch a proviſional appointment as Lord Hobart had received from the directors?

The CHAIRMAN ſaid, if the court required any information, it would be the duty of the counſel to give it: and the honourable proprietor might put it to the vote, whether the queſtion ſhould be aſked.

Alderman LUSHINGTON obſerved, that the oppoſition of Mr. Moore, ſo far as it ſtood connected with the ſubject of the debate, involved this monſtrous inconſiſtency; that it admitted in the moſt ample terms, the high pretenſions of Lord Hobart, and then oppoſed to their reward the queſtion of adjournment. It was objected that this was a meaſure of the board of controul, who ought to beſtow the reward, and not the company; but was it not by an unanimous vote of the directors, that the ſervices of Lord Hobart came recommended to them? He would not dwell upon ſervices that were ſo conſpicuous, and had been ſo fully acknowledged. To the luſtre of conquered dominion, had

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had been added the merit of reducing disordered provinces to order and obedience. The noble lord had also adopted the most salutary regulations for the ascertainment and collection of the revenues. He was sure if the last general court had heard only half of what had been said by the honourable proprietor himself (Mr. Moore), who opposed the pension, they would have voted for it. For his part, he should ever consider pensions, bestowed as the reward of merit, both the soundest policy, and the best directed economy.

Mr. DAVID SCOTT said, that having had the honour to fill the chair at the time of Lord Hobart's appointment, he felt himself called upon to explain the grounds of it. It had been said, that the India Board having made the appointment, and superseded Lord Hobart, ought, therefore, to indemnify him. He could assure the court, on the contrary, that the company made the appointment, and recalled Lord Hobart. Both acts were their own. It is true, that these measures were taken in concert with the commissioners for India affairs, but not on their authority. The directors were acquainted with the abilities and high character of Lord Hobart before he went to India; and they pointed him out as the fittest man to succeed to the government-general. He had no hesitation to say, from the experience which had confirmed the high opinion he entertained of his lordship, that he thought him the fittest man to fill that high station, with honour and advantage to the company. The directors were impressed with this opinion at the moment they recalled him: it was a cruel act of expediency which they were compelled by unforeseen events to adopt. Lord Hobart's government had been distinguished by the most eminent services. He had scarce landed, when, by an act of supererogation, he afforded them a most seasonable relief. He found, on his arrival at Madras, three Indiamen lying in the roads. He immediately ordered rich investments to be made of articles he knew the company to be much in want of, the produce of which, by a profitable sale, was of the utmost use in recruiting their treasury. During his whole administration, his intelligence grasped every branch of government with a comprehensive mind; while his conduct was mild, judicious and upright. His arduous exertions to destroy the pernicious loans of the native powers, which he found to interfere with the collection of the public revenues, deserved the highest praise. At the same time, the expeditions which took place during his administration were planned with judgment, and executed with the utmost energy and promptitude.

Sir J. C. HIPPISLEY, after a few general observations in answer to Mr. Peter Moore, informed the court, that he had omitted to state a circumstance, which he thought, in justice, ought to be stated,—that Lord Hobert had not only himself voluntarily made oath of the extent of his fortune; but that his private secretary also, through whom his lordship's communications with the Durbar had been carried on, and who was a near connection, had taken a similar oath, which was on record with that of his lordship.

The previous question of adjournment, as moved by Mr. Moore, was then put, and carried in the negative.

The original question as moved by Sir J. C. Hippisley, was then put and carried, not more than three or four hands being held up against it,

Sir

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Sir J. C. Hippisley then moved—

"That the thanks of the General Court be given to Lord Hobart, for his Lordship's able and meritorious conduct in the administration of the Company's Affairs in the Government of Madras."

Sir J. C. Hippisley, at the same time expressed his confidence that the worthy proprietor (Mr. Moore), who had opposed his former motion, would, nevertheless, prove the sincerity of those sentiments which he had avowed in favour of Lord Hobart's government, by rising to second the motion of general thanks.

Mr. Moore said, he thought his lordship highly merited them, and should with the greatest cordiality second the motion; which was immediately carried *nemine contradicente*, and the Court then adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, *March* 20, 1799.

The CHAIRMAN, (Mr. Bosanquet) said that this being a quarterly general court, according to the 3d, 4th, and 6th chapters of the by-laws, he laid before them sundry accounts, together with the accounts which had been sent to the house of commons, agreeable to the 5th section of the late act of parliament. He also considered it as his duty to state some deviation, which it had been necessary to make from the system of open competition. The secret committee, on the 2d June 1798, had agreed to take up from six to ten thousand tonnage of shipping for a particular service; on the 8th of July following, they had actually taken up three of the largest of their regular ships, and several of their extra-ships as transports; the extra-ships at the rate of 22l. *per* ton, for their freight. These proceedings of the secret committee had been submitted to the general court of directors, who had approved of what had been done. He had also to communicate to the court, that, in consequence of the differences which had so long subsisted between his majesty's ministers and the company, and to put an end to them in future, respecting the recruiting their forces, the court of directors had unanimously agreed to a plan proposed to them by his royal highness the Duke of York. It provided that the recruits in future should be raised under his majesty's officers, in the same manner as the king's troops were. He had no doubt they would get as good men, and as cheap, as by their former mode of recruiting. To carry this plan into effect, it had been necessary to prepare a bill, because the men raised at present in this country are not subject to military law.

The bill having been read, the chairman stated that the court had been made special, for the purpose of taking into consideration the eminent services rendered by

LORD NELSON

to the East India Company: and having introduced the subject by certain preliminary observations,

Mr. HENCHMAN opened this interesting and important debate.

He said, that when the general court last met, he had stated his intention, on some future day, to notice the eminent services of admiral Lord Nelson, and to suggest the propriety of their being distinguished by some appropriate reward.—When he recollected the nature of the service that had been performed by the noble lord, not only to the nation at large, but in particular to the East India company; when he referred to the time of the expedition to Egypt having taken place; when he called to mind the excessive and well-grounded alarm it excited in that house; when he considered that, to ward off the threatened blow, a large sum of money to the amount, he believed, of one million sterling, had

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had actually been sent to India, for its defence against the threatened invasion;—when he considered that an admiral and several ships had been dispatched under the same apprehension to the Red Sea; when messenger after messenger had been sent to advise our governments in India, of the circumstances of the expedition; when he considered the situation of our most formidable enemy in that quarter of the globe, who had put himself in an hostile position, upon the first notice of this attack, to act in conjunction with a still more formidable enemy, by whom it was planned; that our army, on the coast of Coromandel, had been placed on a field establishment, and that the fruits of this memorable victory had been the complete removal of all these alarms,—he found it difficult to express the fulness of his feelings. From what he had stated, some idea, he said, might be formed of the dangers to which the company would have been exposed, if Lord Nelson had not been victorious. It could not be supposed, therefore, that there was a single proprietor in that court, who would not cheerfully agree with him, that the noble admiral was really, fairly and honestly entitled, not only to the thanks, but to some valuable and appropriate testimony of the grateful sense the company entertained of such distinguished services.

Mr. Henchman said, that, on conversing with various proprietors on the subject, he found them differ so widely with respect to the remuneration to be bestowed on Lord Nelson, some advancing their notions to a pension of 2000*l. per annum*, while others contracted theirs to a solitary piece of plate, that he had thought it more expedient not to state in his motion any particular grant, but to refer that point entirely to the directors. They, from their situation, were better able to judge of the real nature and extent of the services which the noble lord had rendered to the company. He, however, thought it right to say, that the gift ought to be very valuable, or it would not be suited to the occasion.

He then moved,—

"That the thanks of this court be given to rear admiral Lord Nelson, for the great services he has rendered to the East India company, by the decisive victory obtained over the French fleet, near the mouth of the Nile, on the 1st, 2d, and 3d of August last; and—that this court do recommend to the court of directors, to take those services into their consideration, and present to Lord Nelson some valuable and appropriate acknowledgment, in testimony of the grateful sense this company entertains of the important benefits arising to them from his lordship's magnanimous conduct in that glorious event."

Mr. Johnstone concluded a very eloquent and energetic speech, in which he took an ample view of the state of belligerent Europe, and the expedition to Egypt, particularly as it might affect the security of our dominions in the East, by seconding the motion.

Mr. Jones Adair wished the motion might be so modified, that the expression of the sense and the suffrage of that assembly should go together; and that every idea which related to the subject might be unanimous. He hoped some resolution would be framed, which, while it steered clear of lavish profession, should bear an honourable memorial of the merits of the noble lord. He should greatly deplore, if, in consequence of the proposed reference to the directors, a report should be brought forward, and the proprietors should not agree in their sentiments upon it. We may, now, he said, come to a point of the utmost unanimity. If this were not attainable, he

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he ſhould rather wiſh that the ſubject had never been mentioned. At any rate, he truſted that ſome ſpecific directions would be given by the court, and that the propoſal would not be bandied about from one ſide of the bar to the other. Lord Kinnaird declared that he never felt more complete ſatisfaction than on the preſent occaſion, both from the ſubject itſelf, and the manner in which it had been introduced to the court. No man felt more deeply than he did the exalted merits of the noble lord, whoſe ſervices were under their conſideration. He wiſhed, however, that they might at once determine on ſome ſubſtantial mark for diſtinguiſhing the great admiration that was unanimouſly felt for the noble lord; ſome liberal gift which ſhould be conſiſtent with the character and conſtitution of the Eaſt India company, and which ſhould be handed down to the poſterity of the noble lord, as a laſting token of the gratitude of the company, for the eminent and tranſcendent ſervices that he had rendered to them. It was his deſign, therefore, to propoſe an amendment to the motion, in order to make it more ſpecific.

The Chairman obſerved, that the point of view in which the contemplation of the ſubject ſeemed to preſs, was, the mode which ſhould be adopted in order to carry into effect the meaſure now under their conſideration: but before the court adopted any ſpecific gratuity, he would beg of them to recollect, that by the act of 1793, the funds of the company were appropriated, and it was not competent for them to act without the concurrence of his majeſty's miniſters. He hoped, therefore, that the court would abandon the idea of defining what the remuneration ſhould be, becauſe, after the ſubject had been diſcuſſed in that court, if any ſpecific plan was propoſed which his majeſty's miniſters ſhould diſapprove, a very unpleaſant predicament might be produced; and he ſhould therefore wiſh that the general recommendation of the court might not be clogged by any ſpecification.

Lord Kinnaird continued to urge the neceſſity of ſome ſpecific declaration, that the board of controul might know what the general ſenſe of the proprietors was, and any future difference of opinion in the court be prevented, when the directors ſhould come for confirmation or rejection. He ſhould therefore propoſe, that after the word "appropriate," in the original motion, ſomething ſpecific ſhould be introduced, ſuch as 3000*l.* for a ſervice of plate.

The Deputy Chairman (Sir Stephen Luſhington), did not think 3000*l.* in plate an adequate mark of gratitude. At the ſame time he thought it better that the buſineſs ſhould be canvaſſed behind the bar, where the numbers were fewer, and more likely to come to an agreement upon it.

Sir Francis Baring thought, that on this occaſion they would do well to look to the ſtatutes over their heads; and to place the Hero of the Nile by the ſide of the Heroes of the Ganges. This he conſidered as a more appropriate mode of recognizing the brilliant exploits of the noble lord, as it would tranſmit his actions to diſtant generations, and tell their ſucceſſors in that court, to whom they ſtand indebted for the preſervation of their eaſtern poſſeſſions.

Mr. Alderman Lushington contended, that it was the right and privilege of that court to be the guardians of the funds of the company; and he could not reſolve to leave the nature and amount of the gift

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gift exclusively to the directors. With every due disposition to reward the services of the gallant admiral, which were the theme of general admiration, he could not forget the nature of the connection between the public and the India company. Before the proprietors subject the funds of the company to an increased burthen, it behoved them to deliberate. Not as a proprietor of East-India stock, but as a member of an opulent society of individuals, he had no objection to say generally, that some reward should be given to Lord Nelson: but at all events, he should decidedly object to a pension, as they might be made to feel the pressure of the precedent, in cases where the services were not so signally eminent. He thought that some emblem expressive of the company's gratitude ought to be presented; that its extent ought to originate with the court of proprietors; that it ought, as far as was consistent with the situation of the company, to be commensurate with the glory of the action; but that it ought not, in its nature, to trench on the constitution of the company.

Lord KINNAIRD said, he was not very earnest about limiting the sum to 3000*l.* or to confine the expenditure of it. He therefore proposed to alter it to 5000*l.* to be expended in plate, or in any other manner the noble lord should think fit.

Sir J. C. HIPPISLEY thought that none of the ideas which had been started were equal to what ought to be done on the occasion, and recommended that a sum not less than 10,000*l.* should be granted to Lord Nelson.

Mr. ROBERT THORNTON was of opinion, that a sword of 100*l.* value, was as high a testimony of the meritorious achievements of the noble lord, as a service of plate of 3000*l.* value, and that all which was given beyond it, ought to be substantially useful and of solid benefit. Mr. Thornton at the same time requested, that the proprietors would leave to their executive body the value of the grant; and be persuaded, that they would neither deviate into extravagance, or be wanting in the liberality becoming so great a body for such eminent services.

Mr. RANDLE JACKSON said, that they must first consult the honour of the noble lord, and next their charter. In expressing their gratitude, they must consider their circumstances and their constitution. If the situation of Lord Nelson was such as to require pecuniary aid, he was sorry for the honour of the country who suffered it to continue. He thought the noble lord ought to be superbly rewarded; and that it would be highly becoming the general court to specify the grant: but he would not agree to any proposition inconsistent with the constitution and funds of the company.

Mr. TWINING wished to leave the matter for the decision of the court of directors, who, he had no doubt, would meet the wishes of the proprietors at large.

Sir STEPHEN LUSHINGTON said, it was necessary for the directors and government that they should not differ in opinion on such a subject. He begged leave to assure the court, that the idea of a pension had never been in the contemplation of any one of the directors. If the proprietors were not disposed to meet the directors, the result was evident from the difference of opinion which had appeared that day. Whether the directors settled the sum at five or ten thousand pounds, they were not bound to come back to the proprietors for their concurrence; while the general court had not the power to make any grant,

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in the first instance, consistent with the by-laws, without giving fourteen days previous notice of their intention. And it was extremely desirable that the grant, on the present occasion, should receive all the promptitude of which it was susceptible.

Mr. JACKSON was happy to find that the court of directors had no thought whatever of granting a pension to Lord Nelson: and as to the power of the directors to dispose of any part of the funds of the company without the concurrence of the proprietors, he must deny its existence.

Mr. TOLFREY lamented that any sum had been mentioned which was unworthy of the occasion. He wished that the amount of the grant had either been suggested by the original motion, or was left entirely to the directors. As different sums, however, had been mentioned, he earnestly hoped, that the proprietors would at once agree to the largest sum, as proposed by the honourable baronet. He did not think that ten thousand pounds was equal to what he thought the company should bestow on this distinguished occasion.

Mr. HENCHMAN said, that when he had considered in what manner he should bring forward his motion, it had struck his mind, that there would be great presumption in his fixing upon any particular sum, as the measure of the court's gratitude towards the gallant admiral; and, reflecting on the probability that there might be many different opinions on the subject, he had been induced to make his proposition general, and to leave the quantum of remuneration to the court of directors. What had passed that day fully confirmed him in the propriety of his opinion. Nothing like unanimity, which was so extremely desirable, had appeared in settling the remuneration, whatever it might be. He thought the court of directors, from their peculiar knowledge and information, were best qualified to judge of the whole effect of the noble lord's services, as they operated on the affairs of the company, and that they should be accordingly trusted with the final arrangement of what it had been the object of his motion to propose.

Mr. IMPEY said, as to the quantum of the gift, which seemed to be the only point about which there was any difference of opinion, he could not agree that the proper way of estimating it was, to inquire concerning the necessities of the noble lord: this was an offering to his glory, and not to his poverty; how then was it to be estimated, but by the extent of the service which had been performed, by considering what was proper for him to take, and what was fit for them to offer.

Mr. LAW was of opinion, that, if the proposed grant to Lord Nelson was left exclusively to the directors, it would be an abandonment of the deliberative rights of the court of proprietors. He also reminded the court, that the public had not been altogether inattentive to the services of Lord Nelson; as a pension of 2000*l. per annum* had been settled on him by parliament, and 1000*l. per annum* on the Irish establishment.

On a general cry to withdraw the amendment, the Chairman stated the legal difficulty that would occur, if the amendment was persisted in, from the by-law, which, required that a notice of fourteen days should be given, before any resolution for a grant of money could be made by the proprietors.

Mr. ROUS confirmed what had been stated by the Chairman.—

Upon

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Upon looking into the notice that had been given, he found that it was to conſider generally of the ſervices of Lord Nelſon. But though it was well underſtood, that the conſideration of thoſe ſervices was to lead to a grant of money, he did not think it ſufficiently manifeſt to meet the words of the by-law. The words of the motion, he ſaid, did not imply a direct grant on the part of the proprietors; but only a recommendation to the court of directors, to take ſuch a meaſure into their conſideration; and the by-laws made a clear diſtinction in the limitation of the powers preſcribed for the directors, and thoſe preſcribed for the proprietors.—The directors, with the concurrence of the board of controul, were, therefore, perfectly competent to carry the intentions of the proprietors into effect, without reverting to the general court.

Lord KINNAIRD withdrew his amendment; and

The original reſolutions, moved by Mr. Henchman, were unanimouſly carried.

A motion was then brought forward, to return the thanks of the court to Admiral Earl St. Vincent, for his exertions in the equipment of the fleet, and the ſelection of officers for Lord Nelſon's expedition. But though the merits of the noble lord were, on this occaſion, highly extolled, and univerſally acknowledged, the motion was withdrawn, as it had not been preceded by ſuch notice as was uſual, when any queſtion of a ſpecific nature was intended to be brought forward.

ILLICIT TRADE.

Mr. TWINING moved, "That all the papers and proceedings on the ſubject of illicit trade, ſhould be printed for the uſe of the proprietors."

Sir STEPHEN LUSHINGTON conſidered the motion as premature, and wiſhed the conſideration of the ſubject to be poſtponed to a future time, when the directors had completed their inquiry.

Mr. ELPHINSTONE ſupported the motion, in order that the proprietors might not be miſled by the publications.

Mr. TWINING ſaid, if he had remained ſilent in the preſent caſe, when papers, evidently partial, had been ſpread abroad, the minds of proprietors might receive a wrong impreſſion of the buſineſs. There was no medium to be obſerved: if any opinion was to be formed, it was perfectly fair, that it ſhould be the reſult of a thorough inveſtigation, and that the communication ſhould be complete and general.

Mr. DAVID SCOTT now roſe. The proprietors, he ſaid, muſt have heard, that a moſt heinous charge had been brought againſt him. He was accuſed of treaſon, breach of his duty, and violation of his oath, as a director and member of the ſecret committee and of illicit commerce. While he was at Bath, ſecret courts were held, by which his reputation was daily aſſaſſinated;—reports were ſpread abroad; and though the courts were ſecret, ſome account of them every day tranſpired at Lloyd's Coffee-houſe. At length, he received a letter from the Secretary, which forced him to town, in a very bad ſtate of health; but before he could reach the India-houſe, his character had been greatly impaired; and a reſpectable houſe in the city of London had been attacked becauſe his ſon had an intereſt in it. Notwithſtanding he was a director, he could obtain no information at the India-houſe as to the ſubject of the ſecret courts. At length, he ſurmounted all the obſtacles which were thrown in his

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way, and got a ſight of the charges, which were ſigned *Jacob Boſanquet*. Before he left town, he had himſelf moved, that all the papers reſpecting the illicit commerce ſhould be immediately referred to a committee of correſpondence, which, after ſome oppoſition in favour of a ſecret committee, was agreed to. Soon after this, the acting partner of the houſe of David Scott and Co. ſtated to him, that the character of that houſe was ſeverely injured by intelligence which was reported to have been received by ſecret diſpatches at the India-houſe: that it was ſaid, they had property to the amount of one hundred and forty thouſand pounds on board one ſhip, which had been ſeized for illicit trading, and immenſe ſums in others; and deſired him, in juſtice to the houſe, to make inquiries into the foundation of theſe extraordinary charges. Mr. Scott accordingly applied to the deputy chairman, who aſſured him that he knew of no ſuch ſecret papers, or any ſecret examinations. But theſe whiſpers increaſing, and treaſon being now added to the crime of illicit trade, he went to the ſecretary of ſtate's office, to know if any treaſonable papers had been ſtopped, of the nature deſcribed. But that office knew of none: nor did the commiſſioners for India affairs, or the directors, know of any. Mr. Lennox (the acting partner) went, therefore, by his advice, to the chairman himſelf, and having received information that a letter, addreſſed to his houſe, had been intercepted at St. Helena, and forwarded to the court of directors, demanded the letter, and ſtated the ſtrange and injurious reports which had been circulated on the ſubject. The chairman aſſured Mr. Lennox of his friendly diſpoſition, but refuſed to give up the letter, as it related with more than him. Accordingly, Mr. Lennox having no motives for concealment, carried all his papers, which related to the ſubject of the packet, to the India-houſe, and gave them to the chairman, to do away whatever ſuſpicion there might be. But theſe papers were never returned. On ſome of theſe papers, added Mr. Scott, thus given in confidence to Mr. Boſanquet, the charges afterwards brought forward by him were partly founded.

Mr. Scott ſaid, that after having paſſed a few weeks at Bath, he received a letter from the ſecretary, to acquaint him, that ſeveral papers were under the inſpection of a ſecret court of directors, reſpecting a trade carried on from Bengal to Batavia, from thence to Europe, and alſo to Manilla, by a ſhip called the Helſingoer, in which his name was implicated, in a great degree, both as a partner in the houſe of David Scott and Co. and alſo as a member of the ſecret committee.

When he came to town, which was in the courſe of a few days after the receipt of this letter, he learned what had happened, and ſaw by whom the charge had been fabricated and ſigned. Mr. Boſanquet and he were not upon good terms; nor did he think that another man would, in ſuch circumſtances, have taken upon himſelf, contrary to all uſage, the ſingle reſponſibility of ſuch a meaſure, and have ſecreted from his colleagues what they had a right to know. The papers, Mr. Scott ſaid, in which his name was introduced, arrived ſo far back as the 19th of December, and were not known to exiſt for ſix or ſeven weeks after their arrival, by any one of the directors, except Mr. Boſanquet, though they were ſent by the governor of St. Helena, addreſſed to the court of directors.—He, as chairman, took the papers

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into his own hands, with which, unleſs they had been regularly diſcuſſed and reported upon by the committee, he had no right to interfere. Such a mode of proceeding had no example in the annals of the company. The papers thus obtained, and kept back, were employed to found a charge againſt him on vague conjecture, coupled with others, of having betrayed the ſecrets of the ſecret committee, and thus hazarded the ſucceſs of the expedition againſt Manilla, which he had himſelf ſent orders, by different expreſſes overland, for being carried into execution. The fact was, he had ſent out the expreſs to India, directing the attack of Manilla; and the anſwers from India were abſolutely received in London, in duplicate, before the ſhip Helſingoer had ſailed, by which he was accuſed of ſending this traitorous account to Manilla. He had loſt his health in the active diſcharge of his duty; and while he was endeavouring, by a ſhort interval of abſence and repoſe, to reſtore it, his character was attacked in the dark; while the opinion of counſel was taken on queſtions involving the honour of his life, without his knowing that there were any proceedings againſt him. There was one circumſtance, Mr. Scott ſaid, that he muſt particularly mention. The Batavia imputation againſt him, was a fabricated paper of information laid before counſel; and no one could tell from whence it came, or how it had been obtained. He had diſcovered, only within theſe three days, that it had been taken by the company's ſolicitor, by order of the chairman, ſo long ſince as the 22d of November laſt; and this examination was a ſecret to all except two perſons. It was not entruſted to the deputy chairman, the ſecret committee, or the ſecretary; and, which is very ſingular, except in this ſtrange production, unſigned, unſworn to, and unauthenticated, the name of David Scott, jun. and Co. does not once appear in all the letters intercepted at the Cape of Good Hope. The court of directors, on his entreaties, had at length overruled this injurious plan of ſecrecy; but they had done it too late to prevent the injurious reports of his enemies. It had been a queſtion on the Royal Exchange, whether he was not totally ruined, and whether the houſe of David Scott, jun. and Co. might be ſafely truſted any more. At length, when the queſtion of his guilt came fairly before the directors, it appeared to demonſtration, that he was not in any way whatever implicated in the facts with which he ſtood charged; and he was acquitted by a majority of ſeventeen to two. When he had been thus honourably acquitted, the chairman expreſſed his ſorrow for the part he had taken in terms of the moſt afflicting compunction.

So far, ſaid Mr. Scott, had the ſyſtem of ſecrecy been carried.—That ſecrecy had been impoſed upon him reſpecting his own charge.—The inſtant, however, he had finiſhed it, he had carried it to his counſel, and inſtructed him to draw up an affidavit, denying every part of it in the ſtrongeſt and moſt unequivocal terms; and when he had ſworn to it, he laid it before the court of directors. His counſel had adviſed him not to think of denying the charges, till he ſaw the papers on which they were grounded; but he inſiſted upon an immediate deference to his inſtructions, becauſe the papers could not be found; and, beſides, no papers on earth could make the innocent guilty. To give more publicity to the real circumſtances of the caſe, ſo far as he was concerned, and as they were with-

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out his knowledge, he had collected in a pamphlet, every letter, and every thing he knew, respecting the charge, and had printed, and ordered it to be circulated, with the charge itself, to every proprietor except three; Mr. Jacob Bosanquet, Mr. Elphinstone, and Mr. Cotton. He took this step, to prevent the growth and progress of suspicion, till he was enabled to gain a clear insight into the grounds of the charge, in order that he might publish a fair and ample defence. As all that respected him, in the general charges of the illicit trade, arose from the ship Helsingoer, which had been dispatched to Manilla, he had collected the only essential papers which related to every part of this transaction, and sent them round to the proprietors. His reason for giving the charge such a solemn denial as he had done, Mr. Scott continued, was the honourable character which his accuser generally maintained in the world, and the disadvantages which must result to him, in the public opinion, from being accused by such a person. It was natural to ask, what motives could induce Mr. Bosanquet, filling such a situation as he does, to attack a brother director, unless he could prove his charges? Mr. Scott said, it was from the pressure of these and similar observations, that he thought it necessary to publish the papers which he had circulated, that he might be judged from the facts themselves, and not from any influence the name of his accuser might have on the public mind. Though he did not believe that any would hesitate to acquit him of the charge of high treason, there were some who would wish to attach to him the imputation of being an illicit trader. Mr. Scott reprobated the charge of being engaged in any trade. He had quitted the commercial house in which he had been concerned in 1794. He had made an affidavit of his not having, directly or indirectly, any concern or interest in it, since that period; all of which had been corroborated by what the trustees of his son had written to the directors; and that no man, of a liberal mind, would conceive, after the assurances he had given to the contrary, that he derived any profits from the house.

The Chairman (Mr. Bosanquet) expressed his hopes, that the court would not be influenced by the assertions of the honourable director, any more than by his own. He would appeal to the evidence of facts, and by them he would stand or fall.

The transactions, he said, which gave rise to the inquiry, had been a subject of conversation among the proprietors, long before the attention of the directors was called to them, by a letter from one of his majesty's ministers, who, on several ships being stopped at St. Helena, suspected of being concerned in a clandestine trade with the enemies of this country, consulted the attorney and solicitor general; and, not being able to proceed further without the co-operation of the company, they forwarded the answers of the learned gentlemen, which recommended, that a transaction of such a criminal complexion, should be strictly inquired into by the company, both at home and abroad. The papers were transmitted to the court of directors in November last, and the subject was repeatedly mentioned there; and as soon as time would permit, the business was referred to the committee of correspondence, to collect the whole of the evidence, and to lay it before the court.

One part of the papers relates to an attempt to convey Dutch property

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perty from Batavia to Europe, in which it appears, that one houſe at Calcutta, that of Gilmore, Farlie, and Co. were deeply concerned. Farlie, one of the partners in this houſe, either was, or is, a partner in the houſe of David Scott and Co. On a peruſal of the whole papers, the buſineſs appeared to him of ſo criminal a nature, that he was determined to bring it to the moſt deciſive iſſue, and in the moſt public manner. An Engliſh agent had been ſtopped at St. Helena, who was the bearer of diſpatches to the houſe of David Scott and Co. from Manilla, and alſo of ſeveral Spaniſh letters, conveying intelligence under cover to Fermin de Taſtet and Co. of London; and under cover to Scott's houſe, were likewiſe letters to the Spaniſh Government, under the cover of a houſe at Liſbon, to be forwarded by Scott's houſe to Liſbon, and thence to Spain. This packet alſo contained the proceedings on a trial at Manilla, on a ſhip ſtopped there under the idea of its being Britiſh property. It appeared in evidence, that it was navigated by an Engliſhman under Daniſh colours, and that, on its arrival at Manilla, there was the moſt direct and poſitive evidence, that the captain had entertained a confident opinion that he would find Manilla in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. It therefore became his duty, Mr. Boſanquet ſaid, to inſtitute an inquiry reſpecting the ſource of the information which the captain had received; and it appeared from evidence, that the captain had ſailed from this country, and had been ſent by the houſe of David Scott and Co. The intelligence thus communicated might have defeated the whole object of the intended expedition. He could not, therefore, paſs over ſuch an occurrence, but felt it his duty to bring it forward in an open and manly way. As to the examination which had been taken by the company's ſolicitor, it was in conſequence of poſitive directions from the ſecret committee; and no blame, therefore, was imputable to him.

There was ſomething in the papers, he ſaid, which he could not like, and he ſhould do every thing in his power to bring the inveſtigation to a concluſion. As to the charge made by Mr. Scott, that he had kept to himſelf the whole of the papers, he ſhould anſwer, that all the papers reſpecting the freights from Batavia, except thoſe which had been received from the commons, all that related to the Manilla ſhip, except the trial, had been ſent to the deputy chairman. The trial being in Spaniſh, he had ſent it to a Spaniſh tranſlator, who had kept it five weeks; when it was tranſlated, he brought it immediately to the directors. He declared that he had no object in view, through the whole of this diſtreſſing buſineſs, but the faithful diſcharge of his duty: and concluded by deſiring that the reſolutions of the directors might be read.

Mr. SCOTT ſaid, no one could be more anxious than himſelf, not only that the reſolutions, but that all the papers ſhould be fully before the court, in order to elucidate the true complexion of the charge. After ſome general remarks in ſupport of the opinions he had already given on the conduct of the chairman, he proceeded to obſerve, that, when the court of directors, contrary to the wiſhes of the chairman, had inſiſted upon having the whole of the papers brought before them, and had read them through with attention, it appeared that the name of David Scott, or of the houſe of David Scott and Co. was not mentioned in any other proceeding

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on paper than in the Manilla trial; the refult of which had been a regular decifion, after full inveftigation, that neither the fhip or cargo belonged to David Scott and Co. but that both were Danifh property. The name of Farlie was then endeavoured to be connected with the houfe of David Scott and Co. by way of rendering them refponfible for Farlie's acts. But although he faw no reafon to think Mr. Farlie in the danger he was repreſented to be from his illicit trade, or indeed in any danger at all, he fhould declare, in order to prevent the operation of any mifchievous reports, that the houfe of David Scott and Co. was not refponfible for Mr. Farlie; that he could not fign the firm of the houfe, nor pledge or implicate it in his acts, in any way whatever. Much had been faid about an agent of the houfe of David Scott and Co. who had been ftopped at St. Helena. The plain fact was, that a man who had been fent out to Botany Bay, with fome employment under government there, diſliking his fituation, had quitted the place, and had embarked on board a fhip to get a paſſage home. Having been fhipwrecked near Manilla, and getting afhore on that iſland, the Spaniſh government allowed him to return in an American fhip. He had been requeſted, by a houfe at Manilla, to take charge of a packet to Duntzfeldt and Co. of Copenhagen, under cover to their agents, the houfe of David Scott and Co. containing the proceedings, and an account of what had paſſed relative to the detention and trial of the fhip Helfingoer. Of this letter he made no ſecret, on his arrival at St. Helena; but, on its being propoſed to fhew it to the governor, delivered it into his hands, when that officer broke it open in his preſence, and forwarded it to the court of directors. Much curious examination took place at the India-houſe, on the arrival of this packet, reſpecting this ſuppoſed agent, who was all the time ſo near as Woolwich yard, to which he belonged, and was ready to have anſwered for himſelf. He had made an affidavit, that he had never ſeen David Scott, nor the houſe of David Scott and Co.; and yet, in order to give colour to the charge, he was repreſented as their confidential agent!

The connection of the houſe of David Scott and Co. with Duntzfeldt and Co. of Copenhagen, is alſo ſet forth as a circumſtance of ſuſpicion, as if it had originated in this recent plan for aſſiſting the enemy. The fact is, Duntzfield is an old Bengal merchant, and a friend of Mr. Ferguſon, formerly a partner in the houſe of David Scott. From the firſt eſtabliſhment of the houſe, they were the agents of Duntzfield and Co. and continued to be ſo after Mr. Ferguſon's death: the letters ſent to and from India for them, had always been ſent under cover to the houſe of David Scott and Co.; and this packet was forwarded in the uſual form. The charge takes notice of ſuch parts of the evidence on this trial as are favourable to the ſuſpicion of the ſhip and cargo being his property; but it never ſtates that the witneſſes who depoſe to this fact were a mutinous crew, who, on their arrival at Manilla, applied for juſtice againſt the captain, and charged him with having killed two men; that on their firſt examination, every man declared her a Daniſh ſhip; but, on finding the mutiny would be proved, and that they would be puniſhed, they had, in concert with the fiſcal, denied their former affirmation, and lodged information that ſhe was an Engliſh ſhip.

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The result of the trial was, that the ship was declared to be Danish property, and the captain cleared; the incompetency of the witnesses who deposed against the captain and the property, having been pronounced by the court. It is true that the fiscal appealed from the decree to the Spanish court; but it ought to be known, that he would have received one third of the property to be confiscated, in case he should set aside the decree; and therefore it was worth his while, at all events, to make the attempt. There was only one man whose evidence gave colour to the charge; this was the supercargo; he had been the ringleader in the mutiny, and was an enemy of the captain's—was a jacobin, and formerly had been a member of the French national guards; he deposed to have seen bills in the name of David Scott and Co. for part of the cargo; but the court considered this, if any proof at all, an evidence of the contrary effect to that for which it was adduced; yet this evidence, which the person who gave it contradicts, is stated in the charge, without noticing the contradictions, or the character of the man, or his personal enmity to the captain against whom he had deposed.—The chairman has dwelt on the dangerous consequences that might have resulted from the confidence expressed by the captain, and detailed in the evidence, that he should find Manilla in the possession of the English. It does not appear from any part of the evidence, that he expressed himself in such strong and positive terms; and the evidence, as was before observed, was utterly undeserving of credit, and was not credited: but if it had been, what mischief could have been expected from its being communicated by a ship which did not sail till June 1797? The expedition had been planned and directed in July 1796; and when the answers from India to the orders for the expedition had reached London, before the Helsingoer sailed from Europe. The name of David Scott was so well known throughout India, that it was the most likely name to be used by persons wanting to give a false colour to a fair transaction, by ascribing to an English house the property in the ship and cargo, and to obtain its condemnation, as a gratification of their resentment against the captain. Mr. Scott concluded his speech with some strong observations on the conduct of the chairman, who, though assuming the character of his accuser, sat in the chair on the occasion, nay, even entered into the discussions, brought forward questions, and voted against the accused on each question. The trial, he repeated, was the paper on which all his charges were fabricated; and this he did not send to his deputy, nor to a single member of the direction.

Mr. Smith (the company's solicitor) supposed, that the secret information stated to have been taken by him, alluded to the examination of Mr. Swinton, who was an officer belonging to the ship Rhonesberg, that arrived at St. Helena under Danish colours; and which the governor had reason to suspect belonged to the house of Farlie and Co. at Calcutta, while the cargo belonged to the Dutch governor of Batavia. It was, therefore, in an official way that he had examined Mr. Swinton, to see what he could make of his evidence. The minutes he made on the occasion he delivered to the chairman.

The following resolutions of the directors were then read:

At a court of directors, held on Tuesday the 5th of March 1799,—It was resolved,

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ſolved, "That it is the opinion of this court, that it appears by documents now before the court, that enterprizes of very conſiderable magnitude have been ſet on foot, which have had for object to convey to Europe, under the falſe colour of neutral papers and flags, the property of his majeſty's enemies, from Batavia; in which enterprizes, it appears that many Britiſh ſubjects have been concerned, either as principals or agents, and alſo ſeveral members of the Daniſh college of commerce at Copenhagen, and other perſons. That it alſo appears, that ſhips and Britiſh ſeamen have been engaged in India by Meſſrs. Farlie, Gilmore and Company, Lambert and Roſs, and others, to proceed to Batavia, for the purpoſe of being engaged in this clandeſtine commerce; and that it is the duty of this court, as guardians of the rights and privileges of the Eaſt India company, as well as of the Britiſh intereſts in India, to uſe all their endeavours to put a ſtop to ſuch practices."

It was alſo further reſolved, after a motion made and carried to that effect,

"That this court, having taken into their moſt ſerious conſideration the minute laid before them, by the chairman, on the 8th of February, in which the name of a member of this court is implicated, as having been the means of carrying intelligence to Manilla, by the channel of Captain Murray, of the Helſingoer, do reſolve,—"That with regard to the inferences contained in the ſaid minute which apply to David Scott, eſq. a member of this court, although the court would willingly afford Mr. Scott the ſatisfaction he has deſired of delaying an opinion upon this ſubject until he has given in his defence more at large, yet, conſidering that his character ſtands deeply implicated by thoſe inferences, and that thoſe inferences might make the ſtronger impreſſion on the public mind, if the court were, without determining upon them, to proceed firſt to the general conſideration of the illicit trade, they declare their opinion to be, That it does not appear to the court that there is any the ſmalleſt reaſon whatever, to ſuſpect him of having communicated the ſecret and confidential knowledge which he poſſeſſed as a director, or as a member of the ſecret committees, of the deſign of this country againſt the ſettlement of Manilla; and they do totally and entirely acquit him of the ſame."

The following motion was then made:

"That with regard to the ſhip Helſingoer, which went from Copenhagen to Manilla as Daniſh property, and was there proſecuted as being Engliſh property, belonging to the houſe of David Scott and Co. of London, or to David Scott ſingly, and releaſed from that accuſation by the decree of the governor of Manilla, from which decree the fiſcal has appealed to the court of Madrid, this court do not believe that the ſaid David Scott had any concern whatever in the ſaid ſhip or her cargo, and do wholly acquit him of the ſame."

It was propoſed to amend the ſaid motion, by omitting all the words after the word "That," and ſubſtituting the following words, viz.

"It is the opinion of this court, that it appears by the documents now before the court, that there exiſts ſtrong grounds of ſuſpicion that a trade, contrary to the rights of the Eaſt India company, has been carried on to Manilla by the houſe of David Scott and Co. and that, in purſuance of the opinion of the company's ſtanding counſel, a bill or bills of diſcovery be filed againſt the aforeſaid houſe, for a diſcloſure of the whole of their tranſactions, in reſpect of a ſhip called the Helſingoer and her cargo, as alſo in reſpect of a bill of exchange remitted to the ſame houſe from Manilla, and ſtated to be the produce of ſtores lying at that place."

Some other papers were read, and the court adjourned.

At a court of directors held the following day, the motion made, and the amendment moved, were withdrawn by common conſent.—It was then reſolved,

"That from the period when David Scott ceaſed to have an intereſt in the houſe of David Scott and Co. and from the cauſe of that delay which occurred in executing the formal deed of ſeparation, this court is fully perſuaded that David Scott, ſen. had no perſonal knowledge of the ſhip Helſingoer, or of any tranſactions relative to the trade of the ſaid houſe, and do acquit him of all perſonal imputation; yet the court is of opinion, the name of David Scott continuing in the firm of the houſe, renders him civilly reſponſible for the acts of that houſe.

It was afterwards reſolved,

"That a bill be filed againſt the houſe of David Scott and Co. to diſcover their concerns

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concerns in the ship Helsingoer and cargo, or of any other illicit trade within the limits of the company's charter."

It was then resolved,

"That the thanks of this court be given to Jacob Bosanquet, esq. chairman of the company, for his upright discharge of a painful duty in the investigation of this subject; and that this court are of opinion that a sense of duty alone, in the high station he fills, has exacted from him the part he has taken throughout this very invidious business."

At a court of directors, held on Friday the 15th of March 1799, it was resolved,

"That, in explanation of this court of the 6th instant, that a bill be filed against the house of David Scott and Co. to discover their concerns in the ship Helsingoer and cargo, or of any other illicit trade within the limits of the company's charter, it is the intent and opinion of this court, that a bill of discovery should be filed against the actual partners in the house of trade carried on under the firm of David Scott and Co. at the time the transactions of the Helsingoer, or any other illicit trade took place.

After a long, and rather desultory debate, on the point of order, and whether the case submitted by Mr. Scott to counsel should be read, the latter was moved by Mr. Henchman, and carried.—The case was then read, and it appeared to be the opinion of Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Erskine, Mr. Cox, and Mr. Jackson, that it was neither necessary or just to make him party to a bill, the only object of which is to pray a discovery of, and retribution for those very illicit practices, in respect of which the company, who are to file it, have discharged Mr. David Scott from all connection or imputation. They further considered it to be neither necessary or just, because, even supposing Mr. David Scott to have continued a partner at the periods to be comprehended within the bill, and, as such, civilly responsible for the debts of the house contracted in the ordinary course of trade, he would certainly not be therefore amenable to the East India company, either for penalties or damages to be recovered against his partners for their illicit traffic, supposing them to have been engaged in any without his knowledge, consent, or privity. But supposing the East India company to be satisfied, that Mr. David Scott, sen. had not only no share in, or privity, or knowledge of the illicit practices to be inquired into, but that even the partnership at that period no longer existed, further than might, under circumstances, be a legal consequence from his suffering his name to remain in the firm, it seems to furnish an additional and substantial reason for not including him in the bill which is proposed to be filed against the house.

After a farther conversation of some length, Mr. JACKSON moved an amendment to the original motion; which was carried, and produced the following resolution:

Resolved, "That this Court recommend to the Court of Directors, not to file any bill against David Scott, esq. until they shall see reason to revoke their resolution of acquittal from all suspicion or personal imputation; and that all papers which have been under the consideration of the court of directors, relating to illicit trade to and from India, and their proceedings thereon, be printed, for the use of the proprietors."

WEDNESDAY, *June* 19.

Further proceedings on the Illicit Trade.

A general quarterly court was held at the India-house, to take into consideration the papers respecting illicit trade, which had been printed in consequence of a resolution of the general court on the 20th March last, and other purposes, for which the court was made special.

After the ordinary business of the general quarterly court had been dispatched, and a communication made

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made to it of the aſſent of the board of controul to the reſolution of the court of directors, requeſting Rear-admiral Lord Nelſon's acceptance of 10,000l. &c. &c.—the Chairman informed the court, that the notice for taking into their conſideration the printed papers on the illicit trade of the company, had been made ſpecial, at the requeſt of an honourable director, whoſe name was alluded to in thoſe papers.

Mr. Scott ſaid, that, as the honourable chairman had juſt acquainted them, this court had been made ſpecial at Mr. Scott's particular deſire, for the diſcuſſion of a ſubject in which he was ſo deeply intereſted; and he would briefly ſtate his reaſons for having made this requeſt. The proprietors had been long in poſſeſſion of the charges made againſt him, and were well acquainted with the enormity of the crimes of which he had been accuſed. They had alſo read the papers on which theſe charges were ſaid to have been grounded. The whole of theſe papers had been ſeveral weeks before them; it was therefore neceſſary for him to comment upon them. The proprietors had likewiſe been furniſhed with the minutes of his defence; theſe minutes he had only delivered into the court of directors a few days ago, having been prevented from ſending them ſooner by bad health: he ſtooped not to recrimination, for he ſtood on higher ground. The papers had no ſooner been read in the court of directors, on which the charges were founded, than he, Mr. Scott, was exculpated to the complete ſatisfaction of the court, who had acquitted him, by an almoſt unanimous deciſion, of every ſhadow of imputation. But Mr. Scott added, he felt ſomething further due to the proprietors, to the public, and to himſelf: this had occaſioned the minutes of defence, and led him this day before them to requeſt their deciſion on the ſubject. He fought no favour; he only claimed their juſtice; and conſcious rectitude gave him no anxiety for the reſult. He flattered himſelf, that after the heavy imputations caſt upon him, gentlemen would think with him, that his calling upon his conſtituents to determine upon his conduct, was natural, as it was right; that it was a duty he equally owed to them and to himſelf.

Mr. Chisholme ſaid, the papers had been printed, and, he preſumed, peruſed by the proprietors. He had read them with the utmoſt attention, and was thoroughly convinced, that there was not the leaſt foundation for the charges brought forward againſt Mr. Scott. Being thus completely ſatisfied of the innocence of the honourable director, he felt it to be his duty to bring forward a declaration to that effect; as juſtice required that his acquittal ſhould be equally public and general as the charge which had been brought againſt him. He then moved the following reſolution.—

"Reſolved,—That it does not appear to the ſatisfaction of this court, from the papers printed for their conſideration, that it was neceſſary to include the name of David Scott, ſenior, in any bill of diſcovery; but as the court of directors have thought proper, at the requeſt of Mr. Scott himſelf (although not conſiſtent with the reſolution of the laſt general court) to prepare a bill including his name, and to ſubmit the ſame to his majeſty's attorney general, this court do acquieſce therein; but they think it incumbent upon them, at the ſame time, to declare, that they do not ſee from theſe papers the ſmalleſt reaſon to ſuſpect Mr. Scott of having betrayed any confidential knowledge, which he poſſeſſed as a member of the ſecret committee, or any part of his duty as a director of this company, or of having any perſonal knowledge of the ſhip Hellingoer, or of tranſactions relative to the trade of the houſe of David Scott and Co. and that they entirely concur with the

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the court of directors in acquitting him of all perſonal imputations."

Mr. WILLIAM LUSHINGTON roſe to ſecond the motion. He wiſhed, in common with every other proprietor, to contribute to retrieve an highly honourable and reſpectable character from the unjuſt imputations to which it had been ſubjected. He did not mean to arraign the ſenſe of duty which had brought forward the charges; but, highly as he reſpected the author of them, and much as he approved of his general conduct, he could not help expreſſing on this occaſion, his aſtoniſhment that he ſhould have entertained and brought forward ſuſpicions ſo unwarranted and unjuſt. His only objection to the motion which had been made by his honourable friend was, that it did not go far enough. He had riſen to ſecond it, becauſe, ſo far as it did proceed, he entirely approved of it; but he regretted that it had not gone farther: for, in his opinion, there was not only no grounds of ſuſpicion againſt Mr. Scott, but that there was no foundation for a bill of diſcovery againſt any of the parties implicated in the accuſation. The charges, ſo far as the honourable director was concerned in them, preſented three principal and ſtriking points; and he had attentively gone through the maſs of papers on which they were founded, without having been able to diſcover any ſolid grounds by which any one of them could be ſupported.

The firſt charge was of a moſt ſerious nature, that of making public the ſecrets of the Company and the State.

The ſecond pretends to include Mr. Scott as a partner in the houſe of David Scott, jun. and Co.

The third is an attack upon the houſe of David Scott and Co. diſconnected from the name of David Scott, ſenior.

In looking over the papers, Mr Luſhington ſaid, it was perfectly clear to his mind, that there was not a ſingle act imputed to the houſe of David Scott and Co. which was not ſimply and fairly an act of agency. While government allow imports and exports, it is ſtrictly juſtifiable in any houſe of agency to act in behalf of foreign neutral nations on commiſſion. The ſhip Helſingoer proceeds from hence to Copenhagen; what did her cargo conſiſt of? Articles of Britiſh manufacture; ſuch articles as it is the buſineſs of government to protect and encourage the diſpoſal of. She afterwards ſailed to Manilla; and becauſe the captain is charged with having ſaid that he expected to find the place in the hands of the Engliſh, it is imputed to Mr. Scott to have given him information of the intention of this country to attack it! And this, though it appears upon the face of the proceedings from whence the charge is made, that the captain collected his information from a newſpaper put on board his ſhip as he paſſed through the channel. If, as had been contended, the tranſactions reſpecting the Helſingoer were mere acts of agency, what grounds of imputation were there either againſt Mr. Scott, or the houſe of D. Scott, junior, and Co.? That the ſhip and cargo belonged to the houſe of D. Scott and Co. reſted ſolely upon one teſtimony, and that one the evidence of a man, one of the national guards under Robeſpierre. What had been the conduct of this man (Rahling?) Firſt, he charges his captain with having been guilty of groſs violence during the voyage, which occaſioned the death of two of the ſeamen; and, at the ſame time, deliberately declares the ſhip and cargo to be Daniſh property: had they not been ſo, his avowed hoſtility to the captain would then have led him to have denounced the ſhip and

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cargo Britiſh property, and at once to have gratified his revenge and promoted his intereſt. Afterwards, finding he had failed in the ſerious charge he had brought forward, of murder, he endeavours, by the threat of getting the ſhip and cargo condemned as Britiſh property, to extort money from the captain. Mr. Luſhington aſked, if the uncorroborated oath of ſuch a man were deſerving of the leaſt credit, who, in oppoſition to his own previous and deliberate declaration, ſwears that the property of the ſhip and cargo was in the houſe of D. Scott and Co.? Mr. Luſhington ſaid, he muſt repeat, that the motion ought to have entirely annihilated the proceedings for filing the bill of diſcovery; as, if they were perſiſted in, they muſt entirely diſgrace the proprietors and the company in another quarter. As long as government permits the exportation of ſtores, it is allowable for Britiſh merchants, to purchaſe them for foreigners on commiſſion: if they ultimately go to Breſt, the agent in this country is not anſwerable; he ſends them to his principal at Copenhagen. The papers, which had been printed, plainly proved, that there was no ground for any imputation either againſt Mr. D. Scott, ſenior, or the houſe of David Scott and Co. The Weſt India merchants, he ſaid, had recently obtained a licence from miniſters to ſend ſtores to the Spaniſh Weſt India Iſlands, which was granted on the principle of giving additional vent to the manufactures of Great Britain. He conſidered Mr. Scott to be altogther unimpeachable, and that the houſe of D. Scott and Co. had acted as any mercantile houſe would, and might have done, under ſimilar circumſtances.

Mr. Impey ſaid, that the whole of the charge reſolved itſelf into the unſupported evidence of Rahling; which was contradicted by as reſpectable men as could be collected to concur in their teſtimony of any tranſaction. The charge is this,—that the property of the whole ſhip and cargo of the Helſingoer is in David Scott and Co.—not of a *part only*, but the whole ſhip and cargo. But if Rahling is perjured in this part of his evidence, he cannot be believed as to the reſt. In oppoſition to that man's oath, there are, in the firſt place, the ſhip's papers, which are acknowledged to be regular and authentic, and comprifing the oath of Mr. Duntzfeldt, a moſt reſpectable merchant at Copenhagen, who ſwears, poſitively, that both the ſhip and cargo are his property. There is alſo the oath of Mr. Lennox, a gentleman of unimpeached character, to the ſame effect. There is alſo a bill of ſale of the ſhip, regularly atteſted by a notary-public in London, as executed in his preſence. Unleſs theſe papers are forged from beginning to the end, there can be no doubt that the houſe of D. Scott, junior, and Co. never had any thing to do with the ſhip, either as principals or agents. In ſhort, he ſaid, the houſe of David Scott and Co. would ſtand acquitted by any court in Europe.

When the hiſtory of the voyage, continued Mr. Impey, is added to the hiſtory of the tranſactions at Manilla, it makes one of the cleareſt caſes that ever occurred in a court of juſtice. During the courſe of the voyage, the captain accuſes Rahling of mutiny; on its concluſion, Rahling accuſes the captain of murder. Thus the ſafety of Rahling and the captain had become incompatible; and the former tries to get rid of the latter, firſt by accuſing him of cruelty, and even murder; and, when this would not do, he endeavours to ruin him, and his own employers,

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employers, by the confiſcation of the ſhip and cargo. Had he merely ſaid, that a part of the cargo was Britiſh property, for which there might have been ſome colour, as part of the cargo is admitted to have been purchaſed in London by the houſe of David Scott and Co. as agents for Duntzfeldt, he might poſſibly have ſucceeded; but a part only would not ſatisfy his appetite for plunder, and, by graſping at the whole, he has, luckily for the houſe of David Scott and Co. furniſhed the means of confuting himſelf. But in no way whatever, Mr. Impey ſaid, was the guilt or innocence of the honourable director connected with that of the houſe of David Scott, junior, and Co. except in this, that if they were innocent, it was impoſſible for him to be guilty; for admitting Rahling's evidence to be true, for the ſake of argument, in its fulleſt extent, he would defy any gentleman not acquainted with the charge itſelf, from the papers which had been printed as the groundwork of it, to connect Mr. David Scott, the director, in any manner whatever, with the ſhip Helſingoer, the cargo, or the captain. As to the manner in which Mr. Scott's name had been introduced into the tranſaction, by connecting him with the expectations expreſſed by the captain, that he ſhould find Manilla in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, he never heard of ſo extraordinary and groundleſs a ſuſpicion. The expedition againſt Manilla had been projected here, and orders ſent out to India in the ſummer of 1796. In the ſummer of 1797, the preparations that had been made for it, were known in this country, and all over the world. It was the ſubject of daily diſcuſſion in the newſpapers at that time; and it appears upon the proceedings at the trial, that this very ſhip had a newſpaper on board, which mentioned the circumſtance. In June 1797, a month before the Helſingoer left Europe, the governor of Manilla had direct advice from China of the expedition, and was prepared to repel it. Mr. Impey aſked, whether any fact was brought forward to prove, that the communication had been made to the captain by Mr. Scott?—There is not the ſmalleſt ground for this moſt extraordinary charge of Mr. Scott's having betrayed the company and his country. It ſometimes happened, that there was a balance of imputation againſt the acquitted; but, in this caſe, he was clearly and decidedly of opinion, that there was not the ſmalleſt reaſon to impute them either to the honourable director, or to the houſe of David Scott and Co. upon the face of the proceedings.

Mr. TWINING ſaid, he had read the whole of the printed papers with the greateſt attention: when he proceeded to obſerve on the conduct of the laſt general court with ſome degree of diſapprobation, for interpoſing what he conſidered as an haſty reſolution, to prevent Mr. Scott's name from being included in the bill of diſcovery. He appeared to accuſe Mr. Scott of ſhrinking from inquiry, and of not purſuing the conduct which an innocent man would have adopted, who had been unjuſtly accuſed. He then entered upon a juſtification of the motives and inducements which influenced Mr. Boſanquet to bring forward the charge againſt Mr. Scott, though he could not entirely exculpate him from erroneous conduct on the occaſion.

The firſt branch of the charge, continued Mr. Twining, accuſes the houſe of David Scott, jun. and Co. (which he ſhould always conſider as David Scott, for a father's intereſt and his ſon's was the ſame), with

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trading to different parts of Europe and Asia, under the character of agents, though, in fact, they were principals: he had, however, the greatest satisfaction in being able to say, that the charge against the honourable director's house of commerce had not been made out: on the contrary, David Scott and Co. appeared to have acted only as agents, and not as principals. He could not, however, but add, that he disapproved of the trade, which it was evident had been carrying on for some time past. There was nothing more clear than that the property of the enemy had been brought home to Europe by neutral flags; nor than that the house of David Scott and Co. (which he considered the same as David Scott) did act as agents to a house in Copenhagen, engaged in bringing home that property; nor than that another house in Bengal, connected with it, if not with the house of David Scott and Co. was materially concerned in promoting that trade. It was impossible for him to approve of the honourable director's interference in that trade; he even thought lending the influence of his name to such transactions highly improper. He had been told, that in judging of the conduct of others, we should place ourselves in the same situation with those whom we arraign. He hoped he should be excused the momentary presumption of imagining himself to be placed behind that bar, entrusted with the management of the company's trade, and carrying on at the same time a separate commerce of his own of the same nature; that after having pretty strenuously endeavoured to preserve both his situation as a director, and his commerce as a merchant, he had been compelled to relinquish either the one or the other; and in so doing, and abiding by his seat in the direction, he had placed his infant son at the head of his house of commerce;—he then asked himself, if he had done so, what he should have thought of his own conduct, and what he should have expected the world to think of it? What could he have thought, or what could the world have thought, but that his withdrawing his name, and substituting that of his infant son, was a mere subterfuge?

Mr. Twining said, with respect to that part of the resolution which had been moved, and which went to confirm the resolution of the directors, acquitting Mr. Scott of personal imputation, he had not the slightest objection to it. As to that part which alluded to withdrawing the honourable director's name from the bill of discovery, he must object to that; and he begged leave to support his objection by alluding to the opinion of the attorney and solicitor general on the papers referred to them. They had stated, that though they did not contain precise grounds for a prosecution, they excited strong suspicions, which due diligence might bring to light. With this opinion before us, said Mr. Twining, shall we stop inquiry? Nor is it necessary; for the honourable director himself has, since the last general court, desired that his name may be included in the bill of discovery. The motion therefore goes unnecessarily far. If, however, it is to be suffered to pass in its present form, he should think it right immediately after to move another, similar to that which had passed the court of directors, expressing the sense of the court of the integrity of their late chairman, and thanking him for his conduct.

Mr. Watson expressed his perfect conviction of the innocence of Mr. David Scott; and as to his placing his son in his house of agency,

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agency, he drew a different conclusion from the honourable proprietor (Mr. Twining); he considered it as an actual change of property, and not a colourable relinquishment, privately fabricated for sinister purposes: that the honourable director, in the face of the world, had divested himself, and vested in trustees all his property in the house, beyond the power of redemption; intending fairly and honourably to have done with the house altogether. At the same time, he thought it would be better to confine the motion to what went to approve of the resolution of the directors, acquitting Mr. Scott.

Mr. RANDLE JACKSON said, he could not concur with the honourable proprietor (Mr. Twining), who had originally moved for the printing of the papers; as, though he felt himself compelled, by the force of truth, to acquit the honourable director of the heavy and unfounded charges brought against him, he had so interwoven the acquittal with heavy imputations on the character of the honourable director, that he stood almost as much affected by those insinuations, as by the imputations from which he professed to exonerate him. If the honourable director was innocent, let him be declared so unequivocally. If he thought him guilty, it was the honourable gentleman's duty, who had called for the papers, to move for his dismission; but surely it was not candid to accompany his acquittal by such insinuations. Would this sort of acquittal satisfy Mr. Scott's mind? Would it satisfy his friends? Every newspaper contained paragraphs, goading him to a step, which Mr. Jackson regretted that he had taken, that of desiring to have his name included in the bill of discovery. This he had endeavoured, at the last general court, to prevent, because he thought it vexatious and oppressive. He was astonished that the honourable proprietor had treated the conduct of the last general court as unjust and indecorous; as if a motion, which had been founded in truth and justice, had been carried by the mere influence of private friendship. It was not the object of that motion, nor the terms of it, to prevent prosecution, where prosecution could be made the medium of discovery. All that had been said to the directors, by that motion, was, "While you confess, on your own records, that Mr. Scott is innocent, do not treat him as if he was guilty. So long as you declare that Mr. Scott knows nothing, why file a bill against him for discovery?" The words of the motion gave a latitude to the directors, if they saw reason to revoke their opinion, to proceed accordingly; but the honourable proprietor had uncandidly argued, as if avoiding a bill in Chancery was of itself a decisive proof of guilt. How had Mr. Scott conducted himself? Had he shrunk from inquiry? No. He had always promoted it; it was he who had supported a general investigation of the illicit trade said to be carried on, before it was known whom it might implicate. He had repeatedly challenged and entreated publicity, as soon as it was hinted that himself was a party; he had met the charge by a most solemn and instant denial upon oath before God and the magistracy; he had since refuted it, article by article; he had professed his readiness to answer any question which courts or committees might propound to him; to produce to them any papers which they might require, or to reveal to them every particular of his arrangement with his late house, of however private or delicate a nature; but both himself and his friends had

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ſeen the drift of the propoſed bill of diſcovery. They ſaw it was to reſtrain, if not ſuſpend, his directorial functions, and prevent him from being a candidate for the chair. The laſt general court had ſeen it in the ſame light; they had detected the ſecret purpoſe of Mr. Scott's adverſaries, and, having detected it, were determined to prevent it. But how had they prevented it? Not by coming down to court, as the honourable proprietor had inſinuated, like a mob of hirelings, to ſcreen Mr. Scott from inquiry; but a large majority of a moſt reſpectable general court had, after eight hours diſcuſſion, ſaid to the directors, in terms conſonant to truth and juſtice, "We are averſe to making a proſecution the medium of perſecution. You declare, by a great majority, that Mr. Scott is innocent; and yet ſeveral of you propoſe to proſecute him as if he were guilty. You declare your conviction that he is totally ignorant of the tranſactions in queſtion; and yet you propoſe to file a bill againſt him to compel a diſcovery of thoſe very tranſactions. We deſire you not to haraſs Mr. Scott in courts of law, till you ſhall ſee reaſon to revoke your reſolutions of acquittal, or at leaſt till we have peruſed the papers propoſed to be printed, and enabled ourſelves to judge of the premiſes." Thoſe papers were now before the court; the honourable proprietor had been allowed time ſufficient to make himſelf maſter of their contents; and he was now called upon for his verdict of guilt or acquittal, as unequivocally and publicly delivered as the charges had been made. Since, however, Mr. Scott (unable to exiſt under the calumnies that had been heaped upon him) had requeſted a bill of diſcovery to be filed againſt him in order to remove them, Mr. Jackſon ſaw no alternative but the court to agree to it; at the ſame time, he called upon the directors, individually and generally, as men of honour, to take care that no unneceſſary delay ſhould be ſuffered to interpoſe itſelf, and that, for Mr. Scott's peace, the buſineſs ſhould be brought to a ſpeedy iſſue. He was ſorry for the ſtep which Mr. Scott had taken, as he thought the general court had furniſhed him with an anſwer that ought to ſatisfy every liberal mind; namely, that the directors were not only enjoined to be conſiſtent, but were at liberty to file a bill againſt him the moment they would declare there was a ground for ſuſpicion. Accuſation was of itſelf a ſerious thing; nor could the honourable proprietor (Mr. Twining) have forgotten the very ſerious charges which he himſelf had brought at different times againſt Mr. Scott. In 1794, he had charged him, not only with having traded contrary to his oath as a director, but with having clandeſtinely altered the terms of an oath, in its way from the general court to parliament, in order to accommodate it to the trade which he ſuppoſed the honourable director to carry on. The honourable gentleman had printed the ſpeech which contained this charge, and circulated it from one end of the land to the other, while the honourable director was in a diſtant part of Britain, and before he could have time to explain the circumſtance. When the honourable director returned to town, and inquiry was made as to the fact, it turned out, that Mr. Scott did not even know that the oath had been altered, but that the directors themſelves had deſired the ſolicitor to the company, and his honourable friend Mr. Henchman, to ſhape the words of the oath to meet what was believed to be the ſenſe of a previous reſo-

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reſolution of a general court. He had the pleaſure afterwards to hear the honourable proprietor, in his place, admit his miſtake, and regret that he had wounded the honourable director's feelings. A charge ſo generally publiſhed, and ſanctioned by a name ſo reſpectable as was that of the honourable proprietor, muſt have ſunk and deſtroyed any man, the worth of whoſe character was leſs known than Mr. Scott's.

The ill ſucceſs of this charge had not, however, diſcouraged him (Mr. Twining) from bringing another againſt Mr. Scott, as continuing to be indirectly concerned in the houſe of Indian agency, contrary to a recent by-law. It was known that, in 1795, a by-law had paſſed, prohibiting directors from trading to India, as principals or agents. This, though a wiſe and ſalutary law, and one that had his warm ſupport, was, as to the then directors, an *ex poſt facto* law.

Mr. Scott was, at that time, as were ſeveral other directors, concerned (as lawfully they then might be) in houſes of Eaſt India agency; and they had to chooſe between relinquiſhing their ſeats in the direction, or their agency concerns. Mr. Scott's, as being the largeſt concern, was of courſe the moſt lucrative; but he choſe rather to relinquiſh it, than to abandon a ſeat, of which he was ſo juſtly proud, from its having been repeatedly, and in the moſt flattering way, conferred upon him by the proprietors. It was true that Mr. Scott had not given away his valuable concern to a ſtranger, but to the ſon for whom he had always intended it, and who being a minor, Mr. Scott had veſted it in trustees for his benefit; and the only queſtion that could ariſe was, whether or no this was a *bona fide* relinquiſhment? The honourable proprietor had charged him that it was not, and had (as he had a perfect right to do) brought it before the general court, upon the eve of Mr. Scott's laſt election: the queſtion was then ſolemnly diſcuſſed in a crowded court, when it appeared that Mr. Scott had *irrevocably* alienated all right, title, intereſt, and controul, in and over his late concern; that he had done ſo under the guidance of the attorney and ſolicitor general, and other eminent lawyers; and that Mr. Rous, the company's counſel, had declared his conviction that it was a *bona fide* relinquiſhment; and that he knew nothing more which Mr. Scott could do to ſatisfy the law. The court were of the ſame opinion, and declared their entire ſatisfaction by a great majority, and their opinion that Mr. Scott had no commercial intereſt whatever, which affected his eligibility to a ſeat in the direction.

One would have expected that a ſubject ſo fully and repeatedly canvaſſed, might at laſt have found reſt; but the honourable proprietor had again ſtirred its embers, and broadly hinted that Mr. Scott ſtill retained an intereſt in his late commercial houſe, contrary to law. If the honourable proprietor ſtill entertained doubts upon that ſubject, would he propoſe a day for its diſcuſſion? and Mr. Jackſon ſaid, he would ſecond the motion.

The honourable gentleman had, indeed, on that day, gone ſtill farther, and almoſt charged Mr. Scott with being cogniſant of certain tranſactions in the houſe of Farlie and Co. of Bengal, alleged to be illicit; and this with the ſame breath that he compulſively pronounced his acquittal upon the preſent occaſion. Either the honourable gentleman ought to ſupport his accuſations, or to forbear his inſinuations. If either of them were

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true, Mr. Scott ought to be driven from his ſeat. Mr. Scott owed his acquittal to his caſe; and Mr. Jackſon deſired the whole court, and the whole public, to underſtand, that Mr. Scott's friends would enter into no compromiſe; but that they dared and defied accuſation as to any part of his conduct.

Mr. Jackſon proceeded to obſerve, that the charges before them reſolved themſelves into three diſtinct heads, High Treaſon, Traitorous Correſpondence, and Illicit Trade. The firſt and third, having been ſo fully diſcuſſed by his honourable friends, he did not think it neceſſary to enlarge upon them; and as to the ſecond charge, he could ſay ſtill leſs, as Mr. Scott's name did not even appear in fact, or by alluſion, throughout the voluminous papers, to which alone that charge could be referred. He however made ſome ſtrong obſervations upon them in their order, and then added, that he could not diſcover any grounds which juſtified the directors in proceeding even againſt the houſe. But even admitting, for argument's ſake, that David Scott, junior, and Co. had been guilty of contraband trade, the ſingle queſtion before the court, under this head of charge, was, whether or no D. Scott, ſenior, was intereſted in or cogniſant of theſe tranſactions? The general court, on a former occaſion, and the court of directors had more recently declared, that he had no knowledge of, or intereſt in, his former concern, and that, therefore, he was acquitted from all perſonal imputation. Mr. Jackſon concluded his ſpeech with a very animated addreſs to the court, in which he conjured them, as men who knew the high value of unſullied reputation to themſelves and their poſterity, and could meaſure the calamity which attended its impeachment, to pronounce Mr. Scott's acquittal in a manner equally public and unanimous.

Mr. TWINING roſe to combat the imputations of the laſt ſpeaker: he inſiſted that the by-law, to prevent directors from trading, was not an *ex poſt facto* law with reference to Mr. Scott; and that he continued to entertain his former opinion, reſpecting and concerning Mr. Scott's connection with the commercial houſe of David Scott, junior, and Co. as he thought the intereſt of the ſon was the ſame with that of the father.

Mr. DURANT ſaid, he had ſupported the reſolution of ſuſpending all proceedings at law againſt Mr. Scott, till the directors themſelves ſhould be of opinion that there were grounds for ſuch a meaſure. When the terms of thoſe charges were known on the Royal Exchange, and by what high authority they had been brought forward, he declared that nineteen out of twenty, of thoſe he had ſpoken to, were ſtrongly prejudiced againſt Mr. Scott; and ſo deep-rooted was the impreſſion, that at this moment, when his innocence was as clear as the ſun, he found it very difficult to deſtroy it in their minds. On the whole of what he had heard and read, he had formed a moſt decided opinion, that David Scott was an injured man; nor had he heard one perſon in that court juſtify the late chairman, or condemn Mr. D. Scott, except the honourable proprietor (Mr. Twining) who had ſpoken laſt. He had alſo condemned the conduct of the laſt general court, which was very numerous and reſpectable, and had ſpoken of them as if they had been packed together to carry Mr. Scott through, whether right or wrong. Mr. Durant ſaid, that the honourable proprietor (Mr. Twining) had ſtated the inveſtigation

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veſtigation to reſolve itſelf into three propoſitions; of the two heavieſt, affecting the property and life of the honourable director, he had completely acquitted him. What was the only charge that remained in that honourable gentleman's opinion? That he was the father of David Scott, junior, a minor; from whence he choſe to infer that Mr. David Scott, the director, ſtill carried on, or was intereſted in the buſineſs of the houſe; and he perſiſted in thinking, either that the one ſhould never be a merchant, or the other never a director. He thinks it utterly inconſiſtent that a director, who is the father of a merchant, ſhould diſcharge his duty to the company with fidelity; as if a man could not at once be faithful to his conſtituents, and affectionate to his child, but muſt neceſſarily make a ſacrifice of his public duty to his domeſtic attachments. If ſo, why not exclude thoſe from the direction whoſe daughters were married to merchants? The private tie was nearly as forcible. But this is a doctrine in which he will never be ſupported in the city or elſewhere. Upon the whole, Mr. Durant ſaid, that the ſpeech of the honourable proprietor was one of the moſt extraordinary and uncandid he had ever heard. It was replete with inſinuation that contained no charge but one, unnaturally linked to acquittal; and while it endeavoured to convey a great deal of cenſure to the mind of the proprietors, it contained no ſpecific charge but one, which was, that Mr. David Scott, the director, was the father of a merchant.

Mr. PETER MOORE lamented that the debate had deviated from its true object, into the diſcuſſion of perſonal queſtions; and he expreſſed his wiſh, that ſome middle way might be hit on, which would carry unanimity on the one ſide of the bar, and remove the preſent agitated cauſes of diviſion on the other. Here then, he ſaid, he would for the preſent leave the perſonal queſtion, in hope that ſome honourable friends near him would endeavour to adopt ſome modification that ſhould embrace the meaning of the whole court; while he would endeavour to ſhew, as a means of influencing ſuch a diſpoſition, that as there had been no crime, there could be no criminal; and that, inſtead of contending whether any particular name ſhould or ſhould not be included in a bill of diſcovery, that all ſuch bills, and proſecutions of every deſcription, ought to ceaſe *inſtanter*. The ground he took for this was,—that this trade, called *illicit*, is not illicit, becauſe, though irregular, it has been connived at and tolerated almoſt ever ſince the birth of the Eaſt India company. Mr. Moore then went into a long diſcuſſion of the trade called neutral, contraband or illicit; and proved, by a great variety of inſtances and authorities, that this trade, however irregular, was neither contraband nor illicit; and that the whole of this trade ought, and he hoped ſoon would be brought into the river Thames, under regular licence, and a grand *entrepot* formed, which would render the whole continent of Europe dependent on us; and, as Mr. Dundas had very properly ſaid in the houſe of commons, muſt ſecure to this country thoſe advantages which our undiſputed pre-eminence in India gave us, and that tribute which it muſt draw from the other nations of Europe.

Here Mr. Henchman called Mr. Moore to order, as he was arguing on a topic not before the court. The Chairman was of the ſame opinion; and, after a few obſervations, Mr. Moore concluded his ſpeech.

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Mr. HUDDLESTONE and ſome other proprietors having delivered their ſentiments briefly on ſome of the points which had been already argued and conſidered, the chairman put the queſtion, which was carried UNANIMOUSLY.

Mr. DAVID SCOTT then roſe to ſay, that notwithſtanding the feelings of innocence with which he had entered the court, he could not avoid expreſſing the heartfelt ſatisfaction which their very honourable acquittal had given him, and on which he ſhould reflect with the higheſt gratification to the laſt hour of his life.

Mr. BABER then moved the queſtion of adjournment; which being ſeconded,

Mr. TWINING complained of a want of candour in thus interpoſing the queſtion of adjournment, and thereby precluding him from moving a reſolution of thanks to the late chairman, and conveying the ſentiments of the court of the purity of the motives on which he had proceeded, eſpecially as he had given notice of ſuch an intention.

A ſhort converſation enſued, which was concluded by

Mr. W. LUSHINGTON, who ſaid, that if the motion for an adjournment had not been made, and the honourable proprietor had preſſed upon the court his reſolution of thanks to the late chairman, he ſhould have endeavoured to get rid of it by moving the previous queſtion. Notwithſtanding the general impreſſion he had in favour of the late chairman, as a man of ability and integrity, he could not approve of his conduct, nor help thinking that he had, by bringing forward the charges in the manner he had done, acted intemperately and raſhly. But though, with this impreſſion, he could not approve, neither could he, by any expreſs reſolution, pointedly condemn his conduct. He could not concur in any motion for thanks, nor would he join in any vote of cenſure. He hoped his honourable friend would ſee, after this hint, in what a diſagreeable predicament the court would be placed, if he perſiſted in his intention, and truſted that he would ſuffer the matter to remain as it now ſtood.

The queſtion of adjournment was then put, and carried.

FRIDAY, *June* 28.

SUSPENSION *of the* BY-LAWS.

A GENERAL COURT was held, to take into conſideration a recommendation of the court of directors, to diſpenſe with the preſent by-laws reſpecting ſhipping, and to permit two ſhips to be built on the bottoms of the *Ocean* and *Henry Addington*, and alſo for conſidering a bill propoſed to be brought into parliament for regulating, in future, the manner in which the company ſhall hire and take up ſhipping for their ſervice.

The bill being read,

Mr. W. LUSHINGTON propoſed, that, in the clauſe which permitted ſhips to be rebuilt, and taken up for the remainder of their ſix voyages, on the terms of their original contract, when ſuch ſhips ſhould have been loſt during the firſt four voyages, the word "fifth" ſhould be inſerted, inſtead of the word "fourth;" and he ſtated it as his reaſon, that the great expence to the owners for repairs accrued on the fourth voyage, as they carried upon the ſhip's bottom as much property upon that voyage as upon any other. He truſted, if a loſs occurred upon the fourth voyage, that the owners would be entitled to the ſame indulgence as upon the preceding ones.

After ſome debate, this propoſi-

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tion was moved by Mr. Luſhington, ſeconded by Mr. Chiſholme, and carried.

The CHAIRMAN then proceeded to ſtate, that the court had alſo been made ſpecial, for the purpoſe of conſidering a recommendation of the court of directors to diſpenſe with the preſent by-laws reſpecting ſhipping, and to permit two ſhips to be built on the bottoms of the *Ocean* and *Henry Addington*.

The reſolution of the directors, dated the 18th June 1799, was then read, and the chairman moved a reſolution for ſuſpending the ſecond and third ſections of the company's by-laws reſpecting ſhipping.

Mr. RANDLE JACKSON oppoſed it, on the dangerous conſequences which might reſult from ſuſpending the by-laws; and particularly as the effect intended to be produced by ſuch a meaſure would be derived from the bill.

Mr. W. LUSHINGTON ſaid, the preſent application could not be dangerous as a future precedent, becauſe, when the bill paſſed, there would be an end of any ſuch power in the court of proprietors. Beſides, it had no retroſpective effect, as it only provided for ſuch ſhips as now, or in future, may be loſt; and the only way of providing for the caſe of theſe ſhips, was by the ſpecial reſolution now before the court.

The CHAIRMAN ſaid, a retroſpective effect might be given to the bill, for March 1796, the date of the commencement of the ſyſtem of free and open competition. This might now be added by the proprietors, as an alteration in the clauſe; and he ſubmitted whether it would not tend to obviate every objection.

The bill being amended by the ſolicitor, agreeable to the ſuggeſtions of the chairman, the queſtion on the bill ſo amended was put by the chairman, and carried*.

The motion was then put for ſuſpending

* *A Bill for regulating the Manner in which the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the Eaſt Indies, ſhall hire and take up ſhips for their* regular *Service.*

"WHEREAS it is expedient, that the manner in which the ſhips hired and taken up for the ſervice of the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the Eaſt-Indies, ſhould be regulated as herein-after mentioned: Be it therefore enacted, by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that from and after the paſſing of this act, the ſaid united company, or their court of directors, ſhall employ in their regular ſervice no ſhips, but ſuch as ſhall be contracted for to ſerve the ſaid company, as they ſhall have occaſion to employ them, in trade and warfare, or any other ſervice, for ſix voyages, to and from India or China, or elſewhere, within the limits of the ſaid united company's excluſive trade; and that from time to time, whenever the ſaid united company ſhall have occaſion to cauſe any ſhip or ſhips to be built for their ſervice, the court of directors of the ſaid united company ſhall give notice thereof by public advertiſement, and therein ſtate the burthen of the ſhip or ſhips wanted, the dimenſions or ſcantlings of timbers and planks, number of guns, manner of building, providing, furniſhing, and ſtoring ſuch ſhips, the time to be allowed for building (which ſhall be as long as reaſonably may be), and other particulars, neceſſary to enable perſons to judge of the expence thereof, and the proper rate of freight for ſuch ſhips, reſpectively; or ſhall refer to, and give information of, all ſuch particulars, by their proper officer: And the ſaid advertiſement ſhall fix a time (not leſs than four weeks from the publication thereof) for receiving propoſals, in writing, ſealed up, for building and freighting the ſame to the company; ſuch propoſals to ſpecify the loweſt rates of freight, *or if the company ſhall regain it, of freight* and demorage, in time of peace, required for ſuch ſhips, for ſix voyages, to or from India or China, or elſewhere, within the limits of the company's excluſive trade, to be employed in trade and in warfare, or otherwiſe, as ſhall

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pending the two by-laws in favour of the ships *Ocean* and *Henry Addington*.

Mr. RANDLE JACKSON, said, such a motion was not now necessary. The alteration which had taken

be thought proper by the company, if the said ships, respectively, shall so long be fit for the company's service: And that all the tenders or proposals which shall be made, in pursuance of such notices, shall be put into a box, locked and sealed, which shall not be opened, except publicly, in a court of directors; and the contents of such proposals, respectively, shall be entered in a book, and the proposals offering the lowest peace-freight, *or peace freight* and demorage, *as the case may be*, shall be accepted, without favour or partiality: And in case more ships than shall be wanted shall be tendered to be built at the same low freight, then the court of directors shall determine, which of the said proposal or proposals shall be accepted, and the same proposal or proposals shall be accepted *accordingly*.

"And be it further enacted, That, over and besides the peace-freight and demorage herein-before mentioned, the court of directors shall be at liberty to make such agreements with the owners of the said ships either from voyage to voyage, or for the whole term of the said ship's being engaged in the said company's service, for the ascertaining and payment of the additional charges, arising to the said owners in time of war and hostilities, or preparations for war and hostilities, as the said court of directors shall think right and just.

"Provided always, and be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said court of directors, if they shall see fit, to advertise for and receive proposals, and enter into agreements for ships, to be built for the service of the said company, for six voyages, at permanent rates of freight and demorage for time of peace, and also at established rates of additional freight and demorage to be paid during the present war; and that, in that case, they shall be at liberty, and are hereby required, to accept such proposals as, both circumstances being considered, shall appear, upon the whole, to be the lowest, and most for the advantage of the said united company, without favour or partiality, and to enter into permanent agreements accordingly; and in case of two or more proposals shall offer terms equally advantageous, the said court of directors shall determine which of them shall be accepted.

"Provided also, and be it further enacted, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to oblige the said court of directors to accept or enter into any agreement, or any proposal or proposals, which they, or the major part of them, shall deem to be unreasonable, although such proposal or proposals may be the lowest, and the most advantageous which may be offered.

"Provided also, and be it further enacted, *That in case any regular ship, which since the 20th day of March* 1796, *hath been engaged in the regular service of the said united company, or which now is, or hereafter shall be, engaged in the said service for six voyages, hath been or shall be lost* or captured, before the completion of her *fifth* voyage, if upon a full investigation of the circumstances of such loss, by the said court of directors, or some committee thereof, the commander and owners of such ship shall be fully acquitted from all imputation of neglect or misconduct in respect of such loss, in the opinion of eighteen directors, at least at a court specially assembled for the purpose of taking the said commander's and owners' conduct into consideration; and provided always, that such vote or resolution of the court of directors shall *be reported to a general court of proprietors, and shall, after such report*, be confirmed by way of ballot, by three parts in four of the proprietors assembled in general court, specially convened for that purpose, whereof eight days previous notice of the time and purpose of such meeting shall be given in the London Gazette; and if such commander shall be then living, *or if he should have lost his life, or have been absolutely disabled from further service, on the occasion which produced the loss of the said ship, and the chief officer of the said ship should have exerted himself honourably for her defence and safety, either in fight or in distress at sea, and shall be acquitted in manner herein-before mentioned from all imputation of neglect or misconduct in respect of such loss, and such acquittal shall also be confirmed in manner herein-before mentioned, then* it shall and may be lawful for the court of directors to agree with the owners of such ship, so lost, to build another ship, for the service of the said company, to be employed by them, at the same freight and demorage, and upon the same terms, for and on which such lost ship was originally taken up, for the number of voyages which such lost ship had not completed of the number of voyages originally contracted for; so as the owners shall agree, that at the expiration of the remaining

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taken place in the bill was intended as a ſubſtitute for it.

The CHAIRMAN ſaid, the reaſon for perſiſting in the motion was, it was neceſſary to contract for two ſhips this ſeaſon, which was far advanced. Till the bill paſſed, without the ſuſpenſion they could not give leave to build them; and it might not paſs during this ſeſſion.

Mr. DAVID SCOTT was for ſuſpending the by-laws: he thought the owners and commanders ought not to be kept in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe. Beſides, the bill juſt paſſed removed every apprehenſion if the ſame kind of application could recur.

Mr. LUSHINGTON conſidered the delay of a few days as immaterial, till the bill had paſſed; but ſince the chairman had ſtated it to be otherwiſe, he thought the court ought to give way.

Major METCALFE (a director) ſaid, if the act ſhould paſs this ſeſſion, the parties concerned in theſe ſhips would not be placed in ſo good a ſituation by the remedial effect of the act, as they would be by the by-law. At preſent the merit of their claim had been examined by the directors; and they ſtood before the general court ſtrengthened by their recommendation, which only wanted the confirmation of a majority of a general court. If they reſorted to the act, they muſt begin *de novo*, and have to obtain the

maining *voyage* or voyages, ſuch new ſhip ſhall continue in the ſervice of the ſaid united company, until ſhe ſhall have performed ſix voyages, which ſubſequent voyages ſhall ſeverally be performed at the loweſt rate of freight and demorage, either in peace or war, which ſhall be payable, in reſpect of the ſhip of a ſimilar deſcription, as to the equipment, contracted for laſt, before the ſaid ſhip ſhall proceed upon each of the ſaid ſubſequent voyages: *Provided always that ſuch ſhip ſo rebuilt ſhall be commanded, in the firſt inſtance, by the captain of the former ſhip, if he be able to ſerve; and failing of him, by the ſaid chief officer of the former ſhip, if he be able to ſerve.*

"Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, That it ſhall and may be lawful for the court of directors of the ſaid united company, or their ſervants abroad, in caſes of unforeſeen exigency, to hire ſhips for any particular ſervice; and in caſes of ſhips ſo hired, public notice ſhall be given, by advertiſement, of the ſhips and tonnage wanted, and the ſervice required, fourteen days at leaſt previous to the time appointed for taking up the ſame; and the propoſals to be made, in purſuance of ſuch advertiſements, ſhall be put into a box, locked and ſealed, which ſhall not be opened, except publicly, in a court of directors, or by the governor and council where the contract ſhall be made in any of the company's ſettlements in India, and then the loweſt tender or tenders ſhall be accepted, without favour or partiality, if it ſhall be deemed reaſonable, and if, upon a due examination and ſurvey, the ſhip or ſhips tendered ſhall appear to be, in all reſpects, fit for the ſervice required.

"Provided always, That nothing herein-contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, in any ways, to relate to ſhips or veſſels hired or taken up, or employed as packets, or any of the ſhips or veſſels belonging to, or employed on the marine war eſtabliſhment of the ſaid united company in the Eaſt Indies; but it ſhall and may be lawful for the ſaid united company, and their court of directors and ſervants abroad, to hire, take up, and employ veſſels, for thoſe purpoſes only, in ſuch manner as they ſhall ſee fit.

"And be it further enacted, That all and every, and ſo much and ſuch part of the by-laws, rules, and regulations of the ſaid united company, and of their court of directors, now in force, and hereafter to be made, any way relating to the ſhipping concerns of the ſaid company, and to the commanders and officers in their ſervice, which are not or ſhall not be inconſiſtent with, or repugnant to the proviſions hereby enacted, ſhall remain and be of the ſame validity, force, and effect, and ſhall be obſerved in like manner, to all intents and purpoſes, as the ſame by-laws, rules, and regulations, or ſuch parts thereof as aforeſaid, would have been in force, and ought to have been obſerved, if this act had not been made; or to reſtrain the ſaid company from repealing or making any by-laws, ſo as they ſhall not be inconſiſtent with the proviſions herein contained; this act or any thing herein contained to the contrary thereof, in any ways, notwithſtanding."

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the consent of eighteen directors, and three fourths of a court of proprietors.

The motion to suspend the by-laws was then put and carried.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS ON THE ILLICIT TRADE.

The CHAIRMAN now proceeded to state, that the court had also been made special, at the desire of nine proprietors; whose letter being read,

Mr. W. LUSHINGTON said, that as his name appeared at the head of the list of the nine proprietors who had desired the court to be made special, he felt it incumbent on him to state his reasons.

At the last meeting, the court had selected one out of the many objects from the mass of papers which had been printed for their consideration: because it struck, in a very peculiar manner, at the character of an honourable gentleman behind the bar. He, however, was completely discharged from all suspicion. At the same time justice required, if the consideration of the papers had produced, as he believed it had, a general conviction, that there were no grounds of suspicion against the house of David Scott and Co. that the court should declare their conviction. He had gone through the whole of the papers with the utmost attention, and was perfectly satisfied that every act of the house of David Scott and Co. was an act of agency, and that they were not concerned in the transactions respecting the ship Helsingoer and her cargo, as principals, but as agents only. Under this impression, what was the object of his motion? Not to put a stop, by the interference of the court, to all further proceedings. He felt the delicacy of interfering with the public officer of the crown, to whom the papers were now referred. By virtue of the late act of parliament, no prosecution could be commenced but in his name, and by his sanction. On that point, therefore, he had nothing to say; but if there was a general conviction in the minds of the court, that the house of David Scott and Co. were blameless, and that there were no grounds for the bill of discovery; if they thought the credit of the house had been unjustly wounded, by the suspicions which had been cast upon them, and that they were still labouring under the weight and consequences of such suspicion, then he trusted the court would act upon their conviction, and not give their sanction to a resolution for filing a bill of discovery, which had been prematurely adopted by the court of directors. He did not call upon the proprietors to discharge the house from this prosecution, but to express their opinion of the transaction. If, after the fullest investigation and information upon the subject, they were satisfied that there were no just grounds for suspicion against the house of David Scott and Co. it was incumbent on them to declare their opinion. If there was any other house implicated in the charge, who had acted only in the capacity of agents, he pledged himself to do the same justice to them, as he now was endeavouring to render to the house of David Scott and Co. whose conduct, through the whole transaction, was perfectly honourable, and not contrary to the law or policy of the land. The furnishing a cargo for the ship Helsingoer was a fair and legal act, whatever might be the ultimate destination of the ship or cargo after she should have reached the port of Copenhagen. It was not only fair and legal, but laudable and politic; it was supporting the manufactures of

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of the country. The honourable proprietor (Mr. Twining) who had moved for the production of the papers, had confeſſed, that no imputation aroſe out of them againſt the houſe of David Scott and Co. of having acted as principals; and yet, not ſatisfied with the unanimous conviction of the court on this point, he preſſed for the filing the bill of diſcovery: But he muſt ſurely have forgotten, on this occaſion, the anxious moments to which the houſe of David Scott and Co. would be ſubjected by the proſecution; how deeply their fortunes and credit might be affected by it, both abroad and at home. What muſt be the conſequence of ſuch a ſuſpicion attaching itſelf upon an eſtabliſhed mercantile houſe? It might be brought to annihilation. The former general court on this ſubject had been moſt numerouſly and reſpectably attended, and the preſent court was equally ſo. The decided opinion of two ſuch courts on the tranſaction ought to ſatisfy every unbiaſſed mind. Let it not be ſaid by any proprietor, that if he decided upon the motion before the court, he was exerciſing the power of ſignifying to the attorney general that he forbid all proſecution. The motion went no ſuch length. The attorney general would liſten to no ſuch reſolution. It went upon the idea, that, if the houſe of David Scott and Co. whoſe character had been wounded by the premature ſtep which had been taken, was not relieved by that court, and exonerated from the load of ſuſpicion which had been improperly excited, in conſequence of the high quarter from whence it came, rather than from its own weight, the proprietors would make themſelves parties to an act of ſignal injuſtice. In ſhort, having called upon any gentleman to point out any fact which warranted a concluſion, or even ſupported any ſubſtantial ſuſpicion, that the houſe of David Scott and Co. had acted as principals; and having contended, on the contary, that they were merely the agents of a foreign and friendly houſe of commerce, and had acted ſtrictly according to law, and the ſound policy of the country, in ſupplying them with Britiſh manufactures; Mr. Luſhington moved,

"That it does not appear to this court, that, in any of the papers which have been publiſhed reſpecting Illicit Trade, there are any grounds of ſuſpicion againſt the houſe of David Scott and Co.; and, therefore, it would be incompatible with the juſtice of this court to withhold this declaration of their opinion."

Mr. CHISHOLME, after a ſpeech which tended to confirm every thing which had been ſaid by the foregoing ſpeaker, ſeconded the motion.

Mr. PETER MOORE ſaid, he ſhould give his aſſent to the motion, not from any predilection for the firm of David Scott and Co. or any other firm mentioned in the printed papers, but as the conſequence of the doctrine which the printed papers had enabled him to lay down, and formed on the ſelf-evident maxim, as he had declared at the laſt court, that, "where there was no crime, there could be no criminal;" and as he did not ſee ſufficient ground for proſecuting either the firm of David Scott and Co. or any other, he thought that all legal proceedings againſt them ought to ceaſe *inſtanter*.

Mr. ELPHINSTONE (a director) expreſſed his ſurpriſe at what had been advanced by the honourable proprietor who had introduced the motion to the court; and who had ſaid, that he had read over all the printed papers, and yet could not find cauſe of ſuſpicion againſt the houſe of David Scott and Co. Let any

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any proprietor, he ſaid, read Rahling's evidence, who, on his oath, ſaid, that the houſe of David Scott and Co. are the real owners of the ſhip *Helſingoer* and her cargo. He knew it from having been a clerk in the houſe of Duntzfeldt and Co. at Copenhagen, and from having ſeen Engliſh bills of parcels in the name of David Scott and Co. He was alſo employed to tranſlate the large Engliſh invoice into Daniſh, and to make a copy of this invoice for the houſe of David Scott and Co. Much had been ſaid againſt Rahling's character; but he had been contradicted by Murray alone, whoſe character was not free from ſuſpicion. The doctor of the ſhip corroborates Rahling's evidence.—No teſtimony could carry ſtronger marks of truth than that of Rahling. He has been deſcribed as a member of the French national guard under Robeſpierre: but how does that appear? At all events, he muſt have been well known to Duntzfeldt and Co. or they would not have truſted ſo rich a cargo to his care. Much had been ſaid about the particular proof of the houſe of David Scott and Co. being agents, from the bills of parcels having been tranſmitted to Copenhagen; but this circumſtance impreſſed no ſuch conviction on his mind. His opinion was, that the houſe of David Scott and Co. was concerned as principals with the houſe of Locatelli and Co. at Manilla, not only in the cargo of the ſhip Helſingoer, but in a conſiderable trade to and from Manilla.—The bills of parcels were intended to be tranſmitted to Locatelli and Co. at Manilla, as a proof to them of the prime coſt of the goods, and therefore they were ſent to Copenhagen to be forwarded. Every one acquainted with mercantile dealings in India, knows it is uſual to ſell goods by invoices and bills of parcels. They were ſent to convince Locatelli and Co. at Manilla, of the prime coſt of the articles, and not to convince Duntzfeldt and Co. at Copenhagen.

But let us look a little farther into this tranſaction, continued Mr. Elphinſtone; let any gentleman of mercantile knowledge, acquainted with the hiſtory of theſe ſort of voyages, ſay what concluſion he draws from the inſtructions. They ſpeak of a voyage fitted out for Japan. This is a mere evaſion, to deceive our cruizers in the Indian ſeas. Was the cargo adapted to the market of Japan? Do the Japaneſe wear ſilk ſtockings? It was mere deceit, practiſed every day. Where was the policy of ſuch inſtructions, if the ſhip and property were really, and *bona fide*, Daniſh property? Look at the letter of Locatelli and Co. Look at the difficulty which they ſtate they had to encounter in finding ſecurities. And how did it ariſe? Becauſe, as they ſtate themſelves, it was not in their power to explain the real circumſtances. Why not, if it was a fair tranſaction? That very letter is a convincing proof that there was ſomething hidden; ſome cover, ſome concealment, which they dared not reveal.—There is alſo a ſhort letter from Camper, the partner of Locatelli, to his mother and ſiſter. Look over this with attention. After complaining of his ſituation, he thanks God things are mending—he hopes ſoon to get forward; wiſhes much for peace; and concludes with health to friend Lennox. Why ſhould Camper the Dutchman wiſh Health to friend Lennox! Why, friend Lennox and Locatelli and Camper were engaged in this trade, not as to the ſhip Helſingoer only, but generally to bring the produce of the colony of Manilla to Europe.

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On friend Lennox's exertions he depended for bringing the whole plan to bear.

Mr. Elphinſtone ſaid, if the proprietors would allow the inquiry to go on, the truth would be brought to light, and the directors would be enabled to ſhew what the real tranſactions were between the houſe of Locatelli and Co. and the houſe of David Scott and Co. It would appear that it was neither more nor leſs than to bring to Europe the produce of that colony. It was acknowledged that a Scotchman was engaged by the houſe of David Scott and Co. to trade to the enemy's country. It ſurely was not placing the houſe in the moſt reſpectable light, to be employed and to aſſiſt in ſuch a buſineſs. If this was agency, it was very reprehenſible agency. Murray owns that he was engaged by Duntzfeldt and Co. to carry on this traffic with an enemy's country. When he had ſo taken charge of it, and was boarded by an Engliſh frigate in the Channel, he made uſe of all his powers to deceive the commander of a ſhip of his own country, as to the real deſtination and object of his voyage. He was ready prepared with another deception of the ſame kind, the inſtructions reſpecting Japan, had he met any of our frigates in the Indian ſeas.—When Murray reaches Manilla, he ſends a boat on ſhore, and lays-to at a diſtance, under pretence of looking for proviſions. Will any one believe, that after ſo long a voyage, on reaching the port of his deſtination, Murray would have lain-to for twenty-four hours at a diſtance, merely to look for proviſions, and for proviſions which could not be found? for gentlemen are not to ſuppoſe that Manilla is peopled and ſupplied like England. He hoped he had ſaid enough to ſhew that Murray's evidence was very little to be depended on. He has ſworn not only that he was engaged by the houſe of David Scott and Co. but that he had his inſtructions to proceed to Copenhagen from Mr. Scott. Neither Mr. Scott nor Mr. Lennox could have given him theſe inſtructions; for they, both of them, have made oath to the contrary. In his depoſition at Manilla, Murray ſwears firſt, that the cargo was ſhipped from the cuſtom-houſe. Then he corrects himſelf, and ſays it was ſhipped from the warehouſe of Duntzfeldt and Co. Is this man's account entitled to more credit than Rahling's, who is ſupported by the doctor, and unimpeached except by Murray. But Mr. Elphinſtone ſaid, he did not build his opinion upon what had paſſed at Manilla alone, but as connected with what had occurred in the other room.—As ſoon as it was known that an inquiry was on foot reſpecting the ſhip Helſingoer, there came in affidavits and policies of inſurance, which were ſent as poſitive proofs to convince the directors of the fairneſs of the tranſaction. He ſhould have paid the utmoſt reſpect to the affidavit of Mr. Lennox on any occaſion, except as he ſtood connected with this houſe. They lived near each other in Scotland, and their families had been in the habits of intimacy for centuries.—But Mr. Lennox, he ſaid, had other proofs in his poſſeſſion, by which he might, if he had been innocent, have ſatisfied the court of directors. He might have produced the letter of Duntzfeldt and Co. ordering the goods; the letter of advice when the goods were ſent to Copenhagen; the ſettlement of accounts between the two houſes of Scott and Co. and Duntzfeldt and Co. as to this tranſaction. They would have been ſtrong and ſatisfactory proofs. It had been aſked if it was a light

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matter to file a bill of discovery against a mercantile house? To which he should answer, that if gentlemen wished to avoid these consequences, they ought to take care not to place themselves in suspicious situations. He avoided saying any thing concerning an honourable director (Mr. Scott), because he had been fully acquitted. He still, however, thought him civilly responsible for the transactions of the house of David Scott and Co.

After some general observations on, and arguments against, illicit trade, Mr. Elphinstone concluded his speech with deprecating the motion then before the court.

Sir FRANCIS BARING said, that when he returned to the direction, he found the court of directors engaged in an inquiry concerning charges, not only implicating the house of David Scott and Co. but which included his honourable friend, Mr. Scott, and placed him in a point of view which he was sure he had not deserved. He had taken a part in the acquittal, as far as the honourable director himself was concerned; but he had hoped that the gentlemen who had come forward to support his honourable friend, would have suffered the bill to have proceeded in a regular course. He thought the court ought not to stop the progress of the inquiry. It was easy for the house to prove their innocence, by putting in an answer. The present motion would be, in some degree, putting a bar to inquiry. He would beg leave to say two or three words as to the manner in which this inquiry had originated. It came recommended to the notice of the directors by Mr. Dundas, who transmitted to the court the opinion of the attorney and solicitor general. It would be allowed to be natural that the court should take up an inquiry so recommended to them. In the situation of the house of David Scott and Co. he should beg and entreat that a bill might be filed; though he did not mean to discuss the question at large, as it arose out of the papers. It appeared, by the opinion of the attorney and solicitor general, that the papers contained serious charges, which, with due diligence, might be brought to light. He hoped they had not made a just inference, and that no such facts had existence. But how could gentlemen divest themselves of all imputation, unless they allowed the matter to be heard in a regular manner. Although the company acted as a corporate body, for the interest of the East India company collectively, there was a duty due by them to the public. The directors had considered their duty to both, and endeavoured to discharge it faithfully. The investigation was not carried on for their benefit as individuals. He must beg leave, in concurrence with many of his brethren in the direction, to demand a ballot, and to see whether absent proprietors, as well as those who were present, agreed to the form of the motion. Sir Francis then gave the following names for a ballot:

Mr. Elphinstone,
Sir J. Smith Burgess,
Mr. Thomas Parry,
Sir Francis Baring,
Mr. Abraham Robarts,
Mr. G. W. Thelusson,
Mr. T. Fitzhugh,
Major T. Metcalfe,
Mr. S. Williams.

Lord KINNAIRD thought the ballot was an extraordinary measure; the question before the court appearing so clear to him, as to render any appeal from so numerous a court of proprietors to the body at large, altogether unnecessary. His lordship said, the papers had been before the proprietors; and they were call-

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ed upon to say, whether, in the large volume which had been produced, they could find sufficient evidence of the guilt of David Scott and Co. to induce them to inflict so severe a punishment, as to keep them labouring for years under a cloud of suspicion, by a bill of discovery? It was indeed evident that the measure would be attended with more serious and painful consequences than had been in the contemplation of any one who had voted for that bill. If by facts, or indubitable circumstances, it appeared that the house of David Scott and Co. had, as principals, corruptly and traitorously infringed the law of the land, let them be punished by a bill of discovery: but if it were otherwise—if the materials which had been published left no such impression on any unprejudiced mind—the character of that court for justice and liberality, and *protection*, called upon them, in the words of the motion, to pronounce their opinion, and to justify to the world, at once, their own characters, and the characters of the accused.

Mr. RANDLE JACKSON approved of the ballot, and thought the directors had done right in proposing to take the general sense of the proprietors at large upon the question. Besides, the measure by no means proved that the nine directors, who had demanded a ballot, were therefore adverse to the terms of the motion.

The court, he said, were bound to make some remuneration to the house of David Scott and Co. if they were satisfied that they had been unjustly suspected, for the injury which their characters had sustained. As to the prosecution that was now in the hands of the attorney general, no resolution of that court could change its course. But it was an enormous mistake which the honourable baronet behind the bar had fallen into, when he argued as if the attorney general had already given his opinion of the existence of sufficient grounds of suspicion to call upon the vigilance of the directors. The words which had been quoted as the sentiments of the law officers of the crown, were used by them on a survey of the Batavian correspondence, which was first transmitted to this country by Governor Brooke, and had not the smallest relation to the question of to-day. The name of David Scott and Co. not appearing in the correspondence, the attorney general was left to pursue the inquiry, if he thinks fit; but the general court, feeling for the delicate situation of a merchant, have likewise a right to declare their opinion.—Are we yet to learn the dangerous consequences of implicating mercantile houses in unfounded charges? Look to the letter of Minet and Fector. With all their worthy and long established characters—with all their large fortunes and rich connections—they were on the point of being undone by a similar accusation, since acknowledged to be unfounded; and if we do not, by our vote, rescue the house of David Scott and Co. at least from the disgrace of so heavy and lingering a prosecution, we cannot measure the calamaties that may ensue.

Mr. Jackson said, the only question before the court was, whether David Scott and Co. in their concern with the ship and cargo of the *Helsingoer*, had acted as principals or agents? An honourable director (Mr. Elphinstone) had entered largely on the subject; but had he been able to alter the appearance of the case? He began by stating his reliance on Rahling, and he has done wisely for his argument; for unless he placed great reliance on that

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man's teſtimony, he could not have the leaſt ground on which to ſupport his opinion.

This Rahling ſtates, that he knew the ſhip and cargo to be Britiſh property. On the voyage, this man had annoyed the ears of his ſhip-mates with the hiſtory of the ſanguinary ſcenes in which he had been an actor, as one of the National guard under the tyrant Robeſpierre. He perſeveres in the ſame ſyſtem of morals, which he had ſtudied under this great profeſſor of anarchy, by heading a mutiny on board the ſhip, and attempting to ſeize the captain. On his arrival at Manilla, he ſays, he has a complaint to make againſt the captain; and he is heard by the governor. But does he intimate his ſuſpicions at that time, that the ſhip and cargo are Britiſh property? On the contrary, when he is aſked by the governor, whether the property is Britiſh or not? "No, ſays Rahling, I have the means of knowing, and I declare, upon my honour, it is truly and *bona fide* Daniſh property." And yet this very fellow, after having been tampered with by the ſolicitor of the Exchequer, ſwears the direct contrary. Being preſſed to ſtate upon what he founds his aſſertion, he again ſays, "upon knowledge." And what is this knowledge? That at Copengagen, in the counting-houſe of Duntzfeldt and Co. he had ſeen ſmall Engliſh invoices of part of the cargo, at the head of which there was David Scott and Co. *debtor*. Is it likely, when the profits of the concern were expected to yield, and actually did yield, towards 100 per cent. as appears by the papers, that the houſe of David Scott and Co. would have furniſhed Duntzfeldt and Co. who in that caſe muſt have been their agents, with the original bills of parcels, and not have ſent them a general invoice ſtating the ſelling prices?

Another thing has been noticed by the honourable director in the evidence of Rahling. He ſaw a general invoice of the cargo, compounded from the ſmall ones. Was that ſurpriſing? Could any thing be more natural than for Duntzfeldt and Co. of Copenhagen, the owners of the property, to ſend a general invoice to their agents at Manilla; juſt as the houſe of David Scott and Co. would have done to Duntzfeldt and Co. had the former been principals and the latter been agents? But it ſeems a copy was ſent to the houſe of David Scott and Company; and it was not neceſſary to ſend them a duplicate of the general invoice? How elſe were they to make the inſurance in London, or to prove an intereſt in the inſured? He was ſure it was not owing to any want of candour in the honourable director; but that it muſt have been in a moment of temporary fallacy of memory, that the honourable director had ſtated, that Mr. Lennox had not ſhewn a diſpoſition to ſatisfy the directors reſpecting the tranſaction. The moment he heard of their ſuſpicion, he waited upon them in perſon. He anſwered every queſtion put to him unaſked; he gave them up his papers, and he tendered the inſpection of his accounts. He did not withhold a ſingle document, till he found that ingenuity was racked to turn thoſe which he had produced to his diſadvantage. Among other letters which he voluntarily brought forward, was that in which his name is mentioned in friendly terms by one of the partners in the houſe at Manilla.

If the honourable director had looked a little farther into the books and papers which were tendered to the inſpection of the court of directors, he would have ſeen in the original account, that the houſe of David Scott and Co. charges Duntzfeldt

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Duntzfeldt and Co. of Copenhagen, agency and commiſſion on this very tranſaction. This ſingle fact was deciſive of the caſe. What! if Scott and Co. had been *principals*, would they have charged commiſſion? The propoſition was monſtrous. This ſingular and ſtriking fact the honourable director might have known, and he did know, though he had forgotten to ſtate, that the cargo was warranted *Daniſh* in the policies which were before the court of directors; and the honourable director well knew, that the leaſt deception in this particular, would have vitiated the whole policy. Is it likely, if the houſe at Copenhagen had not been principals, that every letter and paper from Manilla, reſpecting the ſeizure of the ſhip, would have been addreſſed to them, and not to Scott and Co. London? But to faſten even the ſmalleſt ſurmiſe of guilt upon the houſe of David Scott and Co. the honourable director was obliged to reſort to the moſt extreme and improbable caſes. Mr. Jackſon ſaid, when he found a man of his quickneſs and talents, and ſo complete a maſter of the ſubject, obliged to deſcend to ſuch trivial remarks to ſupport his opinion, it afforded an irreſiſtible proof that the caſe would not ſuſtain his argument on better grounds. He alluded to the obſervations which had been made by the honourable director on the private letter of Camper, which expreſſes ſome anxiety for the health of his friend Lennox. From hence, and hence alone, he had drawn the monſtrous concluſion, that the houſe of David Scott and Co. were connected with the houſe of Locatelli and Co. at Manilla. The truth was, Mr. Lennox and Mr. Camper were brought up in the ſame houſe together at Amſterdam. They were bound to each other by the links of the cloſeſt friendſhip. Mr. Lennox was educated by Profeſſor Camper, the father of the gentleman who wrote this letter. It was natural, therefore, that, in a letter to his mother and ſiſter, the one ſhould expreſs himſelf anxious for the health of the other. In all the letters written to Duntzfeldt and Co. of Copenhagen, Locatelli and Co. of Manilla write minutely about the cargo. But to whom would they have written if it had been Britiſh property? Undoubtedly to the houſe of David Scott and Co. Theſe were not letters written with a view to be ſhewn; they were ſent under the privacy of a ſeal, by a private hand, and ſtopt, without any authority ſo to do, by Governor Brooke, at St. Helena. He thought this gentleman's conduct on the occaſion very queſtionable. If he was not ſpecially authoriſed to take this ſtep, it was not a juſtifiable meaſure. A letter ſo obtained, and ſo addreſſed, affords the moſt convincing evidence as to the property of the ſhip and cargo. To whom do the houſe of Locatelli and Co. under the preſumption of privacy, pour forth their feelings? To Duntzfeldt and Co. and not to David Scott and Co. To the former alone they unfold the embarraſſments they have met with; all the notice they take of the latter, and all they ſay to them is, to deſire that they will, as agents, forward their letter to Copenhagen. Is it not evident, that Duntzfeldt and Co. are the real owners, when they direct Paine, the bearer of their letter, to *proceed to Copenhagen directly, if poſſible?* If David Scott and Co. had been the owners and the perſons immediately intereſted in the events that had happened at Manilla, reſpecting the ſhip and cargo, is it likely that Locatelli and Co. would have directed Mr. Paine, who carried the narra-

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tive of those events, to have proceeded *directly from St. Helena to Copenhagen, if he had found a ship at St. Helena bound to that port?* It was only in the event that he could not, that he was to deliver the packet to David Scott and Co. at all, and get them to forward it to Copenhagen. And it was observable, that the letter addressed to David Scott and Co. merely desired them to pay Paine for his trouble, and forward the letter to Duntzfeldt and Co. The real state of the transaction was this: Duntzfeldt required British agents to furnish him with British goods. David Scott and Co. were these agents, as they might lawfully be. Duntzfeldt sends these goods, as he lawfully might, to Manilla, a country with which the crown of Denmark was in amity. If the court thought this was a correct statement, they were bound to declare that David Scott and Co. had acted as agents only, and not as principals. The honourable director next comments upon the house of David Scott and Co. having recommended Murray expressly to undertake this expedition to Manilla. This does not appear to have been the case; and after the affidavit of Mr. Lennox, which states the circumstances as it really happened, it ought not to have been so stated. The honourable director is pleased to treat affidavits as idle things, and not to be attended to! Surely the oaths of men of equal honour with himself, men who walk high in the ranks of life, whose word upon the exchange of London is considered equivalent to their bond, are not to be so treated. The truth is, this mercantile house was teazed, as all such great houses are teazed, for letters of recommendation. Mr. Lennox knew no more of the man than the honourable director himself. He is applied to through some connection, implored by some Scotch interest, and he gives a general letter of recommendation to the house of Duntzfeldt and Co. without the smallest reference to this particular voyage. But is it extraordinary for Scotchmen to navigate Danish ships to India? This question may be answered by the information derived from the adjudication of the Spanish court at Manilla, which says, "Nothing turns upon this circumstance, as it is a very usual thing to employ Englishmen and Americans in such adventures, they alone having skill and courage enough to beat those seas during the monsoons." Murray immediately had an employ of this kind from some of the Danish houses in view, when his friends obtained for him from Scott and Co. a mere letter of general introduction. It was true, it subjected the captain who embarks in such an undertaking to a penalty of 500*l.*; but how does it subject the house of David Scott and Co. to any censure? Unless the court feel that they are implicated in the transaction otherwise than as British agents to an European house in Europe, they are bound to acquit them. There is another circumstance that the honourable director seems to think remarkable, *viz.* that the captain, on his reaching Manilla, should send his boat on shore before he entered the harbour. It was easy to see immediately what was the drift of this: it appears upon the evidence on the trial, that he believed Manilla might be in the hands of the English, and under that impression, was it unnatural that he should feel his way first? The honourable director thinks, that the want of water and fresh provisions was a mere pretence; but he forgets that the daring conduct of Rahling, his favourite witness, the prop of his argument, had made it dangerous in

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the whole of his voyage from Europe to India, to touch at any port for freſh water. Upon the whole, he truſted the proprietors would agree with him, that if there were no other grounds for the ſuſpicion againſt the houſe of David Scott and Co. than appeared upon the documents which had been printed for their information, that they would think, in the words of the motion, "that there were not any grounds of ſuſpicion againſt the houſe of David Scott and Co. and therefore that it would be incompatible with the juſtice of the court to withhold the declaration of their opinion."

Mr. GRANT (the director) ſaid, when he examined the evidence upon which the charge was founded, he was completely ſatisfied of its weakneſs and inſufficiency. The matter brought forward in ſupport of the proſecution afforded in its nature no proof; and the witneſſes on whoſe teſtimony it ſtood, were utterly worthleſs. No jury would, on the credit of ſuch evidence, have given a verdict in a ſuit for 20*l.* Of this, whoever carefully examines the papers, eſpecially the deciſion of the governor of Manilla, and the opinion of his aſſeſſor, muſt be convinced. They declare no reaſon or motive has been ſhewn why the ſhip and cargo ſhould be conſidered as other than Daniſh property; that the witneſſes and arguments for the proſecution are entitled to no credit or weight, and therefore they acquit the expedition of all the charges and allegations brought againſt it. It was impoſſible for any impartial man to read that adjudication without feeling a reſpect for the judgment and abilities of thoſe who gave it. The whole ſum of the evidence againſt the ſhip Helſingoer and her cargo (in which tranſaction alone the name of the houſe of David Scott and Co. was mentioned) may be claſſed under two heads; there was ſomething of a *hearſay* kind, a declaration which the captain was ſaid to have made, that the ſhip and cargo belonged to David Scott; and ſomething in the nature of *fact*, which was, that Engliſh bills of parcels for part of the cargo had been ſeen in the counting-houſe of Duntzfeldt. In oppoſition to the concluſions attempted to be drawn from theſe premiſes, there were ſo many proofs, both from the nature of the premiſes themſelves, and the characters of the perſons on whoſe authority they reſted; ſo many proofs of the ignorance, enmity, contradiction, and perjury of thoſe witneſſes, that he was entirely ſatisfied with the deciſion of the court at Manilla, and does not ſee how they could have decided otherwiſe. An honourable director, however, (Mr. Elphinſtone) entertains a different impreſſion on the ſubject. He ſays, that the evidence of Rahling, undoubtedly the principal witneſs and actor for the proſecution, is only contradicted by Murray, the captain, himſelf a bad character. This, Mr. Grant ſaid, he muſt poſitively deny. The papers themſelves, independent of Murray's information, contain facts which deſtroy Rahling's credibility. When firſt queſtioned whether the ſhip and cargo were Daniſh, he ſolemnly affirmed and declared to the governor, that the expedition was, to his certain knowledge, Daniſh in all its parts. Afterwards he ſwore directly the contrary. He firſt accuſes the captain of cruelty, and even of murder; he then offers to compromiſe this accuſation for a ſum of money. This is rejected with indignation, but he makes no attempt to eſtabliſh his charge. The captain charged him with having headed a mutiny on board ſhip. That he had been confined on board is clear, and alſo

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that he acted with ſtrong enmity againſt the captain. He fails in the firſt ſcheme to gratify this enmity, and then has recourſe to another. Contrary to his original idea, he denounces the ſhip and cargo as Britiſh property. He goes to the ſolicitor of the exchequer, whoſe buſineſs it was, at Manilla, to proſecute ſuſpected ſhips, and confederates with him to get the ſhip and cargo condemned as the property of enemies. He has a paper drawn upon ſhore to this effect in Engliſh, intending to get it ſigned by the crew; but having, in conſequence of his own deſire, being enjoined by the governor not to return to the ſhip, he, in order to obtain his leave to go on board, pretends that he wiſhes to bring about an accommodation between the captain and his crew. The governor, who had ſeen into Rahling's character, aſks him how he can think of accommodating with a man whom he had accuſed of murder? Rahling coolly anſwers, that Murray would find means to acquit himſelf of that charge. The governor then ſays, if peace is really the object, a writing to that effect muſt be preſented. Rahling meant nothing leſs. He quits the governor, and, by means of a note obtained from the ſolicitor of the exchequer, to the commiſſioner of cuſtoms, he gets on board the ſhip, and procures the names of Daniſh ſailors to an Engliſh paper, which they could not read. Theſe men ſwear the property to be Engliſh, becauſe they had frequently *heard* Murray declare it belonged to Mr. David Scott; not to the houſe of David Scott and Co. but to Mr. D. Scott, perſonally. This was all the ground they had. Murray ſwore that he had never uſed ſuch expreſſions: and very properly remarks upon this evidence, that if he had made ſuch declarations as theſe ſailors impute to him, he muſt have been a fool as well as a knave. The chief mate is examined. He had at firſt ſwore that the property was clearly Daniſh; now he ſwears that it is Engliſh. The ſurgeon is alſo examined; and though he had before aſſented to the firſt declaration of Rahling, that the ſhip and cargo were Daniſh, he now, with him, ſwears them to be Engliſh property. Such are the evidences. The only thing like a fact ſtated in ſupport of this evidence, is, that Rahling and the ſurgeon ſaw in the counting-houſe of Duntzfeldt and Co. at Copenhagen, Engliſh bills of parcels in the name of David Scott and Co. Theſe bills of parcels thus tranſmitted to Copenhagen, plainly ſhew the nature of the tranſaction. No reaſon can be aſſigned why a principal ſhould ſend his original bills of parcels to an agent. The only fact adduced to criminate the houſe of David Scott and Co. goes to eſtabliſh their innocence, and to prove that they were agents and not principals.—The judgment of the court of Manilla, confirmed by the governor, acquitting the ſhip and cargo of being Britiſh property, is the more to be relied upon, becauſe when it was given, it appears that the treaſury of Manilla was nearly empty, and, had the property been condemned, the governor would have been entitled to a third of the confiſcation. In ſhort, there are ſo many circumſtances that operate againſt the credibility of the witneſſes; there is ſo much improbability in their account, and ſuch perjury in their evidence, that they are totally unworthy of credit. An honourable director (Mr. Elphinſtone) has ſaid, that he conſiders the houſe of David Scott and Co. and the houſe of Locatelli and Camper, at Manilla, to be concerned together in this and other ſimilar tranſactions, as principals.

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pals. This he delivers as his *opinion*; but does he bring forward a ſingle fact to ſupport it? Mr. Grant ſaid, he truſted we were not on ſuch a queſtion to be governed by opinion alone: if ſo, the next ſtep would be that we ſhould act upon prejudice. Mr. Grant ſaid, we ſhould be guided in ſo ſolemn an inquiry by facts alone; he conſidered himſelf as ſitting in judgment upon the character of reſpectable men, in effect under the ſanction of his oath of office. Under this ſerious impreſſion, he durſt not condemn men upon ſurmiſe or opinion, nor ſay that he ſaw any evidence to impeach the houſe of David Scott and Co. with ſuch a charge as the honourable director had ſuggeſted. The honourable director (Mr. Elphinſtone) was led to ſurmiſe the exiſtence of this connection between the houſe of David Scott and Co. and Locatelli and Co. from a paſſage in a letter from the latter houſe to Duntzfeldt and Co. in which they ſay, "that they could not explain the whole circumſtances of the caſe." Mr. Grant ſaid, he could not take upon himſelf to aſcertain what this expreſſion referred to; but if the letter of Locatelli was to be taken as evidence, the whole ſhould be taken. And nothing can be clearer than this letter; and the other private letters every where repreſent Duntzfeldt and Co. as the principals, and ſpeak to them the language natural to be addreſſed to the owners of the ſhip and cargo. A friendly expreſſion in another private letter from Mr. Camper, to his mother, concerning Mr. Lennox, has been much dwelt upon by the honourable director. Mr. Grant ſaid, he could not draw concluſions of ſuch magnitude from mere ſurmiſes. As to the obſervation that it was in the power of the houſe of David Scott and Co. to have ſatisfied the court of directors of their innocence, by the production of other papers, it ought to be recollected, that the reſolution to proſecute the houſe was adopted before any ſtep was taken by the directors to obtain information from the houſe. They ought to have ſtated to the houſe what elucidation they wiſhed for; inſtead of which, they at once reſolved, without any communication, on a bill of diſcovery. An honourable baronet (Sir Francis Baring) had quoted the opinion of the attorney and ſolicitor general, to ſhew that there were grounds of ſuſpicion againſt the houſe of David Scott and Co. which juſtified inquiry. But that opinion referred to the Batavian tranſactions, with which the houſe of David Scott and Co. had not the leaſt concern.

Mr. Grant conceived it to be the deſign of the queſtion then before the court, to draw forth an opinion on the ſubject matter of the printed papers, as an act of juſtice to the parties concerned, who are deeply affected in their intereſts and characters, by unfortunate imputation. Having heard the evidence in the cauſe of the Helſingoer referred to, he had thought himſelf obliged to give his opinion on that ſubject; and to the preſent motion, he did not underſtand that the court were, by the terms or meaning of it, called on to quaſh the bill of diſcovery. That depended on the opinion of the attorney general, and he would not act from any other impreſſion, than the dictates of his own correct and enlightened mind.

Mr. DURANT ſaid, he was now called upon to decide a queſtion, involving the character and property of a reſpectable mercantile houſe; and he could not perceive, from any thing he had read or heard, the leaſt ſolid ground of imputation againſt the houſe. An honourable director (Mr. Elphinſtone) laboured to im-

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preſs the court with a belief that guilt was imputable to the houſe of David Scott and Co.; but he produced mere ſurmiſes and preſumption, with not a ſingle proof, or any evidence whatever. In the preſent caſe there was nothing but preſumptive evidence, which was contradicted by poſitive evidence, by the evidence of a moſt reſpectable merchant at Copenhagen, and by the oath of a mercantile gentleman of equal reſpect in this country: and yet, upon a ſlight preſumption, the honourable director would ſanction a meaſure which might totally ruin a very reſpectable houſe of commerce. Mr. Durant deprecated the filing of the bill of diſcovery, as a moſt unjuſt meaſure; as its tendency appeared to him to be, to deſtroy the houſe firſt, and then to inveſtigate its conduct.

After ſome obſervations in defence of the ballot, by Mr. Parry and Mr. Roberts, two of the nine directors who demanded it,—the court adjourned.

FRIDAY, *July* 5, 1799.

At a general court held this day, The CHAIRMAN reported the reſult of the ballot which had taken place on the 2d inſtant, on the queſtion of allowing Mr. Paterſon to return to India, with his rank in the ſervice.

For the queſtion	867
Againſt it - -	11
Majority - -	356

Which being more than three fourths of the proprietors who voted, his return had been allowed.

The reſolution of the laſt court, for ſuſpending the by-law, was unanimouſly confirmed.

EXTENSION *of the* COMMERCE *of* INDIA *to the* PORT *of* LONDON.

The CHAIRMAN then ſtated to the court, a letter received by the deputy chairman and himſelf, ſigned "William Luſhington," and "George Johnſtone," intimating their intention to bring forward the following motion as on that day.

"It appearing to this court, that the proviſions made in the Act of the 33d of George III. c. 61, and the regulations in conſequence thereof, have not been adequate to the declared object of bringing the commerce of Britiſh India to the port of London; and that the preſent ſtate of the general trade between the Eaſt Indies and Europe, requires very ſerious and immediate inveſtigation, in order to give Britiſh merchants thoſe facilities which the legiſlature evidently intended, by the principle laid down in that act, which principle then was, and now moſt manifeſtly is, for the real intereſt of the Eaſt India company, as well as the Britiſh nation at large.

"Reſolved, that this court do recommend to the court of directors to take the ſubject into their immediate conſideration: alſo to repreſent the ſame to his Majeſty's commiſſioners for the affairs of India, and ſolicit their advice and aſſiſtance towards the eſtabliſhment of ſuch an arrangement in the general commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and the Eaſt Indies, as may carry into full effect that wiſe, juſt, and liberal principle: due regard being had at the ſame time to the exiſting rights and privileges of this company."

The CHAIRMAN ſaid it would not be neceſſary for him to enter into any argument on the ſubject of this letter at preſent. When it had been opened by thoſe who had brought it forward in a regular way, it would then be proper time for him to ſtate his ſentiments. He thought it, however, right to obſerve, before the diſcuſſion was entered upon, that the points intended to be agitated were of the higheſt conſequence to the chartered rights of the company. It was a ſubject which the directors had, for ſome time, had under their conſideration; but they had not yet ſufficiently deliberated upon it to come to any concluſion, as it required the moſt mature inveſtigation. He was not authoriſed

to

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to expreſs the general opinion of the court of directors; but he could not help recommending it to his honourable relation, to forbear to propoſe any queſtion, or to agitate any point connected with it, in the preſent court. It could not be ſuppoſed, that in giving this advice, it was his aim to cruſh ſo important an inquiry, the outline of which he took to be, in what way can the ſuperabundant produce of India be brought to this country, which cannot be conveyed through the regular channel of the company? It was a very important queſtion, and various political conſiderations aroſe out of it. Another motive which induced him to recommend the forbearing to preſs it forward at this time was, that this was not the fulleſt court to enter upon ſuch a diſcuſſion. He hoped he might be permitted to ſuggeſt, without offence to the court, that the directors were the fitteſt guardians of the rights of the company. They were bound, not only by their duty, but by their oath, to preſerve theſe rights. On the outſide of the bar, gentlemen were actuated by different views and intereſts, which the directors were not. If they poſſeſſed the confidence of their conſtituents, he truſted this was a proper occaſion to extend it. Gentlemen would have an opportunity of delivering their ſentiments on a future day, when the ſubject could be brought before them more fully and deliberately, with the ſentiments of their executive body upon it.

Mr. WILLIAM LUSHINGTON ſaid, he was as fully impreſſed with the delicacy of the ſubject as the directors themſelves could be; and he was very ready to meet the propoſal of ſending it to the directors for inveſtigation; and was perfectly ſatisfied with the aſſurance that had been given from the chair, that when they were prepared with an opinion, a court of proprietors ſhould be called, and that it ſhould be ſubmitted to them. He ſhould now content himſelf with ſimply ſtating a general outline of his ideas. Firſt, he thought that in any arrangement which ſhould be adopted, the rights of the company ought to be preferably attended to. In the next place he wiſhed to be underſtood, that he ſhould not have contended for the excluſion of foreigners from the trade of India; all he meant was, that when the company had enjoyed as much of the trade as they were capable of carrying on or wiſhed to engage in, that Britiſh ſubjects ſhould be placed, as to the reſidue of the trade, upon an equal footing at leaſt with foreign competitors. If the produce of India once paſſed the Cape in other veſſels than the company's ſhips, whether they belonged to foreign or Britiſh traders, it would equally act againſt the company's ſales. Open to Britiſh ſubjects, as well as to foreigners, what the company think fit to reject. It is never meant to interfere with the company's aſſortments; nor that the trade ſhould be carried on, independent of the ſuperviſion and regulations of the directors: neither did he mean to give permanency to the ſyſtem of bringing home the produce of India in ſhips built there, nor on any occaſion to further the views of the ſhip-builders of India, of ſharing in the carrying trade; this was what he ſhould object to. He wiſhed to ſee the Britiſh commerce ſpread far and wide; but he wiſhed alſo that it ſhould be carried in Britiſh bottoms, and navigated by Britiſh ſeamen: if not, our maritime ſtrength would not increaſe with the increaſe of our commerce. If ſhips built in India were to enjoy the privileges of Britiſh ſhips, they would not

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confine their views to British commerce, but trade not only with England, but with the whole world. He repeated, therefore, that he would never admit of their sharing in the India carrying trade. In the motion he had proposed making, there was nothing which offended any principle laid down by the act of 1793. That act allowed a participation of individuals, qualified as to its extent, and as to its assortment of articles. Let the directors judge to what amount the company ought to trade. Whether two millions, or two millions and a half? But the company having enjoyed this right in its utmost possible latitude, if there must of necessity be a surplus—if such a surplus be necessary to the internal prosperity of the country; is it not unnatural and unjust to exclude British subjects in favour of foreigners? These were points he was ready to postpone the discussion of, if it were clearly understood that a future day would be appointed for their consideration. He wished it to be impressed on the public, that the question was only postponed for future consideration, at the instance of the directors, and that it was not rejected.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir Stephen Lushington) said, he thought it necessary to be explicit on this occasion. He had no right to commit his brother directors to take the subject under their consideration, with a view to bring forward any resolutions which might abridge the rights of which the company were now in possession. He thought this not the regular mode of proceeding. If any persons felt themselves aggrieved by the exercise of the existing privileges of the company, they must bring forward their complaints, and they would be inquired into. The regulating the carrying trade of India, was a great public question, and he would meet it so far as to say, that he thought British subjects ought to have a preference to foreigners in that part of the produce of India, which the company could not bring home themselves. He could not answer how far the other directors would go with him in this opinion. He wished that the gentleman who brought forward the motion, or any proprietor who supported it, would state their ideas in writing, and send it to the court of directors, who would be bound to make them an object of immediate investigation, and to see how far they could meet the wishes of the honourable proprietors without violating the rights of the company, so as materially to affect and injure them; but he was not prepared to pledge himself to go into the next room to propose regulations, to curb the law as it now stands. Thus much, however, he would say, if not as a director, as a proprietor of India stock, that he wished to give every facility to British subjects, to bring the superabundant produce of India to this country, which the company could not bring, to prevent its passing through the circuitous hands of foreigners, and that it should come fairly and directly to the river Thames. He thought, without going out of the line of his duty, he might say, that this was the proper channel. He must add, that the company had never obstructed the trade of individuals. If the tonnage now allowed was unequal to the extent of their commerce, an application to the directors, stating the occasion for its enlargement, would always be attended to. By the act, 3000 tons were allotted to individuals; in fact, not above 1000 tons had been occupied. The efforts of individuals were nowise defeated by the directors; such conduct

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duct would be beneath the company; they acted upon great public grounds, and considered it a part of their duty to promote the prosperity of the national commerce.

Mr. JOHNSTONE said, it would give him the utmost concern, if he should be considered for a moment as having lent his support to a measure intended to touch upon the privileges and immunities of the East India company, to which he had been taught to look with reverence, and under whose officers he had filled offices himself above his desert or capacity. It was because he felt the measure to be calculated to promote the best interests of the company that he had borne a part in bringing it forward. He felt the strongest confidence, and placed the firmest reliance, in the steps that would be taken behind the bar.

Mr. PETER MOORE said, it gave him infinite concern that a motion, which the court had been specially convened to discuss, should be so disposed of, and no certain period or definite means fixed on, for bringing to a final conclusion a subject of such infinite importance: a subject which had so considerably agitated the public mind, and given a very serious check to the commercial interests of the country. An immense volume of information on the subject had been printed, at the desire of the proprietary, which was found to implicate the honour and credit of many respectable houses and commercial firms. But what was the use of printing these papers, if they were not to be acted on? Independent of the justice due to the respectable houses so implicated, said Mr. Moore, the public attention has ever since been fixed on us, and they had a reasonable ground to expect that the subject would not only undergo a very accurate discussion, but that the company would come to some positive determination, and report on it; at least, to satisfy the nation, that their rights, entrusted to our direct management, were not abused. But, said Mr. Moore, this is by no means the first, nor even the second time we have assembled, to discuss the subject of illicit trade, as exhibited in this printed volume: and he trusted that the motion would not be thus unexpectedly withdrawn, when all parties await the discussion. He said, he thought the subject of that magnitude and importance, that no time ought to be lost in correcting the evils of any illicit practice so loudly complained of. The question was simple and easy. Were there grounds for these complaints of illicit dealings, or not? if not, said Mr. Moore, we ought to dismiss them, and declare to the world that they are without foundation. If otherwise, it was our duty to apply an instant remedy, as every day's delay must be attended with severe injuries to the East India company, and heavy losses to the state in its regal income. But, perhaps, we may find that, what is now called *illicit* trade, has been so long countenanced by the East India company themselves, and by their governments abroad, as to qualify and legalize all its defects in point of regularity. He thought, however, that at all events a discussion and report were our duty; and that it was become more urgent, from the threatening notice which had been given by the minister, in his place, in the house of commons, that if the East India company did not form proper regulations on the subject, he would. It was not the object of the motion to encroach on the chartered rights of the company. On the contrary, it was the aim of the motion to bring into the bosom of the parent state that flow of wealth which was enriching

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riching rival nations; that portion of eaſtern commerce, which the company either could not, or thought it not wiſe to embrace. The Eaſt India company's chartered rights embrace the whole trade to the eaſt of the Cape of Good Hope. They may ſecure to themſelves, excluſively, any portion of it which they may think proper. Whatever ſhare they chooſe to take, no one wiſhes to interfere with; but, without trenching upon their boundary, by opening the carrying trade to Britiſh ſubjects, by extending to them the indulgence and privileges which foreigners, under the auſpices of the company, and the ſtate enjoy; more wealth would be wafted to this country from the eaſt than all the new wet docks of the Iſle of Dogs could contain. Let the produce of India ſtill come to the India Houſe; let it be ſubject to the regulations of the directors; but let it enter the Thames.

The Eaſt India company cannot occupy the whole; let then the company licence individual traders, ſubject to their own regulations. Let them lay what reſtraints they pleaſe on the Britiſh merchants, but leave them to their own management. With this reaſonable and natural licence, they will be ſatisfied to pay all the duties of the ſtate, and all the dues of the company. Mr. Moore then entered into a ſtriking picture of the commercial capacity of India, and its ſuperiority over that of the Weſt India iſlands; and concluded a very animated ſpeech, by arguing, that the only way to get rid of what is called the illicit trade, as carried on by foreigners, is to allow it to be carried on by the Britiſh ſubjects.

Mr. Prinsep ſaid, that he had been frequent and active in his exhortations, to have the meaſure, now introduced, brought forward: as it was his confirmed opinion, that an improved ſyſtem of the commercial intercourſe between India and this country, was eſſentially neceſſary to the exiſtence of the company. He begged leave to refer to the different declarations he had made, as well as to his written applications on that ſubject; the tendency of all which was, that the company ought to enlarge the ſphere of their influence, by expanding their protection to private traders. As they were about to give way a third time, on the ſuggeſtion of the Chair, he would content himſelf with ſimply ſtating the foundation of his argument, which was, that the public had a right to ſhare in the ſurplus trade which the company do not take: this was the competition he wiſhed to promote, to ſhare at leaſt with foreign competitors, before the greater part of the carrying trade of India fell into their hands. The welfare of the ſtate was not leſs concerned in the due protection of India, than that of the company: that protection was beſt afforded by the extenſion of its navigation and commerce; and as the public ſhared largely in the exertions for its defence, they ought to partake liberally of the proſperity, which was the reſult of that protection.

Mr. Elphinstone (a director) ſaid, it was not the wiſh of the directors to put any reſtraint on the fair legal trader. The act of 1793 gives a large portion of the tonnage of the company to individuals; and if more ſhould be wanting, the company are bound to find it. Every encouragement, he added, would be given to the fair open trader, and he was much concerned that there were ſo few of that deſcription.

Sir W. Pulteney ſaid, he was glad the debate had taken ſuch a turn, and that the matter was to be left to the deliberate conſideration

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of the directors. He wiſhed to impreſs upon the court, that nothing had been urged, that went to controvert the grounds upon which the queſtion had been brought forward. An honourable Baronet (Sir F. Baring), had begged that gentlemen would not be deceived as to the advantages likely to reſult from the meaſure; but he did not deny that a great deal of good might reſult from it—he only queſtioned its being productive of the whole which was expected. This was no reaſon why they ſhould not have as much as poſſible—it was no reaſon for oppoſing the meaſure. Let thoſe who did not form high expectations from its reſult, allow it to go the length it could. Another honourable director (Mr. Elphinſtone), thinks, that the act, as it now ſtands, gives ſufficient encouragement to the fair private trader, and yet complains of the growth and extent of the illicit trade. He admits that a great part of the company's tonnage allowed to private traders, is not occupied, and that theſe private traders are engaged in a clandeſtine trade. Is not this admitting that the regular trade by the company's ſhips is not made ſo advantageous as it ought to be? Would any merchant act contrary to law, if the company gave every facility in their power to the private trader? Would not every private trader prefer the company's ſhips to foreign veſſels? The truth is, though the words of the act give encouragement to private traders, it is withdrawn by the mode in which it is granted. Sir William ſaid, he would put a caſe which would exemplify this. The act did not allow ſufficient notice to the trader of the vacant tonnage. He had not any certainty that the goods he might prepare would go by the company's ſhips. He can make no bargain with the manufacturer for the delivery of goods at a given time. He cannot order goods from any diſtance. He will not wait for the chance of the company's tonnage: if he did, after he had prepared an inveſtment, he might be told there is no room, your goods cannot go, and he might be ruined. Remove this objection, give the private trader more ample ſecurity that you will convey his property, and on moderate terms, and you will have all the trade which is now called illicit. Would any man be ſo mad to do that illegally, and through foreigners, which he could do legally, and through the company! It is not credible. If ſo extenſive a trade is carried on through foreign flags, there muſt be ſomething defective in the exiſting regulations. There is no love of illegality in the minds of the private traders. They are driven, by our impolicy, to trade through the medium of foreigners. It was a great and important ſubject, not as it affected the intereſt of particular traders, but as conducive to the proſperity of the country at large. It was evident, that if giving facility to the trade, increaſed its growth, it would improve the revenue of the country, and we, as ſovereigns of India, muſt be the gainers. We are now the ſovereigns, and is not the proſperity of India our proſperity? As great a part of this trade as the honourable director (Sir F. Baring), admits may be ſecured, muſt tend to the proſperity of India. The company and the nation are both concerned in the event of this queſtion.

Some appear to reſt upon the old ideas of the company's being a mere trading company, and entertain needleſs jealouſies and apprehenſions. He hoped theſe old prejudices, which were not adapted to the

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the new ſituation of the company, would be laid aſide. They were not in the ſame ſtate. He would put a caſe—the company had not money to purchaſe all the produce of India: to enable them to do it, they muſt borrow at high intereſt; or, if they did not borrow, what would be the effect? The produce muſt be thrown back upon the hands of the manufacturer. He hoped government would not ſuffer the company to borrow money—let them trade to the full extent of their revenue. If you can take the whole produce of India with your revenue, who attempts to hinder you? But if you cannot, it is not your buſineſs to encourage foreigners to take off the ſurplus trade. Why are not Britiſh ſubjects to be encouraged as well as foreigners? The enlargement of the trade by the late act was well imagined, but on experience it has been found not to anſwer. There needs no ſtronger proof that it has not, than that the tonnage has not been taken up; that the company's ſhips have not been employed. He was glad the ſubject was to be deliberated upon behind the bar: had it taken another courſe, he ſhould have diſcuſſed it more at large than he now felt it neceſſary to do.

The Deputy Chairman ſaid, that as the ſubject was to undergo a diſcuſſion in another form, he would not have intruded upon the notice of the court now, if ſomething had not fallen from an honourable baronet, with the impreſſion of which he could not reconcile it to himſelf to ſuffer the court to go away. The honourable baronet had ſaid, "he hoped the company would not be ſuffered to borrow money to carry on their trade." He muſt obſerve, that if the company confined their trade to their ſurplus revenue, they would have little to do. The legiſlature had lately granted them leave to borrow two millions, for the expreſs purpoſe of extending their commercial engagements.

Sir William Pulteney (in reply) ſaid, when he had ſpoken of the company's revenue, he had confined himſelf to the revenues of Bengal only. It was the practice of the Bengal government to borrow money at the exorbitant intereſt of ten *per cent.* to lay out in inveſtments, and they loſt conſiderably on their Bengal trade. He confined his obſervation to the Bengal trade only. He knew the company were gainers by their general trade. That there were great profits upon the China trade every one knew. All he meant was, to deny that they ought to be permitted to borrow at ten *per cent.* to extend their Bengal trade, when it was by no means a profitable trade. It was the ſyſtem of the court of directors to recommend large inveſtments, and our government abroad knew, that they particularly recommended themſelves to their favourable opinion, by ſending home large inveſtments; but it was evident, that if the trade yielded no profit, but, on the contrary, was a loſing trade, the larger the inveſtment, the greater the loſs. It ſhould be recollected, that government had a right to the territorial poſſeſſions, and therefore it was prudent and wiſe to ſeparate the accounts of the revenue, and of the commerce of the company.

On the motion of Mr. Chisholme the court adjourned.

Wednesday, *Sept.* 25, 1799.

At a quarterly general court held this day, the following letter, addreſſed

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addreſſed to Sir Stephen Luſhington (the chairman) was read:

"*Foudroyant, Bay of Naples, July* 3, 1799.

"I was this day honoured with your letter of May 1, conveying to me the reſolutions of the honourable Eaſt India company. It is true, Sir, that I am incapable of finding words to convey my feelings, for the unprecedented honour done me by the company. Having, in my younger days, ſerved in the Eaſt Indies, I am no ſtranger to the munificence of the honourable company: but this generous act of their's to me, ſo much ſurpaſſes all calculation of gratitude, that I have only the power of ſaying, that I receive it with all reſpect. Give me leave, Sir, to thank you for your very elegant and flattering letter, and that I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

Your moſt obliged,
And obedient ſervant,
(Signed) NELSON."

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN (H. Inglis) then recapitulated the advices received from India, communicating the intelligence of the glorious and deciſive ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms in India, in the war againſt the late Tippoo Sultaun;—and the court adjourned to the 13th November.

WEDNESDAY, *Nov.* 13, 1799.

VICTORY *in the* MYSORE.

A general court was held, to take into conſideration the advices from India, on an adjournment from the 25th of September.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir STEPHEN LUSHINGTON) opened the buſineſs, by ſtating the dangerous ſituation of the company's poſſeſſions, from the perfidy and duplicity of Tippoo Sultaun, the ſtateſman-like conduct of Lord Mornington, in obſerving and counteracting his plans, and the ability with which he had prevented a formidable French force from eſtabliſhing itſelf in the nizam's dominions. Lord Mornington, very early after his arrival in India, Sir Stephen ſaid, found reaſon to ſuſpect that Tippoo entertained treacherous deſigns againſt the Britiſh intereſt, and that he had concerted ſome hoſtile meaſures ſecretly with the French. This ſuſpicion was afterwards confirmed, by Lord Mornington receiving from Lord Macartney a copy of a proclamation, iſſued on the part of the French government at the iſland of Mauritius, which plainly indicated the inſidious conduct of Tippoo, who continued, from time to time, to profeſs the moſt friendly intentions towards the company. The governor-general immediately endeavoured, by negociation with Tippoo, to have the matter fully explained and adjuſted; and ſo adverſe was he to take any hoſtile ſtep againſt him, that his patience had almoſt got the better of his prudence, and induced him to let ſlip the firſt opportunity of compelling Tippoo to throw off the maſk, and avow his purpoſe. Finding, however, that Tippoo had recourſe to evaſion and delay, he proceeded to Madras, and, with ſingular exertion and energy, got the army ready to take the field, and proceed to attack the Myſore capital, Seringapatam, which the proprietors had long ſince heard had fallen into our hands. The chairman mentioned the ſucceſs of General Stuart, which materially contributed to the good fortune that attended the ſubſequent operations of the army under the command of Lieutenant-general Harris. He alſo gave due praiſe to Lord Clive, and the governor of Bombay, for their chearful and active co-operation with the governor-general, and obſerved, that it was evident the company had been obliged to go to war with Tippoo, after offering the moſt friendly propoſitions for accommodation without effect, and trying every means to avoid it.

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He concluded his ſtatement, by congratulating the general court on the great importance of ſo deciſive a victory, an event which enſured to India a laſting, he had almoſt ſaid, a perpetual peace.

He then moved that the reſolutions of the court of directors of the 24th of September be read.

The votes of thanks to Lord Mornington, &c. which had been paſſed by the directors, were then read, and ſubmitted to the general court for their condemnation.

Lord KINNAIRD began by ſtating the prominent features of Lord Mornington's very meritorious ſervices. He mentioned the early vigilance, and unceaſing activity of his exertions to get the army ready to take the field with the leaſt poſſible delay. He ſaid, it had been declared to be the opinion of officers of experience, that the army could not take the field in leſs than ſix months; but that, in ſpite of this diſcouraging difficulty, Lord Mornington, by his ſpirit and his zeal, his energy and his efforts, had enabled it to take the field almoſt immediately, ſurmounting every obſtacle that oppoſed itſelf to his anxiety to do his duty, and ſave the poſſeſſions of the company from the dangers with which they were threatened. The ardour of the noble lord communicated itſelf to all around him, and the ſame active ſpirit pervaded every part of the ſervice. Hence the unanimity that marked the conduct of Lord Clive and the government of Bombay, and induced them ſo ably and effectually to co-operate with the governor-general, in forwarding thoſe meaſures that terminated ſo honourably to the noble lord, and with ſo much glory and advantage to the Eaſt India company. Lord Kinnaird adverted to the enterprizing addreſs and wiſdom diſplayed by Lord Mornington, in effecting the ſurrender of the force of 14,000 men, commanded by French officers, at Hydrabad, and, by their conſolidation with our ſtrength, turning their arms, in the ſhort ſpace of a few months, againſt the very cauſe they were formed to ſupport. After enlarging on this and other particulars, his lordſhip concluded with moving to confirm the thanks to the Earl of Mornington, that had been voted by the court of directors. He alſo read the ſeveral other motions of thanks, which he propoſed to make to Lord Clive, Lieutenant-general Harris, and the officers of the army, who had ſo ſucceſsfully fought in defence of our poſſeſſions in India, and achieved a victory, in point of deciſion and importance, unparalleled in the hiſtory of Aſia.

Mr. JOHNSTONE roſe to ſecond Lord Kinnaird, and entered into an ample detail of the ſituation of our affairs in India, at different periods, in order to eſtabliſh the fact that the late glorious ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms in that quarter of the globe, placed the intereſts of the company on a much more ſecure and permanent footing than they had ever before ſtood upon. He obſerved, that the tyrants of the Myſore had been the inveterate enemies of the Engliſh for more than fifty years; but that the death of Tipppo not only gave us peace for the preſent, but afforded the certain means of ſecurity for the future. That it enabled every perſon in India, under the protection of the company, to regard his property as ſafe, and to be ſatisfied that he might hold it unmoleſted. He extolled the army for the humanity of its conduct towards an inveterate enemy; and for its moderation in the very act of taking a capital by them, under circumſtances when it was uſual to give up a place

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to plunder. He contrafted this with the very different conduct of the French under ſimilar circumſtances; and ſaid, it was a matter of exultation to remark, that, in every quarter of the globe, Britiſh valour was not more prevalent than Britiſh moderation and humanity. After a very long ſpeech, in which Mr. Johnſtone took a comprehenſive view of all our tranſactions in the eaſt, and the various changes of fortune that had attended the company's affairs, at different times; he concluded with heartily concurring with the noble lord in the motion he had made.

Sir JOHN DAY ſaid, it had been the fixed object of the French, whether under a monarchial or republican form of government, to effect the extermination of the Britiſh from India. Since the commencement of the preſent war, the French had ſent a powerful army into Egypt, with a view to paſs that way to India, and aſſiſt the late tyrant of Seringapatam in effecting the preconcerted attack upon the Company's poſſeſſions in the Eaſt, in the hope of effectuating our expulſion from Aſia. He paid very high compliments to Lord Nelſon, to whom the company were ſo much indebted; as well as to Sir Sidney Smith, who, though at the head of a ſmall force, had entitled himſelf to the praiſe and gratitude of that court, and the country at large. So long as Tippoo exiſted, his reſtleſs ambition would never have afforded a certainty of continued peace in India; but his death, and the poſſeſſion of his capital, has ſecured to us laſting tranquillity, and put an end at once to all the hopes the French had ſo ſanguinely entertained of our extermination from India.

Mr. PETER MOORE ſaid, he did not riſe ſo much to thank the noble earl for the acquiſition of a new kingdom, great and brilliant as have been the achievements of the brave and gallant army acting under his orders, as for his happy preſervation of our *old* invaluable poſſeſſions; for a conduct in our governor-general of infinitely more conſequence, the detecting and cruſhing one of the moſt dark, dangerous and extenſive conſpiracies, internal and external, that ever exiſted, to overthrow an empire: a digeſted, well-concerted, deteſtable plot, for the utter extermination of Britons from the whole continent of Aſia! He alluded, he ſaid, to the diſcoveries which have been made in conſequence of the papers found in Mhadoo Doſs's garden, at Benares, on the flight of Vizier Ally, the depoſed Vizier of Oude.

I ſay, Sir, if it had not been for the vigilance and prompt activity, the firmneſs and penetration of the noble earl, exerted at the moment of his acceſſion to the government, the Britiſh power and our footing in the eaſt had periſhed together! I feel the embarraſſed ſituation in which he found our provinces on his arrival in India; a ſituation I deſcribed to you on a former occaſion, while the noble earl was on his paſſage to India; as I then expreſſed my doubts whether he would find a government exiſting when he ſhould land in Aſia: nor can it eſcape us, that notwithſtanding the pains his lordſhip was known to have taken to acquire every information obtainable here, before his departure, he entered on a charge the moſt arduous, at a moment the moſt critical, and in a remote country, the government of which, from its nature, is of all others the leaſt to be coveted, to the condition, ſtrength, or weakneſs of which, as well as to the people who were to act with him, his lordſhip was perſonally a ſtranger.

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On his arrival, then, we muſt view his lordſhip tremblingly alive to the duties of his ſtation, vigilantly examining the poſture of affairs, and the ſtate of his feeble reſources; the duplicity of ſome pretended allies, and the weakneſs and diſtraction prevailing amongſt others; the raſh intemperance of the new creature we had lately raiſed to power in Oude; the exhauſted ſtate of our public treaſury; and the diſaffected ſpirit fomenting among our own ſubjects. In a conjuncture fraught with ſuch an accumulation of dangers and difficulties, when we contemplate the prompt deciſion and true judgment which dictated the meaſures to which we owe our preſent happy ſituation, we ſhall be at a loſs which moſt to admire, the courage and gallantry of the army, or the wiſdom of thoſe councils which paved its route to victory.

We muſt trace the noble earl's career, from the ſupport given to our reſident at the court of the nizam—(that active, vigilant officer Captain Kirkpatrick), without whoſe detection of the intrigues peculiar to that court, from the perfidious character of its chief; and the annihilation of the French forces accumulating there, no expedition againſt the Sultaun's dominions could have ſucceeded. We may view the noble earl, as deſcribed in his letter of the 18th of June, balancing on the ſteps neceſſary to be taken, when he was relieved from heſitation by the Earl of Macartney; from whom he received authentic information of the conſpiracy formed againſt the Britiſh power in the eaſt, and certain advices of the treaty entered into between the French republic and Tippoo Sultaun, together with a copy of the proclamation iſſued at the Iſle of France, to raiſe troops for his meditated attack on our dominions, in concert with Zemaun Shaw, and moſt probably of our ally, the nizam himſelf; or at leaſt of the forces collecting in his country, indiſputably with his cognizance, and with the aid of his treaſures; for an army of 14,000 men could not be arrayed inviſibly, nor clothed, armed and maintained by ſtrangers and foreigners—clearly without money, and all other protection but his.

Under this complication of difficulties, in which the noble earl found the ſupreme government of India involved on his acceſſion, had not his lordſhip arrived in India at the critical moment he did, and put our faithful army in motion at the time he did, it may be preſumed, inſtead of meeting to celebrate its triumphs, this court would have aſſembled in mourning.

Mr. Moore contended, that neither Hyder Ally or his ſon Tippoo were tyrants, as they had been that day called. We may learn, from printed as well as from living information, that Hyder Ally was regularly trained to arms under his father, Nadim Naick, who was a general of 10,000 horſe, in the ſervice of the empire, and ſettled at Divanelli, in the country of Bangalore. We firſt heard of Hyder as a commander in Nazir Jung's army before Pondicherry, about the middle of the preſent century; from whence he retired to aſſume the office of commander in chief of the Myſore army, which devolved to him by law on the death of his brother, Iſhmael Naick, on whom that office had been conferred, with the complete ceſſion of the fortreſs of Bangalore, and that country, before partially held by his father, as a feif under the empire. This grant had been conferred on Hyder's brother, for a ſignal conqueſt obtained over the Mahrattas; ſo

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that, on the death of his father and brother, Bangalore became wholly veſted in Hyder's family, and Hyder thence became commander in chief of the two armies. Various were the conteſts to which the Deccan was then ſubject; but Hyder, who had learnt his tactics in the French camps, under M. de Maiſſin and M. de Buſſi, always obtained the laurel. In theſe conteſts the Souſbah of Sera had been ſeized by the Mahrattas, and Bazalet Jung (the nizam's brother) could not retake it without the aſſiſtance of Hyder. Hyder aſſiſted, and achieved the conqueſt; in conſequence, the nizam, Bazalet Jung, and the then vizier, Shujah-ud Dowlah, (afterwards our friend,) obtained from the emperor a phirmaun, veſting Hyder with the ſubahdarry of Sera, including Myſore, heretofore tributary to the empire, as a dependency of his ſubah. Thus Hyder became the ſovereign of Myſore; and there can be no doubt that this his imperial patent will be found amongſt the ſtate archives of Seringapatam. But it does not appear that this grant to Hyder made any difference to, or was felt by the old Naand Rajah, until the intrigues of the Durbar againſt Hyder made it neceſſary for Hyder's own ſafety. Hyder, obliged to take the field againſt ſome of the reſtleſs neighbours who ſurrounded him, during his abſence, entruſted the government of Sera to his couſin and brother-in-law Mirza Ally. Mirza, having gambled away the revenues, formed a conſpiracy againſt Hyder. Myſore was always governed by an ariſtocracy of Brahmans under a ſyſtem of blind ſuperſtition and prieſtcraft, as are many other tributaries in the Deccan, where the original principles of the Hindû ſuperſtition ſtill prevail in their full-left political operation. Under this ariſtocracy of Myſore, the rajah or king (as he has been called), is a complete ſtate-ſlave and priſoner. The rajah, whoever he may be, in his office, as head of the province, unites the emblems of royalty and the prieſthood, wholly committing the concerns of the world to a dayva or regent of their election; and, to give it the greater ſanctity amongſt the people, under a pretence of being ſolely occupied with the ſacred myſteries, and the contemplation of a future ſtate, it was made their ſtanding ordinance, that he ſhould only make his appearance twice a-year, in the united robes of royalty and the prieſthood. At the period I am ſpeaking of, Hyder held the office of dayva, or regent; as well as ſippehſallar, or commander of the forces. But, during his abſence with the army, theſe Brahmans, with a view to change the regent in favour of a paramour of one of the ladies of the court, poſſeſſed of a great deal of money, entered into the ſecret conſpiracy with Hyder's couſin Mirza, to whom, as before mentioned, he had entruſted the government of Sera. Diſcovering this conſpiracy —What was done? What could any one have done? Hyder invited —if you will, he enſnared the old Naand rajah, and the two princes, to Seringapatam; declaring, that his horde of religious impoſtors ſhould have all the ſacred myſteries to themſelves, as he found it more adviſable, for the ſafety and protection of the ſtate, that the rajah ſhould be ſeen twice in the year at Seringapatam! Out of the revenues of Myſore, Hyder continued the ancient *Kolum-daun* or privy-purſe, of two lacks of rupees to the rajah, to expend, under his own eye, in an eſtabliſhment for his houſehold; and appropriated another to the uſe of each

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each of the two princes, on whom he conferred commands in his army; and I have no doubt, if living, they are now amongſt the priſoners in the Engliſh camp.

The diſpatches which were read at the laſt court, continued Mr. Moore, informed us of great wealth found at Seringapatam in theſe ſealed treaſures, of which the Sultaun himſelf kept the key, which he would not entruſt to any of his people. How does it happen then that, with dependencies of ten times the extent, and of infinitely ſuperior conſequence; with countries moſt fertile; to which Providence has been moſt bountiful in ſoil, in rivers, and in fruits; where nature never ſtands ſtill, and is continually pouring into our lap her choiceſt diſpenſations, far ſuperabundant to the moſt unſparing conſumption of all her numerous ſons! How comes it, I beg leave to aſk, that, with all theſe ſuperior advantages of nature, where the labour and art of induſtrious man are never on the ſtretch; that the ſtony ſoil of theſe newly acquired provinces, the mountainous heights of Severndroog, of Outradroog, and other places of no leſs barren and inhoſpitable ſound, and they under the rule of a tyrant too, ſhould have contributed ſuch vaſt ſurplus treaſure to the former ſovereigns of Seringapatam; while we, in want and in diſtreſs, were obliged to ſend ſpecie from hence, at a time when it could ill be ſpared, for the purpoſe of relieving and ſupporting our exhauſted dominions; —dominions called, by all the Perſian writers and hiſtorians, the Paradiſe of Nations? How comes it, I repeat, that theſe, our vaſt, extenſive and rich dependencies throughout India, do not yield us ſurplus treaſures, equal, at leaſt, to thoſe which, by good management and economy, we witneſs the other to have produced under the influence of a tyrant's frown? It is becauſe our extenſive poſſeſſions, and their numerous inhabitants, demand, clamorouſly demand, but are obſtinately denied and forbidden, the vigour of this tyrant ſyſtem, and of that ſtrong arm, in the management of your affairs, which, in defiance of all theſe prominent contradictions, you are ſeemingly reſolved to conſider as the wickedeſt extreme of tyranny in his. Let me conjure you, Sir, if you mean to preſerve our dependencies in India to the Britiſh empire; if you mean to preſerve the Britiſh exiſtence in India; let me conjure you, to take a prompt leſſon from this tyrant's ſyſtem, while yet it be left within your option! Nor is this leſs eaſy than neceſſary: it depends on ourſelves; it depends on all who hear me. It is become the duty of every proprietor, his duty to the company and to his country; it is become the duty of every Briton to encourage, and inſiſt on its adoption. We muſt now, at length, get rid of our prejudices; we muſt ſtifle our paſſions, and ſtop the torrent of calumny againſt our countrymen ſerving in India: we muſt reſtore them to thoſe affections which we have ſo long unnaturally alienated; we muſt place our whole and entire confidence in their honour and fidelity. We muſt withdraw the erroneous application of Britiſh ſentiment and opinion from our ſyſtem of management in India, as inefficient to the object, and ſubſtitute thoſe of Aſia—"the ſtrong arm of power, ever ready to be upliſted, but ſeldom uſed"—ſo peculiar to its ſoil, ſo conſonant to the prejudices of its people, and to their only expectations; ſo effective whenever applied, whether by a Tartar or a Perſian conqueror! The natives of India expect only to be ruled,

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ruled, as they ever have been, by the conquerors who preceded us, until British sentiment and opinions were unnaturally forced on them. Believe me, Sir, they deride our philanthrophy, and feel uneasy at the change. We support their religion, about which we are ourselves indifferent, though calculated for the clandestine propagation of great mischief amongst their fanatic tribes: while we withdraw the sound maxims of policy necessary to our preservation of Asiatic rule and government; a policy infinitely more necessary for us than for our Mogul predecessors, because the force of our governors bear no proportion to that of the governed. It is the mistaken opinion, and hasty readiness in England, to suspect, to censure, and to condemn British conduct in India, which have reduced us to the tottering situation from which Lord Mornington happily arrived in time to rescue us!

We must now imitate the Mogul conquerors; and as they vested all power in Mahommedans only, so must we place entire confidence in our own British subjects: we must vest them with the whole power and energy of British India, in all the dependent provinces, and legalize the exercise of summary jurisdiction according to Asiatic predilection and prejudices. The gallantry of British subjects gave us possession of this second world; and they alone can now preserve and render it valuable to the parent state. It was their skill, intrepidity, and good conduct, which secured these possessions. Can we doubt then, that their pride, honour and fidelity, will not preserve them? But, if almost instant measures of this tendency be not taken, it is much to be feared, in the present conjuncture, that British sentiment and opinion, which are all we have to oppose to millions of Mussulman daggers, will divest us of our power, perhaps of our existence, in Asia. This is not a doctrine purposely created for this meeting. It has been my declared opinion ever since I obtained, said Mr. Moore, an early insight into the Asiatic character, their languages, their motives, principles of action, and their maxims of conduct; and this at a time when, happily, no shadow of conspiracy existed.

Let every gentleman who has filled a station in India be asked, whether these opinions of mine are new: No, they live both in India and in England. Call, continued Mr. Moore, for the evidence which I gave before the house of lords, when, on my oath, I stated, "that the good government of the country, the realization of the public revenues, the security of individual property, depended on a vigilant, active, local controul; that such a controul must be established throughout the countries subject to our jurisdiction; that all dewans, and other native officers employed between the European representatives of the company and the people, must be removed from influence and power: farming must be prohibited; and the company's covenanted servants, as collectors or superintendants, be stationed throughout the whole country; as they were the only persons then to be depended on, and the only persons that could be depended on by any future administration whatever." In short, our present situation must awaken government, and the proprietary, to the imminent danger of continuing to entrust the executive powers of the governments abroad, and the resources of the country, in Bengal, to intriguing banians; to debatnes on the coast of Coromandel; to corrupt and perfidious dewans, and

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traitorous zemindars, and all their dependant tribes of leeches, whom Engliſh prejudices againſt Europeans, and the impolicy of England have converted into petty ſovereigns and tyrants, to deſtroy the very vitality of our richeſt provinces, and the real ſinews of the empire.

And here, let us compare the ſyſtems of theſe tyrants of Seringapatam, and the dangerous and ruinous impolicy of Britiſh opinions and ſentiments againſt thoſe who muſt adminiſter our intereſts in theſe remote parts of the world, where written law has not yet found an inſtitution capable of reſtraining the ſubject, or binding the judge to any fixed rule of deciſion; and, though the land abounds with ſyſtems of prieſtcraft, and ſanctified impoſitions of various deſcriptions, where religion has neither ſoftened the heart, nor the printing preſs inſtructed the head, of ferocious turbulent man.

Surely, it is now manifeſt to what cauſes are owing, that the coffers of Seringapatam are full, while ours are worſe than empty; while a debt is incurred, the intereſt of which will nearly abſorb our former revenues. In Tippoo Sultaun's dominions, not a debaſh, not a banian, not a farmer is to be found; not a dewan who does not perform his duty as an uſeful, obedient, and faithful ſervant of the empire, in return for the protection he receives from the ſtate, and in pecuniary compenſation from his employer. Such is the ſyſtem, and hence derived the proſperity, of the *tyrant* and of his father before him. But what was our ſituation when the noble lord landed in India? He found our treaſures empty, and our credit at the loweſt ebb. Had our fertile provinces then no ſyſtem? Yes; a ſyſtem replete with encouragements to diſſatisfaction and revolt, a ſyſtem tending to ruin the provinces, and to deſtroy us: a ſyſtem of traitorous zemindars, debaſhes, banians, &c. with their dependant tribes, as before mentioned, who ſeize and ſecret thoſe revenues, which the people pay in your name, as lords of the empire, and who now wield them againſt us; inſolently rearing their heads, in a general conſpiracy, to drive the Britiſh ſtandard out of the country, and to maſſacre every Britiſh ſubject in it. Such is our ſyſtem, and ſuch the characters to whom we entruſt its management and execution! Compare it with the ſyſtem of the tyrant Tippoo, *a ſyſtem ſo ſuited, ſo congenial, ſo palatable to the nature and paſſions of the Aſiatic people* whom his father had ſubdued, that not a traitor, or deſerter, could be found when this empire was invaded by a powerful enemy: Had Tippoo Sultaun any difficulty in putting his army in motion? None. His three ſealed treaſuries forbid us to doubt it. But what was Lord Mornington's, in moving that army, whoſe ſkill and bravery, for ever inſeparable from his lordſhip's own glory, have now triumphantly given us a new kingdom? What was his impediment? Not the want of ardour in our troops, but the want of money. Our Mogul predeceſſors never wanted money in ſuch emergencies; why then do we? I have already told you; and be aſſured, that many of theſe your *native ſovereign ſervants*, whom I perſonally knew, could eaſily have ſupplied all the money wanted. What money? That money which, under the management of Britiſh ſubjects, your own covenanted ſervants, would have been found, when wanted, in your own treaſury. Tippoo, the tyrant, it ſeems, himſelf kept the key of his treaſuries,—but who keeps the key of ours? In the

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the name of common ſenſe, then, whoſe ſyſtem is it that bigotry has ſeduced us thus long to imitate? Mogul, Hindû, Portugueze, French, Dutch, Daniſh; all of whom have had ſettlements in India? No;—nothing of the kind is to be traced amongſt them; they all knew better; they did not covet foreign ſettlements for any ſuch object; they never felt the ambition of conquering kingdoms, and expending blood and treaſure in vain. So far from it, this baneful ſyſtem of *banianiſm*, and unnatural preference to native influence, is excluſively our own. We muſt reſort to the fidelity of Britiſh ſubjects for the ſalvation of the empire, and for the realization of its valuable reſources, which, ſo far from not being equal to our wants, ought to aid the parent ſtate with three millions *per annum*.

Mr. Moore ſupported theſe points by a long and curious hiſtorical deduction. He then inſtanced various particulars of abuſe in the adminiſtration of the company's affairs, and offered to farm the revenues of the company at a million more per year than they had received. He ſtated that the Nadir Shah had carried off one hundred and forty millions from the northern provinces, as a proof how productive they might be rendered, if proper care were taken of them and their revenues. He ſaid, that originally the company poſſeſſed only fifteen acres of territory, on which they built Fort William; and then their dividend was as conſiderable as it is now, when they had 1500 ſquare miles of territory, and all the valuable parts of India. He recommended them to imitate the ſtrong arm of the tyrant Hyder, in their internal ſyſtem, and to give the ſway of it to Britiſh ſubjects, regulated by Britiſh humanity and Britiſh clemency.

When can there be, continued Mr. Moore, a more promiſing ſeaſon to aſſume the whole internal management of our poſſeſſions in India, and to inveſtigate its reſources, than at this time when our covenanted ſervants knew the languages of the country; and protected as they are by a governor-general, on whom we can implicitly rely, and whom the executive power will find it neceſſary to ſupport under a ſyſtem of well organized authority. Under ſuch auſpices it cannot fail: and let the able work of that honeſt, faithful ſervant Vereliſt be their guide. I can ſum up millions, ſaid Mr. Moore, which you received from that honeſt man's labours and fidelity; at times too, when, had he been diſpoſed to ſacrifice you in order to benefit himſelf, he muſt have been ſecure, ſince your want of knowledge rendered detection wholly impracticable. When lacks of rupees were preſſed on him, as his equitable ſhare of preſents made by a nabob's ſucceeding to the throne of a great empire, what was his language? If the nabob has been ſerved, and my ſtation has contributed to his ſervice, I have only done my duty, and am not entitled to any reward from him. I am paid for that duty by my maſters, the Eaſt India company. This honeſt man might have enriched himſelf without the hazard of cenſure. But he preferred your intereſt and dignity in preferring his own honour. Thus Mr. Vereliſt ſerved us, till bad health and a ſhattered conſtitution compelled him to retire. He then entreated the company, and it was the only requeſt he ever made to them for himſelf, that they would indulge him with the remittance of ſuch part of his ſcanty fortune, as remained in India at his departure, through their treaſury. But *this requeſt was denied him*. He was

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therefore compelled to have recourſe to foreigners (a reſort againſt which he had in his official capacity uniformly proteſted) to remit his property to Europe,—*and he loſt it all.* At length, his life fell a ſacrifice to poverty and misfortune; leaving behind him a wife and nine children; not one of whoſe names appears on the penſion liſts of the company, nor in any employments in the extenſive eſtabliſhments in India.

You have now, ſaid Mr. Moore, received my mite of contribution; but I have ſhewn you only a part of thoſe reſources from which you may obtain relief. I am confident, thoſe reſources, if explored, will be found effective. Unlock them then to the noble lord, our preſent governor-general, and reſort to the antient inſtitutions of the empire, which had a regular ſyſtem of taxation and finance, while Great Britain was yet an uncultivated wilderneſs. Unlock all the reſource of huſbandry and manufactures, of revenues and commerce; employ the energies of well directed labour and ingenuity, under Britiſh controul, in a population of thirty millions, on a ſoil the moſt productive; give them, without reſerve, to the diſcretion of the noble earl now preſiding over Britiſh India, who has proved that he can ſo well apply them, and whoſe ſituation without them muſt be truly deplorable. But above all things, reſtore the Britiſh name and influence in India; give full confidence to your ſervants, civil and military; encourage active commerce; baniſh old prejudices; and abide by the true principles, on which alone a government can maintain its authority; principles on which it claims obedience, and will enſure reſpect, while it diffuſes univerſal happineſs among the people.

Mr. Moore concluded a very able, copious, and intereſting ſpeech, by urging, in very ſtrong and animated language, the neceſſity of a viſible, firm, and effective government in India.

Mr. PRINSEP ſupported the motion, and ſtated in a very clear and maſterly manner, the value of the Myſore country, and the infinite advantages which would reſult to the company from retaining the poſſeſſion of it.

On the motion of Lord Kinnaird, the following reſolutions were then ſeverally read, and agreed to unanimouſly.—

"Reſolved—That the thanks of this court be given to the Earl of Mornington, for the wiſdom, energy, and deciſion, diſplayed by him in the diſcharge of the arduous duty of governor-general, from the period of his arrival in India, until the glorious and happy termination of the late war in that country; by which the power of the Sultaun of Myſore, and influence of the French in India, have been cruſhed; events which promiſe to eſtabliſh, on a firm baſis, the tranquillity and ſecurity of the Britiſh dominions in India.

"That the thanks of this court be given to the right honourable Lord Clive, governor of Madras, for his zealous co-operation with the Earl of Mornington, in the meaſures propoſed by his lordſhip, and particularly in the exertions which he made for equipping the Madras army for theſe operations which have redounded ſo much to its honour and the intereſts of this company.

"That the thanks of this court be given to Jonathan Duncan, eſq. governor of Bombay, for the zeal and promptitude of his conduct in preparing the army of that preſidency for the field, whereby it was enabled to take a conſpicuous ſhare in the glorious achievement of the late campaign againſt the Myſore dominions.

"That the thanks of this court be given to Lieutenant-general Harris, commander in chief of the king's and company's forces employed at the ſiege of Seringapatam, for the very able and judicious manner in which the attack of that fortreſs was planned.

"That the thanks of this court be given to the officers of the king's and company's forces employed in the aſſault of Seringapatam, on the 4th of May 1799, for the rapidity, animation, and ſkill, which they manifeſted in the execution of this important ſervice; and the non-commiſſioned officers

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officers and privates, for the courage and intrepidity of their conduct upon that brilliant occasion, and especially for the exemplary humanity displayed by the assaulting party, under circumstances which reflect equal honour on their discipline, valour and exalted generosity.

"That the thanks of this court be given to Lieutenant-general Stuart, for his able conduct in the command of the Bombay army, previous to its junction; and to the officers and men of that army who were engaged in the action of the 6th of March, with a chosen body of the troops of Tippoo Sultaun, for their able and spirited conduct upon that occasion."

Lord KINNAIRD then rose and moved the following resolution:—

"Resolved—That the thanks of this court be given to Lieutenant-general Harris, and the officers and men of the king's and company's forces under his command, for the great and important services rendered to the East-India company throughout the whole of the late glorious campaign, which has terminated to the advantage of the company and the nation, by affording a well-grounded hope, that the peace of India will be secured on a solid and lasting foundation."

As soon as this resolution had been read,

Mr. MOORE assured the noble lord near him, that he did not oppose the motion he had been pleased to offer to the consideration of the court, for its principle, because the principle of both was the same; but he did not think his lordship's motion sufficiently descriptive and declaratory to the world, and posterity, of the most brilliant display of humanity and discipline which the achievements of the 4th of May mixed amongst its first and proudest honours, and to which history, from the earliest times, affords but very few parallels. For my part, said Mr. Moore, I consider it as the principal feature in the whole scene of that day's glories, and entreat that, while we are drawing the picture, it may not be omitted. I will read my proposed motion.

"It appearing to the satisfaction of this court, from the documents which have been read, that on the 4th of May 1799, when the British forces took by assault the fortress and city of Seringapatam, they were crowded with a strong garrison and numerous inhabitants, their property in flames from the fire of our numerous artillery, and the whole subject to the dreadful confusion and calamity peculiar to military assault, by which the lives and property of the garrison became the liable forfeit of resistance; and that Major-general Baird, who so judiciously commanded the storming party, in the moment of success, promptly and happily adopted measures and arrangements, which prevented the further effusion of blood, and the further destruction of property—protected the families of the fallen Sultaun and many of his relatives and nobles then in the palace; and restored general order and tranquillity—

"That the thanks of the East India company, in this court especially assembled, for the purpose of considering the nature and importance of the late acquisitions of Seringapatam and its dependencies, are particularly due to Major-general David Baird, and to the officers and troops of the storming party under his command, for this exemplary and brilliant display of British *humanity and military discipline*, at once most honourable to their duty as soldiers, and to their feelings as men, and highly characteristic of the only principles by which the East India company have uniformly wished and endeavoured to govern the natives of India, now so conspicuously distinguishing the final success of this expedition; and that the chairman be requested to communicate the thanks of this court to Major-general Baird accordingly."

Mr. JOHNSTONE opposed it, because he was unwilling to place on their records a disquisition instead of a resolution.

The CHAIRMAN thought, a general comprehensive resolution, as had been moved by the noble lord, was preferable to a string of resolutions to every officer.

Mr. JACKSON said, he thought it was not difficult to ascertain the motive which induced his honourable friend (Mr. Moore) to be so anxious for the introduction of his amendment: It was, that at a period when all Europe seemed one vast theatre of bloodshed and mer-

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cileſs fury, it might be uſeful to hold up the example of an army in a remote part of the world, and materially compounded of thoſe, whom affected civilization deems barbarous, which in a moment, above all others the moſt critical and ſeductive, when the gratification of all the ſenſes preſented itſelf to the victorious aſſailants, and under circumſtances which, according to the rules of war, tolerated their free indulgence, could ſtop ſhort in the midſt of its career of conqueſt, power and controul, as it were its own paroxyſm, and bowing to the exalted ſentiments of its leader, ſpare the lives of the men, reſpect the perſons of the women, and become themſelves the guardians of the public treaſures, and the palace of the enemy. He thought with his honourable friend, that ſuch a circumſtance could not be made too public; he thought it for the intereſt of mankind, that the whole belligerent world ſhould witneſs their homage to humanity, and their abhorrence of that principle of extermination which ſeemed to mark the footſteps of ſome modern conquerors, who had diſgraced and ſcandalized the ſtandard under which they fought, and the times in which they lived. Thinking ſo, he muſt object to the propoſition of his noble friend, as not being ſufficiently full or expreſſive of the cauſes of their approbation; at the ſame time he admitted the force of the objections urged by the chairman, againſt the amendment of his honourable friend, particularly that part of it, which by naming particular officers, ſeemed to mark an undue preference. He deſired leave, therefore, to ſubmit to the excellent underſtanding of his honourable friend, as well as to the noble lord, whether the introduction of a few words into the motion of the latter, might not convey both their ideas to the public in an unobjectionable form. Perhaps ſome ſuch words as theſe might anſwer that end, viz. after the general thanks, to ſay, "and eſpecially for "the exemplary humanity diſplayed "by the aſſaulting party, under "circumſtances which reflect equal "honour on their diſcipline, valour "and exalted generoſity." Mr. Jackſon ſaid, he merely threw this out as the ſubſtance of what he thought might be introduced, and he hoped his honourable friend (Mr. Moore) would ſo conſider it, and be aſſured, that he (Mr. Jackſon) would rather yield implicitly to his honourable friend's form of words, and withdraw his own ſuggeſtion, than be thought to oppoſe one of the moſt luminous, able, and inſtructive ſpeeches which he had ever heard in that houſe, upon the policy and government of India.

Lord KINNAIRD and Mr. MOORE both agreed to the amendment. Mr. Jackſon's words were then inſerted in the motion; and ſo amended, it paſſed unanimouſly.

Lord Kinnaird then made the following motion, which was alſo paſſed, *nem. con.*

"Reſolved,—That the thanks of this court be given to the late chairman, Jacob Boſanquet, eſq. deputy chairman Sir Stephen Luſhington, bart. and the court of directors, for their watchful and unremitting attention to every poſſible danger that might threaten our poſſeſſions in India; more eſpecially for the manly and deciſive aid which they afforded their governors abroad, by tranſmitting to them, in bullion and ſtores, the ſubſtantial means of defence againſt the formidable and dangerous attack which then threatened them."

The court was then adjourned.

SUP.

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SUPPLEMENT TO THE STATE PAPERS:

CONTAINING

A great variety of important Documents relative to the late War with TIPPOO SULTAUN; *together with authentic Copies of the Correſpondence carried on between that Prince and* ZEMAUN SHAH; *alſo, of his Letters to the Governor of the Iſles of Mauritius and Bourbon, and of the Proceedings of his Ambaſſadors at thoſe Iſlands; and of his Letters to the* FRENCH DIRECTORY *and the* GRAND SIGNIOR.

THIS Correſpondence fully developes the deſign which Tippoo had actually planned, as far back as the year 1792, for the complete extirpation of the Engliſh in India, as well as for the total deſtruction of the Mahratta States, and of the other Hindu Governments; and, finally, for eſtabliſhing a Mahommedan Empire in Hinduſtân, which ſhould extend from the extremity of the Peninſula to the mountains of Tartary, and from the confines of China to the banks of the Indus, and of which it was intended he himſelf ſhould be the head.

This vaſt ſcheme of ambition, though Tippoo certainly had not the abilities to realize; yet, with the combined aſſiſtance of ZEMAUN SHAH and of the French, he might have given a ſevere blow to the Britiſh power in the Eaſt: but it has been the glory of Lord MORNINGTON to defeat all their projects, and to ſecure to the nations of India long enjoyment of tranquillity and peace; and his glory will be the more durable, as it has been raiſed upon the ſolid ground of true wiſdom, juſtice and moderation.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Governor-General to the Court of Directors.

Fort St. George, 11th May, 1799.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

No particular comment is required from me, to illuſtrate the numerous advantages which cannot fail to flow from the brilliant and deciſive achievement announced to your honourable court in the diſpatch of the governor-general in council of this date; but I cannot refrain from offering to you my ſeparate and moſt cordial congratulations on an event, the glory of which has never been ſurpaſſed (if it has ever been equalled) in the hiſtory of the military tranſactions of the Britiſh nation in India.

I have the honour to incloſe, for the information of your honourable court, a copy of a letter addreſſed to me by Major Beatſon, one of my aides-du-camp, whoſe extraordinary abilities and excellent character originally recommended him to my notice. He was principally entruſted with the arduous charge of planning and conducting the approaches and

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attack of the army at Seringapatam. From his letter it appears, that the fall of Seringapatam, under all the circumstances which accompanied that event, has placed the whole kingdom of Mysore, with all its resources, at the disposal of your government; and that the only power in India to which the French could look for assistance, or which could be deemed formidable to your interests, is now deprived of all vigour, if not entirely extinct. When your honourable court recollects, that these advantages have been acquired within four months from the date of my arrival at this presidency, and within two from the period of the army's entrance into Mysore, I trust you will be of opinion, that your servants have not been deficient in alacrity or diligence.

When Lieutenant-general Harris took the field, I thought it my duty to invest him with the most efficient and extensive powers which it was possible for me to delegate; and he has carried with him, to the gates of Seringapatam, the full vigour and energy of your supreme government. To the judicious exercise of this ample authority, combined with the liberal supplies which had been provided for the army, may be ascribed, in a great measure, the unparalleled rapidity and promptitude of its operations. I have the further satisfaction to add, that the particular detail of those operations which I shall hereafter submit to your honourable court, will furnish the most brilliant examples of judgment, skill, discipline, firmness and valour, under many arduous trials of all those distinguished qualities.

The dreadful fate of Tippoo Sultaun cannot be contemplated without emotions of pain and regret: but I trust it will serve as a salutary lesson to the native princes of India, and will prove the danger of violating public engagements, and inviting foreign invasion, for the prosecution of schemes of ambition and hatred against the British power. He was interred within his own capital, on the day following its capture, in the Mausoleum of his father, with the honours of war paid to his remains by the British army. I am persuaded that your honourable court will derive peculiar satisfaction from the intelligence that his family and palace suffered no insult or violence during the heat of the assault, and have since been protected with the utmost care.

Previous to General Harris's departure from the Carnatic, I appointed a commission to assist him in all matters relating to political negotiation, and I furnished him with instructions applicable to every contingency which I could then foresee. The conduct of the commissioners under General Harris's orders has hitherto been completely satisfactory to me; but the present crisis appearing to demand my own immediate direction, it is my intention to proceed, without delay, to Ryakottah, and from thence, eventually, to Seringapatam, for the purpose of adjusting the affairs of the kingdom of Mysore, on such a foundation as shall permanently establish the tranquillity of your possessions in this quarter of India. As it will require some days to make the necessary preparations for my journey, I have dispatched my private secretary, Mr. Henry Wellesley, and my military secretary, Lieutenant-colonel Kirkpatrick, directly to Seringapatam, with such orders as appear immediately requisite for the guidance of Lieutenant-general Harris. In the meanwhile, the inclosed extract of a letter, from Captain Macaulay to my military secretary, will satisfy your honourable court, that Lieut-

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Lieutenant-general Harris has proceeded with the ſame diſpatch and judgment in ſecuring the advantages of his preſent ſituation, which he manifeſted in obtaining it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MORNINGTON.

Extract of a Letter from Major Beatſon to the Right Hon. the Governor-General.

Seringapatam, 6th May, 1799.

MY LORD,

It is with the greateſt pleaſure I inform your Lordſhip, that on Saturday the 4th inſtant, about half paſt one in the afternoon, the breach was aſſaulted, and in leſs than an hour our troops were in poſſeſſion of the whole of the rampart of Seringapatam. In this moſt happy event I beg leave ſincerely to congratulate your lordſhip, particularly as it has been attended with every circumſtance that could have been deſired, to render it the moſt important event that perhaps ever happened.

The death of the Sultaun, who was ſhot through the head, and bayoneted in three parts of his body, as he attempted to make his eſcape,—the poſſeſſion of his whole family, treaſure and jewels, which were ſecured from ravage and plunder, by the accidental circumſtance of the palace not having been taken poſſeſſion of until the fury of the ſtorm was over,—and the families of the principal chiefs of the Sultaun's army having been detained priſoners in the fort, and now fallen into our hands,—are altogether a chain of ſuch fortunate events, and ſo highly advantageous, that nothing ſeems to be wanting to inſure an immediate peace throughout the peninſula.

No account has yet been taken of the treaſure; but, from wha thas been ſeen, it muſt be immenſe: and as many of the apartments of the palace, which are ſealed, have not yet been opened, it is impoſſible to form any idea of the amount: Nor, in this inſtance, can we be guided by information; for the Sultaun, it is ſaid, was of late ſo ſuſpicious, that he truſted nobody, and locked up and ſealed thoſe apartments with his own hands. There is alſo an immenſe quantity of grain, and military ſtores of every kind.

I have ſaid nothing of the operations of the ſiege, of which your lordſhip ſhall have a minute detail in my journal: I will only obſerve, that it affords me the higheſt ſatisfaction to find, that the forlorn hope was only ſix minutes croſſing the rocky bed of the river, the ditch, and aſcending to the top of the breach, which was to me a ſufficient proof that I was not miſtaken in the judgment I had formed of the river and the ditch after reconnoitering them, and which I had the honour of communicating to your lordſhip in my letter of the 18th ultimo.

As I have now nothing to detain me here, it is my intention, with General Harris's permiſſion, to proceed to the Carnatic as ſoon as the communication is open, in order to have the honour of attending your lordſhip, and receiving your commands in whatever way you may be pleaſed to employ me.

(Signed) A. BEATSON.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Governor-General to the Court of Directors.

Fort St. George, 16th May, 1799.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

1. I now proceed to communicate to your honourable court ſuch details of the progreſs of the allied arms againſt Tippoo Sultaun as the imperfect advices which I have received enable me to furniſh. The interrupted ſtate of the communication between Seringapatam and this

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presidency has not been favourable to the transmission of minute and copious information, either by Lieutenant-general Harris or by individuals.

2. The latest accounts which had been received from the army before Seringapatam, when I addressed your honourable court on the 22d of April, were dated the 7th of April. From that time, nothing material occurred till the 9th, when General Harris received a letter from Tippoo Sultaun, in which the Sultaun declared, "that he had adhered firmly to treaties; and demanded the meaning of the advance of the English armies, and of the occurrence of hostilities." To this letter General Harris briefly replied, by referring the Sultaun for an explanation of the advance of the English and allied armies, and of the commencement of hostilities, to the several letters which I had addressed to Tippoo Sultaun on the subject.

3. Major-general Floyd's detachment, and the army of Bombay, joined the army before Seringapatam in the afternoon of the 14th of April. A large body of the cavalry of the enemy, under the command of Kummeer-ud-deen Khan, had attended them closely during their march from Periapatam, but without having been able to make the slightest impression upon them.

4. The army under Lieutenant-general Stuart rested on the 15th; and on the morning of the 16th, crossing the Cavery, took up a position extending from near its northern bank towards the Eedgah; while General Floyd, with the left wing of cavalry, moved to the Delawa Eery (a tank beyond Mysore), to cover a party sent out the preceding night to collect cattle and sheep, and to examine the new fort of Mysore. The party returned with considerable success, the evening of the 16th; and on the 17th, General Floyd's division encamped near the army.

5. The enemy appearing to have occupied a village on the north side of the river, which was on the line of enfilade of the S. W. side of the fort, and employing a great number of men in levelling a height intended to be used as cover to one of our batteries, General Stuart was directed to attack it, on the afternoon of the 17th, from his division, which was on this occasion reinforced by his majesty's 74th regiment, and a native battalion from the main army, while his attack was assisted by the fire of cannon from the posts in advance. In a very short time, the enemy was driven from the post, within 900 yards of the western angle of the fort. A favourable opportunity presented itself, at the same time, for advancing our posts on the southern side of the river, in connection with General Stuart's attack: a nullah, destined to form a first parallel, was seized, after some contest, by the troops on duty.

6. In the night of the 17th, a battery of six guns was erected at the post seized by General Stuart, and six eighteen pounders were placed in it on the night of the 18th. This battery opened on the morning of the 19th, and scoured the enemy's entrenchments in front of our intended attack.

7. On the same morning, General Floyd marched with the cavalry, a brigade of native infantry, and the nizam's horse, to meet Colonel Read near Caveryporam.

8. Lieutenant-colonel Read had advanced in the mean time to Caveryporam, which surrendered to him without resistance on the 22d April. There he collected his bonjaries, and other supplies for the army; and, leaving them under the protection

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protection of the fort of Caverypo-ram, proceeded with his detachment to clear the pass, which proved a most arduous service; for, although he marched from Caveryporam on the 23d, he did not reach Maratelly, or the head of the pass, until the 27th of April; and, with every exertion which he could make, it was the 6th of May before the supplies got through the pass; and, even then, a large proportion of the benjaries, and several carts, were still behind. In the mean while, General Floyd's detachment had reached Cowdehully, a station within a few miles of Maratelly. He had been closely followed, on his march from Seringapatam, by the enemy's cavalry, headed by Kummeer-ud-deen Khan, who, however, had not opposed any serious resistance to his progress. On the 6th of May, the united detachments of General Floyd and Colonel Read were reinforced by the southern division of the army, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Brown; and on the 7th, the whole, with their convoy, moved forward from Hannoor towards Seringapatam. General Floyd expected to be harassed by the enemy's cavalry in his return to the army; but in the mean while events had taken place at Seringapatam, which removed this, and every other obstacle of an hostile nature.

9. On the evening of the 20th of April, the most advanced of the enemies entrenchments in front of the intended attack, was carried by our troops, and a parallel established on the spot. On the night of the 21st, a battery for six guns was erected, near the ruins of the powder-mill; and as a violent attack was made, before day, on the 22d, on all General Stuart's posts, four guns and two howitzers opened from this battery on the fort the same morning, with considerable effect in destroying its defences and reducing its fire.

10. On the night of the 20th, General Harris received a letter from Tippoo Sultaun, expressive of a desire to open a negotiation for peace. To this overture the general answered, at noon on the 22d, (after consulting Meer Allum, and the commissioners appointed by me to assist in matters of political arrangement) by transmitting a draft of preliminaries, founded on instructions with which I had furnished Lieutenant-general Harris, but so modified, with respect to the security to be required, as the change of circumstances since the date of those instructions appeared to demand. The terms proposed to the Sultaun are detailed in the inclosure. In lieu of forts, which it was now too late in the season to receive, additional hostages were required; namely, four sons of the Sultaun, and four of his principal officers, to be selected by General Harris. These, with the treasure stipulated in the draft of preliminaries, were to be sent, in forty-eight hours, to camp; otherwise the general reserved to himself the power of extending his demand, even to the possession of Seringapatam. It is here proper to observe, that the stock of rice at this time remaining in camp, was only sufficient to subsist the fighting men of the army at half-allowance till the 5th of May. An immense depôt had, indeed, been formed in the Coorga country; but the reduced state of the cattle of the army rendered it wholly impracticable for the general to avail himself of this resource. The cause of so alarming and unexpected a deficiency in the provisions of the army, has not yet been satisfactorily explained, and will require future investigation:

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tion: every account, public and private, which had reached me previous to Lieutenant-general Harris's note of the 18th April, had taught me to calculate upon a ſupply, amply ſufficient to ſubſiſt the army for at leaſt forty days from the 7th of April.

11. The approaches to the fort were advanced 250 yards on the night of the 24th of April; and a battery of four guns was erected on the 25th, to deſtroy the defences of ſome works which bore on our attack. This battery was opened with conſiderable effect on the morning of the 26th; and in the evening of that day, the enemy's entrenchments in advance were attacked and carried, not without an obſtinate conteſt, which continued through the night. Our troops occupied theſe works on the 27th; and on that night their lodgment was made ſecure. The poſſeſſion of theſe works was of great importance, as it gave us the ground on which the breaching battery was to be erected. The enemy accordingly diſputed every inch of ground, calling forth, on various occaſions, the moſt animated exertions of our troops.

12. On the morning of the 28th, Tippoo Sultaun acknowledged the receipt of General Harris's letter of the 22d, and ſtated, "that the points in queſtion," (meaning the propoſals contained in the draft of preliminaries ſent to him by the general) "were weighty, and could not be brought to a concluſion without the intervention of ambaſſadors; and that, therefore, he was about to ſend to the general two gentlemen, who would explain themſelves perſonally to him." To this propoſition, evidently calculated to gain time on the part of the Sultaun, the general replied, by referring to the terms which he had forwarded on the 22d, as thoſe on which alone he would treat; by declining to admit any vakeels, unleſs accompanied by the hoſtages and ſpecie required; and by inſiſting on an anſwer before three o'clock on the 29th.

13. On the night of the 28th, a breaching battery for ſix guns was erected, and opened partially on the morning of the 30th. This battery demoliſhed, in the courſe of that day, part of the outward wall at the weſt angle of the fort, and conſiderably ſhook the maſonry of the baſtion within it. Its fire continued on the 1ſt of May with increaſed effect; and on the 2d of May an additional battery, conſtructed on the night of the 30th April, was opened. The breach appearing practicable on the 3d, every preparation was made for an aſſault to be attempted on the following day. The details of the attack on the 4th may appear in General Harris's letter of the 7th May. It is proper to obſerve, that Tippoo never returned any anſwer to General Harris's laſt letter of the 28th.

14. The conſummate judgment with which this rapid and brilliant campaign has been conducted by the commander in chief, and by the ſeveral officers employed under him from his majeſty's ſervice, and from the three preſidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George and Bombay,—the diſcipline, valour, alacrity and zeal, manifeſted univerſally throughout the whole body of the united army, and the particular luſtre and value of the conqueſt achieved on the 4th of May, cannot fail to excite in the minds of your honourable court, the ſame ſentiments of admiration, gratitude, and honourable pride, which have been diffuſed through every part of our poſſeſſions, and amongſt every deſcription of your ſervants in India, on this important occaſion.

Under

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Under these impressions, I am persuaded that your honourable court will honour the army employed in Mysore with every mark of your approbation, and that you will recommend the transcendant merit of their services to the particular notice of his majesty, and to the grateful applause of their country.

15. It is further my duty to request the special attention of your honourable court to the cordial co-operation of the nizam's officers and troops throughout the whole campaign, during which the commander in chief has repeatedly borne testimony, not only to their alacrity and zeal, but to the substantial utility of the services which they have rendered to the common cause.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MORNINGTON.

Translation of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to General Harris.

(Received the 9th April.)

The governor-general, Lord Mornington, Bahauder, sent me a letter, copy of which is inclosed: you will understand it. I have adhered firmly to treaties: What, then, is the meaning of the advance of the English armies, and the occurrence of hostilities? Inform me,

What need I say more?

Copy of a Letter from Gen. Harris to Tippoo Sultaun.

10th April, 1799.

Your letter inclosing copies of the governor-general's letter, has been received. For the advance of the English and allied armies, and for the actual hostilities, I refer you to the several letters of the governor-general, which are sufficiently explanatory on the subject.

Copy of a Letter from Gen. Harris to the Governor-General.

Camp before Seringapatam, 18th April, 1799.

MY LORD,

On the 5th instant, I wrote to your lordship by General Floyd; and as my letter was transmitted to the coast of Malabar from Periapatam, I trust it reached you in safety, and gave information of the proceedings of the army to that date. On the night of the 5th, the post formerly occupied by General Abercromby's picquet, and the village of Sultampett, were attacked; but the obscurity of the night was unfavourable to our advance, and the first of these posts only was in part seized. A renewal of the attack became necessary on the morning of the 6th, which was completely successful, putting us in possession of a strong line of posts, from very near the bank of the Cavery to Sultampett, which formed the right of our position. The nature of these attacks was such that some loss was to be expected. Major Collin Campbell, of the honourable company's service, Lieutenants George Nixon and Falla, of the 12th regiment, with Fitzgerald of the 33d, were killed; Lieutenants N. Nixon and King of the 12th, and Brooke of the Bengal artillery, wounded; 11 Europeans killed, 50 wounded, 14 missing; 19 natives killed, 75 wounded.

Major-general Floyd marched for Periapatam early on the 6th, and on the 7th the cavalry of the enemy followed. We continued in quiet possession of the posts we had seized, and busily employed in preparing materials for the works, during the absence of the detachment, which returned on the 14th, accompanied by the Bombay army.

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A very large body of the enemy's cavalry had harraſſed their march, but without attempting any determined attack. The fatiguing marches made by this diviſion of our troops, rendered one day's halt neceſſary; but, on the 16th, General Stuart croſſed the Cavery, taking up a poſition, extending from near its northern bank towards the Edgah; while General Floyd, with the left wing and cavalry, moved to the Delawa Eery (a tank beyond Myſore), to cover a party ſent out the preceding night to collect cattle and ſheep, of which we were greatly in want for the European troops, and to examine the new fort of Myſore, in which there is no water. The party returned with conſiderable ſucceſs the evening of the 16th; and on the 17th, General Floyd's diviſion encamped near our line. The enemy appearing to have occupied a village on the north ſide of the river, which is on the line of enfilade of the S. W. ſide of the fort, and employing a great number of men in levelling a height intended to be uſed as a cover to one of our batteries, General Stuart was directed to attack it yeſterday afternoon from his diviſion, which was on this occaſion reinforced by his majeſty's 74th regiment, and the native battalion from mine, and his attack was aſſiſted by the fire of cannon from our poſts in advance. In a very ſhort time the enemy was driven from the poſt, within 900 yards of the weſtern angle of the fort; and a favourable opportunity preſented itſelf of advancing our poſts on the ſouthern ſide of the river, in connection with this attack. A nullah, which will form the firſt parallel, was ſeized, after ſome conteſt, by the troops on duty. The enemy have ſome ſtrong entrenchments (at the ruins of a powder-mill) cloſe in front of this poſt, which at preſent rather confine it; but as a ſix-gun battery was finiſhed in the courſe of laſt night, at the poſt ſeized by General Stuart, in which ſix eighteen-pounders will be placed this night; I expect to convert their entrenchments to our uſe in the courſe of to-morrow, and very ſhortly to eſtabliſh a battery near the ſpot they now cover.

Major-general Floyd, with all the cavalry, and three battalions of native infantry, marches to-morrow morning towards Caveryporam, to meet Colonel Read, and eſcort his benjarries to camp: their arrival is of the utmoſt conſequence, as, on meaſuring our bags, to aſcertain what rice they really contained, they were found ſo much diminiſhed by loſs or fraud, that eighteen days proviſion for the fighting men, at half-allowance, is all that remains in camp; our ſupplies muſt therefore arrive before the 6th of May, to ſave us from extreme diſtreſs. I hope, even before that time, the place will be in our poſſeſſion. Tippoo has ſhewn no wiſh to negociate. The advanced period of the ſeaſon, joined to our want of proviſions, renders any propoſition from us too hazardous. No ſecurity, but poſſeſſion of the fort, could now juſtify our delaying the operation of the ſiege for an inſtant. On this principle I ſhall act, conceiving it to accord with the ſpirit of your lordſhip's inſtructions. Your lordſhip's letter of the 3d reached me on the 14th: that of the 29th ultimo has not come to hand. The expence of this army is at leaſt two lacks of pagodas per month. Our treaſure will, I hope, carry on the neceſſary diſburſements to the end of May; but

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but I muſt requeſt, that as large a ſum as can be allotted for this ſervice, may be ſent to the neareſt ſecure ſtation, ſo as to reach the army in the courſe of that month: much trouble will be avoided if it is ſent in the current coins of the Carnatic.

On your lordſhip's letter of the 3d inſtant, General Floyd's detachment has been arranged. We have no other account of Colonel Read, and none from Colonel Brown, from any quarter: this is extremely embarraſſing. The diſtance of the depôt, want and weakneſs of cattle, and the difficulty of ſparing troops to eſcort them, render our large Coorga ſupplies of no immediate uſe.

(Signed) GEO. HARRIS.

Copy of a Letter from Gen. Harris to the Right Hon. the Governor General.

Camp before Seringapatam, 22d April 1799.

MY LORD,

On the 18th inſtant I had the honour to addreſs to your lordſhip a report of the proceedings of the army to that date, which was given in charge to Gen. Floyd, who, on the 19th, marched with the cavalry, a brigade of native infantry, and the Nizam's horſe, to meet Colonel Read near Caveryporam, and aſſiſt in eſcorting the Benjarries to camp. That morning a battery was opened on the north ſide of the Cavery, to enfilade the enemy's entrenchments in front of our intended attack. The 20th, in the evening, the moſt advanced of theſe was carried by our troops, and a parallel eſtabliſhed on the ſpot. On that night, the letter, of which a tranſlation is annexed, was received from Tippoo Sultaun. On the night of the 21ſt, a battery for ſix guns was erected, near the ruins of the powder-mill; and as a violent attack was made, before day of the 22d, on all General Stuart's poſts, four guns and two howitzers opened from this battery on the fort this morning, with conſiderable effect in deſtroying its defences and reducing its fire.

Yeſterday, after conſulting the commiſſioners appointed to aſſiſt me in ſubjects of a political arrangement, and with Meer Allum, Bahauder, I determined, in reply to the Sultaun, to tranſmit a draft of preliminaries, (founded on your lordſhip's paper *B*, with ſuch alterations as the change of circumſtances ſeemed to require in the ſecurity exacted—additional hoſtages in lieu of forts, which now we have no time to receive.) I have required as hoſtages four ſons of the Sultaun, and four of his principal officers, to be ſelected by me. Theſe, with the treaſure, to be ſent in forty-eight hours to camp; or I reſerve to myſelf the power of extending the demand even to the poſſeſſion of Seringapatam. The letter was ſent this day at noon. A duplicate of your lordſhip's letter of the 29th ultimo, has been received from the Coorga country. The particular accounts you require cannot now be ſent. We want only proviſions and cattle at preſent: money will be neceſſary next month. Of rice we have collected, by various modes, enough to ſubſiſt our fighting men to the middle of May.

(Signed) GEO. HARRIS.

Tranſlation of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Lieut.-Gen. Harris,

Bearing no date, but received in Camp before Seringapatam on the evening of the 20th April 1799.

In the letter of Lord Mornington it is written, that the clearing up of matters at iſſue is proper, and that therefore you having been em-

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powered for the purpoſe, will appoint ſuch perſons as you judge proper for conducting a conference, and renewing the buſineſs of a treaty. You are the well-wiſher of both ſircars. In this matter, what is your pleaſure? Inform me, that a conference may take place.

Copy of a Letter from Lieut. Gen. Harris to Tippoo Sultaun.

Camp before Seringapatam, April 22, 1799.

Your highneſs's friendly letter has been received, and its contents underſtood.

The governor-general, Lord Mornington, Behauder, informed you, in his letter of the 8th November, that the Britiſh government and the allies, wiſhing to live in peace with all their neighbours, entertaining no projects of ambition, nor any views in the leaſt incompatible with their reſpective engagements, and looking to no other objects than the permanent ſecurity and tranquillity of their own dominions and ſubjects, will always be ready, as they now are, to afford you every demonſtration of theſe pacific diſpoſitions. The governor-general in that letter expreſſed his deſire of communicating to your highneſs a plan calculated to promote the mutual ſecurity and welfare of all parties; and propoſed to depute Major Doveton to you for that purpoſe. You rejected the pacific advances of the governor-general and of the allies; and you refuſed to receive Major Doveton, until the lateneſs of the ſeaſon had compelled the governor-general to order the armies to advance: but, ſince you now expreſs a deſire to know my pleaſure upon the adjuſtment of the buſineſs at iſſue, and as I hope this requeſt is made with ſincerity, and from a regard to your true intereſts, I have to inform you in reply, that, being veſted by the governor-general with full powers of treating, and concluding a treaty, the demands contained in the incloſed draft of a preliminary treaty are thoſe alone on which any negociation can be founded: and I have farther to inform you, that unleſs theſe demands are agreed to, and your acquieſcence ſignified to me under your ſeal and ſignature, within 24 hours from the moment of your receiving them, and the hoſtages and ſpecie delivered to me within 24 hours more, the allies reſerve to themſelves the right of extending theſe demands for ſecurity, even to the poſſeſſion of the fort of Seringapatam, till a definitive treaty can be arranged, and its ſtipulations carried into effect.

The four ſons demanded of your highneſs as hoſtages are, Sultaun Padſhaw, Futteh Hyder, Moyer ud Deen, and Abdul Khalick. The four ſirdars are, Meer Kummer ud Deen, Meer Mahommed Sadick, Syed Goffar, and Purneah.

What need I ſay more?

Preliminary Articles for the eſtabliſhment of the ancient friendſhip, and for the adjuſtment of exiſting differences, between the Hon. Engliſh Company, the Nabob Aſoph Jah, Row Pundit Purdaun, and Tippoo Sultaun; ſettled by Lieut-Gen. Geo. Harris, &c. in virtue of the powers delegated to him by the Right Hon. the Earl of Mornington, K. P. Governor-General; by Meer Allum, Behauder, on the part of the Nabob Aſoph Jah; by———, on the part of the Peſhwa; and by———, on the part of Tippoo Sultaun.

[The words printed in *Italics*, mark the difference between the articles ſent to General Harris by the Governor-General, and thoſe actually offered to Tippoo by General Harris.]

ARTICLE I. Tippoo Sultaun to receive and honourably entertain an ambaſſador from each of the allies, and for as long a period of time as any of the ſaid allies ſhall require; the allies, on their part, ſeverally conſenting to receive and entertain, in the ſame manner and on the ſame terms, an ambaſſador from Tippoo Sultaun.

2. Tippoo

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2. Tippoo Sultaun to dismiss, without delay, from his service, and to remove from his dominions, not only all Frenchmen or natives of the Island of Mauritius and Bourbon, or of any other countries now subject to France, but also all Europeans, natives or subjects of countries now at war with Great-Britain; *to which end they shall be sent to the British camp in the course of forty-eight hours, where (with the exception of deserters) they will be treated as prisoners of war, and sent, at the expence of the British government, by convenient opportunities, to their respective countries.*

3. Tippoo Sultaun to renounce all connection with the French nation; and to engage, that none of the subjects of that nation shall ever hereafter be entertained in his service, or be allowed to reside within his dominions.

4. One half of the dominions of which Tippoo Sultaun was in possession before the war, to be ceded to the allies, from the countries adjacent to their respective boundaries, and agreeable to their selection: and it is hereby agreed and determined, with a view to the prevention of delay, that the several districts to be ceded by Tippoo Sultaun shall be taken at which they were respectively rated, in the accounts delivered in by his vakeels, during the negociation of the treaty of Seringapatam in 1792.

5. Tippoo Sultaun to relinquish, for ever, all claim to the lately disputed districts of Ameera and Soulea and Ersawarafeemy, to any part of the territory possessed by the rajah of Coorga at the commencement of the war, to the whole of the Tambacherry pass, and generally to all places in the present frontiers of any of the allies which may at this time be in dispute.

6. Two crores of sicca rupees shall be paid by Tippoo Sultaun to the allies, agreeable to the following particulars.—*1st*, One crore shall be paid immediately in pagodas, or gold mohurs, or rupees, of full weight and standard, or in gold or silver bullion: *2d*, The remaining crore shall be paid within six months from the date of the present treaty.

7. All prisoners in the hands of the several powers to be fairly and unequivocally released.

8. Until the due performance of the articles of this present treaty, *four sons* of Tippoo Sultaun, *to be selected by Lieutenant General Harris*, shall be delivered as hostages into the general's hands: And, as a further security of Tippoo's faithful execution of the same, *four of his principal officers, to be named by Lieutenant-general Harris, shall also be delivered into the general's hands.* On the arrival of the said sons and *officers* in the camp, and on the payment of the first moiety of the money agreed to be paid by the sixth article, a cessation of the hostilities shall take place; but the army of the allies shall not quit their position before Seringapatam (unless they deem it expedient) until the forts and districts *to be ceded under the fourth article* shall actually be in possession of the troops of the *allies.*

9. *The allied armies shall be entitled to a free and uninterrupted communication with the Malabar coast, and the Carnatic, on both sides of the river Cavery, until the allies are put in possession of the forts and districts to be ceded under the fourth article, in which event Tippoo shall be entitled to require their departure from his territories.*

10. *Tippoo Sultaun shall signify his assent or rejection of the above articles within twenty-four hours after receiving them; and in twenty-four hours more, the hostages and money must arrive in camp.*

11. When an agreement, containing the articles above written, shall arrive, bearing the seal and signature of Tippoo Sultaun, counter-agreements shall be sent to Tippoo Sultaun from the allies; and after the cessation of hostilities, a definitive treaty of perpetual friendship shall be settled and entered into by the several powers.

Copy of a Letter from Gen. Harris to the Right Hon. the Governor General.

27th April 1799.

MY LORD,

On the 24th inst. I had the honour to acknowledge your lordship's letter of the 11th inst. in a letter, duplicate of which is annexed. On the 25th, I received letters from Colonel Read, which lead me to hope he has, ere this, joined General Floyd's division, and that their united force is marching towards us.

Our approaches to the fort were advanced 250 yards on the night of the 24th, and a battery of four guns were erected on the 25th, which destroyed the defences of some works which bore on our attack. This opened with considerable effect yesterday morning; and in the evening, the enemy's entrenchments in

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advance were attacked, and carried, not without an obſtinate conteſt, which continued through the night. Our troops now occupy their works; and their lodgment will, I truſt, this night, be made ſecure. The poſſeſſion of theſe works is of great importance, as it gives us the ground on which the breaching battery muſt be erected; and every circumſtance of the ſiege promiſes favourably. The enemy has diſputed every inch of ground; and the ſpirit and conduct of the troops on every occaſion (and we have had ſeveral) which required animated exertion, has been ſuch as I cannot applaud too highly.

(Signed) GEO. HARRIS.

Copy of a Letter from Gen. Harris to the Right Hon. the Governor General.

Camp, Seringapatam, 28th April 1799.

MY LORD,

I yeſterday reported to your lordſhip the ſucceſsful attack made the preceding evening on the advanced works of the enemy. In the courſe of laſt night, the poſition occupied by our troops was ſtrongly ſecured. This morning a letter from Tippoo Sultaun, of which I annex a tranſlation, was received. In reply, I have referred to the terms forwarded on the 22d, as thoſe only on which I would treat, declining to admit any vakeels, unleſs they were accompanied by the hoſtages and ſpecie, in conſequence of thoſe terms being agreed to, and inſiſting on an anſwer by three o'clock to-morrow.

This night our breaching battery will be built, and its fire to-morrow will probably have conſiderable effect on the Sultaun's determination. No offer to negociate ſhall, for an inſtant, delay our military operations; and every appearance of their preſent ſtate and progreſs is extremely favourable.

(Signed) GEO. HARRIS.

Tranſlation of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Lieut.-Gen. Harris,

Having no date, but received the 28th April 1799.

I have the pleaſure of your friendly letter, and underſtand its contents. The points in queſtion are weighty, and, without the intervention of ambaſſadors, cannot be brought to a concluſion: I am therefore about to ſend two gentlemen to you, and have no doubt but a conference will take place. They will perſonally explain themſelves to you. What more can I write?

Copy of a Letter from Gen. Harris to the Right Hon. the Governor-General.

Camp, Seringapatam, 1ſt May 1799.

MY LORD,

On the 28th ultimo, I had the honour to report to your lordſhip the ſtate of the attack on Seringapatam, and the offer of Tippoo Sultaun to negotiate; ſince which no further communication has been received from him. A breaching battery for ſix guns, built the night of the 28th, was opened on the morning of the 30th, and in the courſe of the day demoliſhed part of the outward wall at the weſt angle of the fort, conſiderably ſhaking the maſonry of the baſtion within it. This day its fire has continued with increaſed effect; and an additional battery, conſtructed laſt night, is to open to-morrow, which will, I doubt not, ſoon complete a practicable breach. I have received no advices from General Floyd, or Colonels Read or Brown, ſince my laſt.

(Signed) GEO. HARRIS.

Copy of a Letter from Capt. Macauley to Lieut.-Col. Kirkpatrick.

Camp, Seringapatam, 1ſt May 1799.

This morning the breaching battery, completed, opened with great effect. To-morrow the breach may be

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be practicable; at all events, the assault will not be delayed beyond the 4th. The more arduous the enterprize, the greater the glory.

Lieutenant-colonel Montague unfortunately lost an arm this morning, but is doing well. No accounts of Floyd yet.

I wrote you the 25th, and have sent it in triplicate. Our breaching battery opened partially yesterday morning: this morning it is completed, and to-night the guns will be got in; notwithstanding which, Tippoo indicates no symptom of serious alarm: he has not even deigned to answer General Harris's letter of the 28th. It would appear as if he had thoughts of pushing matters to the last extremity, and trying the issue of an assault. This will probably take place in two or three days, unless the river prematurely swells.

Tell Mrs. Harris that the general is well; her son also is well.

C. MACAULEY.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Governor-General to the Court of Directors.

Fort St. George, 6th June 1799.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Since the date of my last of the 16th ultimo, I have received intelligence from Seringapatam, that Futteh Heyder, eldest son of Tippoo Sultaun, Purneah, the dewan of the Sultaun, and Meer Kummer-uddeen, had surrendered themselves to Lieutenant-general Harris at Seringapatam. The whole of Tippoo Sultaun's sons, thirteen in number, together with all his sirdars of note, are now at Seringapatam.

The primary objects of General Harris's attention, after the fall of Seringapatam, were to disband the late Sultaun's army, and to obtain possession of the principal strongholds throughout his dominions.

The measures necessary for effecting the first of these objects were accordingly taken, through the agency of Purneah. The Sillehdar horse, of their own accord, returned to their lands: some discussions, however, took place with regard to the disposal of the bargier or stable-horses, which were at length terminated on the 18th ult. by the assistance of Purneah.

The corps, formerly Lally's, has surrendered; and the Europeans composing it, together with those under M. Chapuy, recently arrived from Mauritius, were secured, and have been sent prisoners of war into the Carnatic.

Upon the whole, I have the satisfaction to inform your honourable court, that the late Sultaun's army is now entirely disbanded. The stable-horses, elephants and camels belonging to the sircar, have been delivered up, and many of the former have been allotted to complete deficient corps of the company's cavalry, while others, not calculated for that service, have been appropriated to the use of his highness the nizam.

In the mean time, the necessary measures have been pursued for taking possession of the remaining parts of the Sultaun's dominion. On the 13th, the army of Bombay, under the command of Lieutenant-general Stuart, marched on its return to Malabar by the way of Coorga, with the intention of detaching troops to take possession of the district of Canara. This army arrived at Cananore on the 22d, at which period, fortunately, the rains had not commenced in that quarter.

Circular letters were addressed by Lieutenant-general Harris to the commandants of the principal fortresses in Canara, and supported by similar requisitions from the Meer Suddoor (or general superintendant

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of garrisons) under the late Sultaun's government, requiring the surrender of their respective sorts to the British troops, and giving them general assurances of favour and protection. There is every reason to believe that the forts will be quietly delivered up; in which case, troops will be immediately detached by Lieutenant-general Stuart to occupy them.

Similar measures have been adopted to obtain the surrender of the forts in other parts of the late Sultaun's dominions; and, as far as our troops have yet proceeded, with uniform success.

The villagers have retired to their occupations in most parts of the country; and the strongest symptoms have appeared, of a general disposition to submit to the orders of the British government without opposition or reluctance.

I have great satisfaction in informing your honourable court, that the whole of the late Tippoo Sultaun's records have been fortunately secured. They are found to contain a series of correspondence between the Sultaun and the French. Previous to the departure of the *Sarah Christiana*, I received some of those documents; and although incomplete, they appeared to be of so much importance, that I forwarded copies of them to the secret committee by that conveyance. I have now the honour to transmit to your honourable court a complete copy of the whole series: no comment upon them can be necessary. The circumstances under which they were found, as well as the internal evidence which they contain, render their authenticity indisputable.

I am now occupied in framing a general arrangement of the affairs of Mysore, which I hope to be able to effect in a short space of time, upon principles calculated to promote the interests and honour of the honourable company, and to secure future tranquillity and safety to our Eastern dominions. It would be premature, at this time, to enter into a discussion of the measures in contemplation for this beneficial purpose; I however expect to complete this arrangement, without quitting this presidency, according to my first intention.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MORNINGTON.

*** The following Papers, No. 1, to 25, are *Translations* of the French papers, by G. G. KEBLE, French Translator, mentioned in the preceding letter to have been found in the Palace of TIPPOO SULTAUN at Seringapatam, after the capture of that place. The French Copies were all attested at Seringapatam by Capt. MACAULEY, Private Secretary to the Commander in Chief; and transmitted by him to Lieutenant-Colonel KIRKPATRICK, Military Secretary to the Governor-General. The orthography of the French is extremely incorrect in the original papers, especially in those dated in the year 1797, which appear to have been written, under the Sultaun's directions, by a Captain of a French vessel, then residing at Seringapatam.

From these papers it appears, that Tippoo Sultaun has dispatched three embassies to the Isle of France, and thence to the Executive Directory at Paris, since the commencement of the year 1797; the first, in April 1797; the second, in October following; and the third, in July 1798: but the Ambassadors employed did not leave Tranquebar until the 7th of February 1799. The nature and object of these several embassies is fully explained in these papers.

No. 5 to 21, contain a detailed statement of the transactions of the Sultaun's Ambassadors at the Mauritius, in January, February, and March, 1798; of the landing of the French force, under the command of Messrs. Du Buc and Chapuy, at Mangalore; and of their subsequent admission into the Sultaun's service. In No. 22 to 25, will be found the particulars of the embassy which the Sultaun dispatched to France, from

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from Tranquebar, at the moment when he profeſſed a deſire to receive an Ambaſſador from the Governor-General, and to cultivate the relations of amity and peace with the Britiſh Government in India.

No. 1.

Tippoo Sultaun, the Victorious, to the Citizens compoſing the Executive Power of the French Republic.

Seringapatam, 2d April 1797, 5th year of the French Republic.

CITIZENS,

I ſalute you, and wiſh every happineſs to you and your nation. Citizen Ripaud arrived in my country: after having ſuſtained an engagement, his ſmall veſſel had nearly foundered at ſea. As I have for a long time been deſirous of receiving intelligence from your nation, I brought him to my uſual place of reſidence. I queſtioned him with regard to the operations of the war, and to your condition; and I inquired whether you thought of your ancient ally. He informed me of all your plans, and of your good intentions towards me and my country. His communications gave me cordial ſatisfaction, and encouraged me to make the preſent advances towards a revival of intercourſe, by ſending to you three of my confidential chiefs, to teſtify to you my friendſhip, and to renew our ancient alliance. In the writing which I ſend to you, you will perceive my attachment, my diſpoſition, and the ſentiments of my heart for your nation, which I have always loved. Study the welfare of my country, as I ſtudy that of yours.

Your Ally,
(Signed)

(No. 2.)

Tippoo Sultaun, the Victorious, to the Repreſentatives of the People reſiding in the Iſles of France and of La Re-union.

Seringapatam, 2d April 1797, 5th year of the French Republic.

CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES,

You cannot be ignorant of the friendſhip which my father and myſelf have ever entertained for the French. I ſought every opportunity of proving it during your former government; and I have done all in my power, ſince the commencement of your revolution, to make known to you the ſentiments of my heart. From want of opportunity, and of intercourſe with perſons acquainted with your cuſtoms and manners, I have not been able, before this time, to inform you of my intentions. A fortunate chance has ſent me citizen Ripaud (one of your officers), who, at my requeſt, has anſwered all the queſtions which I put to him. I conſider him to be worthy of my confidence; and from what he has told me, I perceive it is now the moment for me to revive the friendſhip which I have always entertained for your nation: I acknowledge the ſublimity of your conſtitution; and as a proof of my ſincerity, I propoſe to your nation, and to you, a treaty of alliance and fraternity, which ſhall be for ever indiſſoluble, and ſhall be founded on republican principles of ſincerity and good faith; to the end that you and your nation, with myſelf and my people, may become one family; that the ſame oath may bind us for life or for death; that your enemies may be mine, and thoſe of my people; and that my enemies may be conſidered as yours. Thus do I wiſh henceforth to treat with my allies. You now ſee my diſpoſition towards your country. When I ſhall receive a proof of yours, I will fulfill my promiſes; but, citizens repreſentatives, I will not fulfill theſe engagements with you until I ſee your forces, as well naval as military, actually arrive in India. During the laſt war (it is with regret that I am obliged to recall to your memory the diſaſters which my friendſhip for the French nation has brought upon me) I maintained with zeal and courage all the pretenſions of the French. The Engliſh, the ambitious Engliſh! not having ſufficient confidence in their own ſtrength and courage to attack me ſingly, formed an alliance with the Mahrattas and the Nizam, and attacked me in every quarter. At the very moment when I was on the point of conquering them, the French army, under the command of M. de Coſſigny, received an order from M. de Buſſi to abandon me, though I paid them well, and they were in want of nothing; but what filled me with indignation was, that thoſe orders extended to M. de Lally, who commanded a body of French in my pay, to withdraw himſelf with his party: this I oppoſed, and on juſt grounds. From that moment, my army became diſguſted. Reduced ſingly to my own reſources, and abandoned by my allies, I was compelled to make peace, with the loſs of half of my dominions, and three crores and thirty thouſand rupees in ſpecie. Behold what have been my loſſes, repreſentatives! What is paſt, is paſt: I have cited theſe truths in order to apprize you, that if I ſhould declare war againſt your enemies, I will not be deſerted; nor

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ſhall you have the power of making peace without my previous conſent, nor without including myſelf and my people in the treaty. For the ſecurity of our reciprocal friendſhip and good faith, it is neceſſary to ſtipulate one preliminary condition: It is this—that as my people are ignorant of the cuſtoms of the French republicans, and as the republicans are equally unacquainted with the cuſtoms of my country, if one of the citizens of either party ſhould violate the cuſtoms of the other, he ſhall be reprimanded immediately by his own ſuperior, without any interruption of the good underſtanding and harmony which ought to ſubſiſt between good allies. I inſert this clauſe, although Citizen Ripaud has aſſured me, that the obſervance of the moſt ſevere diſcipline and of reſpect for the laws, exiſts in the republican army: Mine ſhall always be conducted in the ſame manner. I require alſo, that the commanding officer ſhall always conſult me on every meaſure which he may undertake for the deſtruction of our common enemy, becauſe I am acquainted with the country, its cuſtoms and manners. This is a reſervation that he cannot conſider as offenſive. Happy moment! the time is come when I can depoſit in the boſom of my friends, the hatred which I bear againſt thoſe oppreſſors of the human race. If you will aſſiſt me, in a ſhort time not an Engliſhman ſhall remain in India! you have the power and the means of effecting it by your free negroes. With theſe new citizens (much dreaded by the Engliſh) joined to your troops of the line, we will purge India of theſe villains! The ſprings which I have touched have put all India in motion; my friends are ready to fall upon the Engliſh; for every thing here rely on my diſcretion. Your enemies, as I have apprized you, ſhall be mine. Now you are apprized of my deſigns, delay not to inform me of yours; but make no promiſes which you cannot perform. I have retained Citizen Ripaud to anſwer your letters, and I will give him a ſalary worthy of the ſituation which he holds near my perſon. I entreat you not to be offended with him, but on the contrary to approve of what he has done, and to quiet his apprehenſions of being conſidered as a deſerter of his country and of his colours, (a laudable motive which intereſts me for his welfare). I requeſt you to authorize him to remain in his preſent ſtation with me, for the ſervice of his country, of your colonies, and of myſelf. I detained him; nor did he conſent to remain till after much ſolicitation, being extremely attached to the iſland of Bourbon, to which he belongs. In caſe you ſhould conſent to my propoſitions, it is neceſſary that you ſhould know the extent of my power to aſſiſt the French Republic and its army.

Article 1. I engage, immediately on the arrival of the French troops on the coaſt, to victual both the land and ſea forces (European liquors excepted), and I will furniſh all neceſſaries, ſuch as flour, rice, meat, wood, &c.

2. I engage alſo to make advances of money for all the wants of the land and ſea equipments.

3. I engage to provide all the bullocks neceſſary for the artillery of the republican troops, as well as the bullocks, camels, and Laſcars, for carrying the baggage of the officers and ſoldiers.

4. I engage to provide palankeens for the generals, and horſes for the officers of the troops of the republic.

5. In caſe the French army ſhould happen to be in want of gunpowder, or other ammunition, I engage to ſupply it.

6. As ſoon as the French army ſhall have diſembarked, I engage to march with my troops, which ſhall, in the firſt inſtance, conſiſt of thirty thouſand cavalry, and thirty thouſand infantry and artillery, well diſciplined, with arms, ammunition, and every thing neceſſary for the ſucceſs of our enterprize.

What I require on the part of France is as follows:

Article 1. That the French republic ſhall not, under any pretence whatever, conclude peace, but with the conſent of me and my people; nor without including us in ſuch treaty.

2. That as the troops of the republic will derive ſuch advantages from me, the generals in command ſhall undertake nothing without firſt conſulting me, to enſure the ſucceſs of the common cauſe, and of our reſpective armies.

3. Should the French general or republican troops detect traitors in my country, or ſhould I or my troops come to the knowledge of any ſuch in the French army, the chief of the party wherein the traitor may be found, ſhall cauſe him to be ſeized and executed, upon authentic proofs of his guilt, without prejudice to our mutual friendſhip; ſince engaged in the ſame cauſe, our intereſts are the ſame.

4. As I propoſe to make the advances, and furniſh the neceſſary ſupplies of money to the French republic, both for the land and the ſea forces, it is juſt that I ſhould be reimburſed at the end of the war, from the ſums of money which may be taken from our common enemy.

5. Every

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5. Every capture made from our common enemy, as towns, forts, territory, money, merchandize, ships, ammunition, &c. shall be equally divided, at a fair valuation, fraternally, between the troops of the republic, me, and my people.

6. As I have suffered greatly in supporting the cause of the French in the last war, when I lost the best part of my country, I require that all the towns, forts, territories, or contributions, which I may be able to seize within my former boundaries, be exempted from the 4th article; that they shall become mine by right, and that the republican troops shall have no pretensions or claims thereto. I claim this act of justice from my brethren.

7. If the fortune of war shall put us in possession of Goa and Bombay, the port of Bombay, and the territories dependent on it, belonging to the English, shall belong of right to the French; but Goa and its dependencies shall be mine.

8. I demand that male and female prisoners, as well English as Portugueze, which shall be taken by the republican troops, or by mine, shall be treated with humanity; and with regard to their persons, that they shall (their property becoming the right of the allies) be transported at our joint expence, out of India, to some place far distant from the territories of the allies.

9. As the towns, ports, forts, and territories stipulated in the 6th article, are to be divided between the allies, they shall be garrisoned as they may fall into our hands, and the stipulations of that article shall be afterwards arranged by the French general and myself, with a discretion, if circumstances require it, to blow up any fort which may be deemed useless.

10. In order to achieve the conquest of the English and Portugueze possessions, and those of their allies, it is necessary that I should be assisted with from five to ten thousand regular troops or national guards, and from twenty-five to thirty thousand of your new citizens (if you have put the decree into execution), selecting the most subtle and best instructed of them, those in short who are likely to disturb the peace of your own colonies; I will answer for our quick and easy success.

11. To facilitate the attack and capture of Goa, a port essential for your squadron and your transports, it will be necessary to disembark at my port of Onore, situated in latitude 14° 35′ N. and 70° longitude.

12. That I may be apprized whether you accept or reject my propositions, I request, that after having fully considered them, you will dispatch a packet-boat to Mangalore, to inform me of your decision as expeditiously as possible. That nothing may be wanting on the arrival of your squadron, a French officer will be stationed at Mangalore, to afford the necessary assistance, and to advise me of your intentions. To avoid any surprize or doubt, the ship, during the time she may remain at anchor in the roads, shall hoist American colours, with the national flag at the main-top-mast-head, over that of the Sultaun, which my envoys carry for that purpose. I am desirous, and therefore particularly request that citizen Aubaigne may be appointed to command this packet-boat, as he knows my harbours, and is acquainted with the customs of my country.

13. I depute four of my chiefs, who have proved themselves worthy of my confidence, to treat in my name on the articles which I transmit to you; but should you neither have the power of accepting them altogether, nor of carrying them into effect, without an order from the executive government of your mother country, I request you to dispatch three of my chiefs in one of your best vessels for France, and to join with them some citizen whom your wisdom may select, to guide and to advise them in France. I dispatch these chiefs for this express purpose: They are charged with a packet and with orders to explain my intentions to the executive power. I cannot send my ship thither without giving the English reason to suspect some hostile designs on my part. If you send a squadron, send with it the remaining one of the four chiefs, and also my ship, which I request may be coppered, and we will arrange matters accordingly. If, however, you think that the ship cannot be coppered without delaying the voyage of the convoy, you will send the ship back at the proper season, with a captain and two officers, whom I will pay.

14. We will commence hostilities against the English and the Portugueze; when in case the Nizam and the Mahrattas should join them, we will make war against them also; for it will then be necessary to subjugate them also, and to render them tributaries to us.

These, representatives, are my intentions: do not let my attachment to your nation expose me to the same calamity which I formerly suffered. I entreat you to reflect well before you return an answer, or you may expose me to great anguish of heart, since I shall act according to the tenor of your answer. I offer up my vows for the success of your enterprize, for the continuation of prosperity to the arms of the French republic, one and indivisible, and

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and for a speedy answer. I swear an inviolable friendship for your nation.

(Signed)

No. 3.

Tippoo Sultaun to Citizen Gen. Malartique.

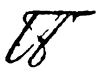
2d April 1797, 5th year of the French Republic.

CIT. GEN. MALARTIQUE,

I address to you, as well as to your representatives and principal chiefs, the assurances of my intentions, of my friendship—in short, of every sentiment of my heart towards your nation. I send four of my chiefs to confirm these assurances verbally. I hope you will take my propositions into consideration, and send me an answer, conformable to the desire of my heart, by the packet-boat which I have requested you to dispatch. I expect every thing from your zeal for your country. Citizen Ripaud has apprized me of the obligations due to your wisdom which has preserved your colonies. Send me troops, and I will divert the English from the idea of attacking you.

I request you to send by the packet-boat a person qualified to write my dispatches in the French language. Citizen Ripaud is not in good health, and besides is no writer. I expect every thing from your wisdom.—I revere you.

Your Ally,

(Signed) 

No. 4.

Tippoo Sultaun to Citizen Gen. Mengalon.

Seringapatam, 21st April 1797, 5th year of the French Republic.

CIT. GEN. MENGALON,

Since I manifested my friendship in writing to you, my messengers have arrived with the following intelligence, which will not be displeasing to you.

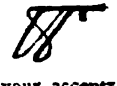
The Nizam, an ally of the English, and the chief of the Moguls, is very ill, and his great age leaves no prospect of his recovery. He has four children, who are disputing the right of succession; one of them, who is much attached to me, is the favourite of the chiefs and of the people, and is expected to succeed.

Sewoy Mah'doo Row, one of the great Mahratta chiefs, and a strenuous supporter of the English, is dead, and by a singular accident, in falling from the top of a palace. He had no children, and the disputed succession has kindled a civil war in that state.—Delhi is thrown into confusion by the arrival of Zemaun Shah, my friend, who has attacked the Mahrattas, and completely defeated them in that quarter. This is the act of Providence!—Heaven seems to revenge us on the Mahrattas—All the Princes of India have reason to complain of them. The Mahrattas relied on the English, who could not assist them, being fully employed in defending themselves.

Whilst a civil war exists in the Mahratta and Nizam's dominions, the English are not better situated; for the Nabob Mirza Amanis (Asoph ud Doula) chief of Bengal, having heard of the arrival of Zemaun Shah at Delhi, commenced hostilities against them, and with some advantage. At Calicut they have been attacked the Cotiote Rajah, Conjes Ram Ram, who has killed, in three sallies, 1000 Europeans and 3000 Sepoys. On the coast of Malabar they are attacked on every side, and the revolt is general, owing to their vexatious government, and to the taxes which they have imposed *.

On the coast of Coromandel, from Masulipatam to Madras and Arcot, their tyranny has excited revolt amongst all the princes, powerful and weak, who all assert their rights; and a nephew of the nabob of Madras, who held a command under the English, has lately been killed by his own chiefs, who were become desperate.

I inform you of these events, in order to prove to you, that it is now the moment for you to invade India. With little trouble we shall drive them out of India. Rely on my friendship.

(Signed) 

P. S. General, I entreat your acceptance of a slight mark of the personal esteem I entertain for you; it is a weapon made in my country, and which I request you to accept with the same cordiality as I offer it to you.

No. 5.

Tippoo Sultaun to the Colonial Assembly of the Isle of France.

Seringapatam, 21st April 1797, 5th year of the French Republic.

CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES,

Since I manifested my friendship in writing to you, my messengers have arrived

* *It is hardly necessary to observe, that this, together with almost all the other statements made by Tippoo and the French officers, respecting the Politics of India, is totally unfounded in fact.* ED.

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rived with the following intelligence, which will not be displeasing to you.

The Nizam, an ally of the English, and the chief of the Moguls, is very ill, and his great age leaves no prospect of his recovery. He has four children, who are disputing the right of succession. One of them, who is much attached to me, is the favourite of the chiefs and of the people, and is expected to succeed.

Sewoy Mad'hoo Row, one of the great Mahratta chiefs, and a strenuous supporter of the English, is dead, and by a singular accident, in falling from the top of a palace. He had no children, and the disputed succession has kindled a civil war in that state. Delhi is thrown into confusion, by the arrival of Zemaun Shah, my friend, who has attacked the Mahrattas, and completely defeated them in that quarter. This is the act of Providence! —Heaven seems to revenge us on the Mahrattas—All the princes of India have reason to complain of them. The Mahrattas relied on the English, who could not assist them, being fully employed in defending themselves.

Whilst a civil war exists in the Mahratta and the Nizam's dominions, the English are not better situated; for the Nabob Mirza Amanis (Asoph ud Dowla) chief of Bengal, having heard of the arrival of Zemaun Shah at Delhi, commenced hostilities against them, and with some advantage. At Calicut they have been attacked by the Cotiote Rajah, Conjee Ram Ram, who has killed, in three sallies, 1000 Europeans and 3000 Sepoys. On the coast of Malabar they are attacked on every side, and the revolt is general, owing to their vexatious government, and to the taxes which they have imposed.

On the coast of Coromandel, from Masulipatam to Madras and Arcot, their tyranny has excited revolt amongst all the princes, powerful and weak, who all assert their rights; and a nephew of the nabob of Madras, who held a command under the English, has lately been killed by his own chiefs, who were become desperate.

I inform you of these events, in order to prove to you, that it is now the moment for you to invade India. With little trouble we shall drive them out of India. Rely on my friendship.

(Signed)

P. S. Since writing my letter, I have learnt by an Arab ship, that great disturbances prevail in Bengal. The arrival of the Nabob Zemaun Shah at Lucknow has made the English tremble, particularly at Calcutta, where they are in great consternation, as they are unable to prevent Mirza Amanis (Asoph ud Dowlah) from joining Zemaun Shah. It appears that both these princes are determined to be revenged of the English: send me then troops to join with mine, that I too may treat them as they deserve.

No. 6.

The Ambassadors of Tippoo Sultaun to Gen. Malartique.

Isle of France, 26th January 1798, 6th year of the Republic.

GENERAL,

The King has commanded us, for the confirmation of the alliance with the French republic, to take a solemn oath, under the standard of the two nations, and to perform this ceremony according to your customs; therefore we address this request to you: your compliance will render the bonds of our friendship, and of the offensive and defensive alliance, indissoluble. We request you to assemble all the officers and men necessary for this ceremony, and, in our presence, to draw up a written instrument, to be signed by all parties present, sealed with the seal of the French republic, and delivered into our hands: this will weaken our enemies, and rejoice the two allied powers.

This is what we wish to make known to you, and we entreat you to believe us the most sincere of your servants.

(Signed) ASSEN ALI KHAN,
MAHOMED IBRAHIM.

No. 7.

Copy of the Stipulations and Proposal of the Prince Tippoo Sultaun, which his Ambassadors, Assen Ally Khan, and Mahommed Ibrahim, have dispatched to Europe, from the Isle of France, by two frigates which sailed from thence on the 5th February 1798, for establishing an offensive and defensive alliance with the French Republic, and for soliciting the assistance of France to subdue our common enemy the English, and to drive them out of India, if possible.

The prince engages to furnish the whole French army with the necessary provisions, such as rice, meat, ghee, &c. Spirituous liquors he cannot supply. He will provide the French army with carriage for the officers and for their baggage; he will also provide all military stores. Done at the Isle of France, the 4th of February 1798.

+ *Seal of Assen Ally Khan.*
+ *Seal of Mahommed Ibrahim.*
+ *Seal of Debay, Interpreter.*

No. 8.

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No. 8.

The Repreſentatives of the Colony of the Iſle of France, to Tippoo Sultaun.

Salutation and Fraternity!

Your ambaſſadors have communicated to us your intention of forming with the colony of the Iſle of France, a connection equally advantageous to both nations.

We ſhall make every effort in our power to anſwer your wiſhes.

We have communicated the object of your embaſſy to the legiſlative body of the French government, and we are convinced that France will enter completely into your views.

The governor-general Malartique will apprize you of the ſteps which he has taken already, and of thoſe which he has in contemplation, for promoting our mutual intereſts.

The produce and manufactures of your dominions will find a market in this colony, either for internal conſumption or exportation; and we can ſupply you, in return, with all the articles which the execution of your military projects requires.

(Signed) FOQUEREAUX, *Preſ.*
(By order of the Colonial Aſſembly)
HAULNIER, *Sec.*

Iſle of France, 21ſt February 1798, 6th year of the Republic.

GENERAL,

May health and happineſs attend you!

It is known to you, that we came hither with the expectation of finding a conſiderable force, which we were informed was in this iſland, and with which, upon the concluſion of an alliance with our ſovereign, we expected to have returned to him, to conquer your enemies, who are alſo ours. You know, that had we been deputed to make the levies ourſelves, we ſhould have brought a ſupply of money, and all that might be neceſſary for that purpoſe.

That we might not return empty handed, as we come, you have agreed to raiſe volunteers for us. The ſmall force which you have offered cannot accompliſh the deſigns of our prince; but even this inconſiderable force cannot be raiſed without money: all thoſe who offer to enliſt, require money from us. We cannot enliſt them; it is contrary to our orders: ſuch, however, as chooſe to go with us, we will take, but on condition that their pay ſhall be fixed by our ſovereign. Should this propoſal appear inconvenient, we requeſt you will ſend ambaſſadors with us to adjuſt this point with our ſovereign; they will then learn on what terms the French, now in his ſervice, are entertained. Thoſe who may embark afterwards, ſhall be entertained on the ſame terms; and for this purpoſe our prince will ſend money with his ambaſſadors; but it muſt be underſtood, that whether men are to be enliſted for his ſervice, or whether your troops are to be ſent to his aſſiſtance, they are to be conveyed by you.

We requeſt you to enable us to depart ſpeedily, as our orders will not admit of our remaining long here; and by your compliance you will oblige

Your moſt obedient ſervants,

(Signed) ASSEN ALLY KHAN,
MAHOMMED IBRAHIM.

+ } *Seals of the Ambaſſadors,*
+ } *Seal of Dobey.*

To the Ambaſſadors.

Iſle of France, 27th February 1798, 6th year of the Republic.

GENTLEMEN,

I am of too ſincere a temper to ſuffer you to remain ignorant of the great diſſatisfaction which your letter of this morning has given me. Your Sultaun deputed you to ſolicit our aid, on ſuch conditions as we might deem juſt, and not on thoſe which you now preſcribe to us.

The demands which I have propoſed to you within theſe few days paſt, were framed by General Dagincourt, who is particularly known to your Sultaun, under whoſe orders he ſerved when a captain of grenadiers, in the battalion of the regiment of the Iſle of France, which made a campaign during the laſt war, under the Bahauder and Tippoo Sultaun; I therefore perſiſt in demanding for all the officers and volunteers, the pay and proviſions ſtipulated in the laſt ſtatement which I tranſmitted to you.

The pay which was granted ten years ago, cannot be made a rule for the pay which ought to be given now.

Thoſe who at that period received 150 rupees per month, now demand 600.

You do not chooſe to take ſurgeons; you ſhall not have them: but your maſter will not be ſatisfied with your conduct on this article.

The officers and volunteers who are to accompany you, ſhall not make a journey of 500 leagues to aſcertain what pay Tippoo Sultaun may chooſe to fix for them. I ſhall order them not to diſembark until Tippoo Sultaun ſhall have ſatisfied them, that he will allow the pay and proviſions which I propoſe to him.

We have not ſought you; you came to ſolicit our aid; you ought therefore to ſubmit

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their to the conditions which I propose to you—they are just and reasonable.

Salutation and fraternity!

(Signed) MALARTIQUE, *G. Gen.*

The Governor-general of the Isles of France and of La Re-Union, to the Nabob Tippoo Sultaun.

Isle of France, north-west, 18th Ventose, 6th year of the French Republic, or the 8th March 1798, O. S.

Citizen James Denis Pitcher, a writer attached to this government, being desirous of obtaining a Perwannah from your highness, for the purpose of being employed in the factory which you propose to establish in this island; permit me to request your favour towards him, and the grant of the office which he solicits.

Citizen Pitcher bears the best reputation here; his morals are good, his integrity unblemished, and his temper tractable; he is besides intelligent, active, and laborious.

Your ambassadors, who have seen a great deal of him, and to whom he has been of some service, will confirm to you all the advantageous testimonies which I feel much pleasure in rendering to the character of Citizen Pitcher.

I shall be extremely obliged, prince, by the attention you may be pleased to pay to my recommendation.

Salutation and fraternity!

(Signed) MALARTIQUE.

Rear-admiral Sercey, commanding the Naval Forces of France in the Indian Seas, to the Nabob Tippoo Sultaun, in his territories.

Isle of France, 14th Ventose, 6th year of the French Republic, or 4th of March 1798.

PRINCE TIPPOO,

Your ambassadors, Assun Ally Khan and Ibrahim Saib, have delivered to me the letter with which you have honoured me, by which I learnt that they possessed your confidence, and that you desired that France should send you troops, in order that you might declare war against the English, the oppressors of India. I am extremely concerned, that the naval force under my command is not at present sufficiently considerable to admit of my proceeding to India, to make such a diversion as might forward your interests; but if I should be reinforced, as I expect, I shall be very eager to seek our common enemies, and to assist you in their reduction. Previous to the arrival of your ambassadors, I had addressed the government of my country in Europe, on the necessity of expediting this measure; and the day subsequent to their arrival I dispatched two frigates to France, with the new proposals which you offer; it is to be regretted that you did not sooner apprize us of your favourable disposition.

Prince Tippoo, your ambassadors have exerted great zeal for your service; but, unfortunately, we were not at liberty to divert to any other object the means confided to us for the protection of our colony; your ambassadors having, however, informed me of your wish to have some well-instructed officers to form your marine, I hasten to send to you Captain Du Buc, who commands a vessel in the service of France, and six other officers, whom I particularly recommend to your favour, and who, I hope, will answer your views, by their good conduct and their naval skill.

Your ambassadors having testified an anxious wish to return to you as speedily as possible, I have given them one of my best frigates, commanded by Captain L'Hermite, a distinguished officer, whom I recommend to you.

Salutation!

(Signed) SERCEY, *Rear-ad.*

General Cossigny to the Ambassadors of the Prince Tippoo Sultaun, at the moment of their departure.

I beg leave to offer my apologies to the ambassadors of the Padsha. My ill health has prevented me from paying them a visit; but I should have nothing further to communicate to them, for the information of the prince, than what I now purpose to write, which I desire they will transcribe, for the purpose of transmitting it to the Padsha Tippoo Sultaun.

I assure the Padsha Tippoo Sultaun of my respect and devotion. I give him my word that I faithfully transmitted, at the time when I received them, his propositions and his letter to the French government, and I am certain that the whole is arrived in duplicate. Agreeably also to his recommendation, I observed the greatest secrecy, that he might not be committed with the English, and because the French government itself is not in the habit of publishing the secrets of its operations.

The proof that the propositions of Tippoo Sultaun have been received, is that they have remained secret even in France. Perhaps it is not convenient for France to send an expedition to India, as it must depend upon the prospect of peace, more or less distant, with the English; but I assure the Padsha, that he will have no reason to repent of this first step, nor of the confidence he has reposed in me.

France, I am certain, will always consider

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fider the Padſha as one of its moſt faithful allies; his vakeel and I have not neglected any of the means in our power to inform the French government of the true intereſts of the Padſha; intereſts which we conſider as neceſſarily blended with thoſe of the French nation in India. I hope the time will come when Tippoo Sultaun will be convinced that I have ſerved him, on this occaſion, with the ſame zeal as when I was near his perſon.

Peter Monneron is no more: the Padſha was ignorant of his death, and perhaps is ſtill ignorant of it: he, however, has not written to him, nor has he written to me, although he has ſent to this place a copy of the letters of Peter Monneron: it is, therefore, Tippoo who has publiſhed his own ſecret, and he cannot hereafter reproach us with the conſequences.

I do not write to the Padſha, as my health, and the goût which I have at this moment, would prevent me from doing it in the manner I could wiſh, and becauſe he has not thought proper to write to me; and I moreover candidly confeſs that I ſhould be very ſorry to have my letters returned in the manner that Peter Monneron's were. All the letters which I have at various times written to Tippoo Sultaun, as well as thoſe which he has perſonally written to me, I have conſtantly forwarded to the French government: the letters have always been, and will continue to remain ſecret, becauſe his intereſt, and that of the French nation, require it.

I muſt again repeat my apologies to the ambaſſadors of the Padſha, if my ill health ſhould prevent me from ſeeing them before their departure from this colony; for I ſhould have had the ſtrongeſt deſire to become acquainted with them, and to have converſed with them reſpecting the Padſha. Their acquaintance would have been more particularly agreeable to me, as their diſcretion, and the good conduct obſerved by them here, during the courſe of the embaſſy with which they were entruſted by the prince, inſpired me with a very great deſire to know them. It will always be highly creditable to them to have filled with diſtinction and dignity, the honourable poſt which they occupied here for the intereſts of their maſter, and to have acquired the general eſteem, and the particular regard of all the chiefs of this iſland, by their wiſdom, their prudence, and diſcretion, in the miſſion with which they were charged; in the execution of which, they have acquitted themſelves with that good ſenſe and dignity becoming the ambaſſadors of a great prince, from whoſe juſtice they have every reaſon to expect a favourable reception. I beg them to accept my beſt wiſhes for their health, and the ſucceſs of their voyage.

I am perſuaded that they will uſe their influence with Tippoo Sultaun, in ſupport of the memorial which my nephew, Lahauſſe La Louviere, has addreſſed to him, as well as the requeſt made by him to the prince.—His memorial appeared to me to comprehend objects of great moment to the intereſts of the Padſha, and it is this which determined me to recommend it.

I once more requeſt them to aſſure the prince, that I ſhall always take the greateſt intereſt in his glory, and that I am anxious that the ſucceſs and name of ſo great a ſovereign ſhould be extended through the univerſe.

(Signed) GEN. COSSIONY.

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.
OUR COUNTRY,—HONOUR,—AND LIBERTY.

MENGALON, *General of a Diviſion, to the Nabob* TIPPOO SAIB.

Head quarters, Iſle of France, 4th of March 1798, 6th year of the French Republic.

PRINCE,

I received the letter with which you honoured me: ſickneſs prevented me from attending the various conferences which your ambaſſadors held with the governor-general, on the ſubject of the miſſion with which you had charged them. I have, however, no doubt that the French republic will ſoon learn and joyfully partake your overtures of friendſhip and alliance.

I ſhould have been glad if the ſtate of the French force at this time in India, had allowed me in perſon to have aſſured you of the friendſhip of the republic, and to have participated in the glory of your arms againſt our common enemy; but the actual ſtate of affairs deprives me of that double honour.

I intreat you, prince, to accept my wiſhes for the proſperity of your arms, and the continuation of your glory.

(Signed) MENGALON.

To the Great Prince, Tippoo Sultaun Padſha at his court of Seringapatam.

Iſle of France, 15th Ventoſe, 6th year of the French Republic, or 5th March 1798, C. S.

GREAT PRINCE,

A Frenchman, whoſe name is not unknown to you, and who wiſhes to be uſeful to the generous ally of his nation, avails himſelf, with eagerneſs, of the opportunity offered by the return of your ambaſſadors,

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ambaſſadors, Huſſein Ally Khan and Mahommed Ibrahim, to recall himſelf to your remembrance.

I had the honour to write to you from Pondicherry, in the month of September 1792, incloſing the manifeſt of the cargo of my ſhip the *Phœnix*; and I informed Governor Defreſne, that I propoſed going to Mangalore, for the expreſs purpoſe of landing a quantity of beautiful and excellent grenadier fuſees, intended for you. That general obſerved to me, that I ran the riſk of being ſearched and detained by the Engliſh; but when he ſaw that I was firmly reſolved to adhere to my project, he approved of it, and I departed. This circumſtance has afforded me the ineſtimable advantage of receiving many perwannahs from you, which I carefully preſerve.

Your miniſter, Aſheruff Ally Khan, arrived at Mangalore in the beginning of the year 1793. He there received the fuſees, and was ſatisfied with them: I was paid only in part; he gave me an order for 14,000 rupees upon Brown of Mahee, who gave me a bill on another perſon, and I have not yet received payment; but it is no longer your highneſs who is reſponſible to me for the amount.

Being a repreſentative of the people of the Iſle of France, I had the happineſs of being preſident of the committee of public ſafety when your ambaſſadors landed in this colony; and I was the firſt to teſtify to them the ſatisfaction we felt at receiving amongſt us the ſubjects of an allied prince, to whom we are ſincerely attached. But if our happineſs was great for a moment, our grief was profound to learn that you had been deceived by Rapaud as to our forces on this iſland: the only reinforcement which has been ſent to us from France ſince the commencement of the war, is one battalion, which we have ſent to Batavia, to aſſiſt the Dutch in the preſervation of that place: this we did in return for the aſſiſtance which we had drawn from thence in money, proviſions and naval ſtores; for you muſt know, great prince, that our own reſources are ſufficient for our ſupport; and we have ſworn to bury ourſelves under the ruins of our iſland, rather than ſee our enemies the poſſeſſors of it.

I often had the pleaſure of viſiting your ambaſſadors, and I ſucceeded in relieving them from the painful ſituation into which they were thrown by the failure of their miſſion: I encouraged them, by ſaying that you could not deſire impoſſibilities; and that having done every thing in their power, their conſcience ought to be at eaſe: you know, great prince, what I frankly declare to you, that an agent who has uſed every effort, although without ſucceſs, has ſtill a claim to the gratitude of thoſe who granted him their confidence.

If Huſſein Ally Khan and Mahommed Ibrahim have not been entirely ſucceſsful, if your wiſhes have not been accompliſhed, it is alone to be attributed to the unfortunate circumſtances of the times; but I ſwear by the ſacred name of honour, that they have uſed every effort to execute your orders, and have conducted themſelves like ſubjects truly attached and faithful to their maſter.

The conferences were conducted at the government houſe, with the generals and three repreſentatives of the colony, in the number of whom I have the advantage to rank. Your envoys were always deſirous that nothing ſhould be made public but what could not poſſibly be concealed: and I may venture to aſſure you, great prince, that we have every reaſon to be ſatisfied with the correct and becoming conduct obſerved by them during their reſidence here; it was ſuch as to be expected from the honour of their character, and from your ambaſſadors. They obſerved, that the allowances fixed for the different ranks were too great; and that the French, in the camp of Lally, are not ſo highly paid; but General Malartique relieves you from any embarraſſment on that point, by permitting the French to return, ſhould you not be ſatisfied with what has been concluded here.

The ſituation of your envoys was critical; they found themſelves in a ſtate of ſuſpence, deſirous of being uſeful to their maſter, but at the ſame time apprehenſive of incurring his diſpleaſure. To have refuſed theſe ſuccours, though trifling, would have been a confeſſion that you would not ſacrifice a ſmall ſum of money: this, I think, would have been impolitic, not only with reſpect to the preſent, but alſo to future times; beſides, it is neceſſary to make ſome diſtinction in favour of thoſe who leave their families, and the comforts which they enjoy here, to ſerve as volunteers in a country with which they are totally unacquainted. Nothing leſs than our great deſire to ſerve you, would have induced us to permit theſe citizens to leave the colony during war, particularly as ſome of them are experienced ſoldiers, who poſſeſs a knowledge of their profeſſion, and therefore are a loſs to us; but there is no merit in obligations which coſt nothing.

Permit me, great prince, to converſe a moment with you. My love for my country, my attachment to its allies, particularly

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ticularly to the deferving fon of the renowned Heyder Ally, and my well-founded hatred of the Englifh, or rather of their government; all this, I fay, fhould convince you, that I fhall fay nothing which is not dictated by a regard for your true interefts.

What is then the fatality which has hitherto divided the princes of Afia? Nothing is more eafily underftood. It is the dark policy of the Englifh, their Machiavelian principles, which have fubjected fo many nations to their yoke, and rendered them the oppreffors of Afia.

There is ftill time however to crufh this ambitious nation; but it is neceffary that the court of Poonah—the foubah of the Deccan—the Tartars—the rajah of Travencore—all the rajahs, nabobs and foubahs; that all the chiefs of Afia, in fhort, fhould unite to attack, to overthrow, and finally to expel thofe haughty Englifh; but it is abfolutely neceffary that the alliance fhould be founded on good faith, and that it fhould be fkilfully formed, in order that the princes, whofe forces are inconfiderable, may not find themfelves overpowered, in confequence of a want of concert between the parties; but wh[illegible] the plan fhall have been properly arran[illegible] and when the Englifh fhall find t[illegible] felves affailed from every quarter [illegible] their deftruction will be inevitab[illegible] have been at war with all the [illegible] Afia; you muft now become [illegible] and prove to them, by the [illegible] make, that you are really [illegible] come fuch. One prince [illegible] dize himfelf at the expen[illegible] it is proper that thofe [illegible] the bondage of the En[illegible] cipated, and that [illegible] participate in thei[illegible] to the aid he fhall [illegible] local pofition. [illegible] alliance be ma[illegible] of the contrac[illegible] intereft in it [illegible] obferved; bu[illegible] fhould any or[illegible] injured, he [illegible] no longer [illegible] or favoura[illegible] opportunit[illegible] nately we [illegible] Europe, w[illegible] favour; i[illegible] the naval [illegible] colony ha[illegible] Seguin, th[illegible] frigate [illegible] the Fr[illegible] aid de[illegible]

cation which he has [illegible] reinforcement as poffib[illegible] deputation be fortunate, [illegible] your advantage, in having [illegible] hand the means of aveng[illegible] punifhing thofe who ha[illegible] be betrayed by your own [illegible] recovering that inherit[illegible] have been in [illegible] princes of Afia who [illegible] you were not fenfibl[illegible] as the Englifh be[illegible] would furnifh th[illegible] arms againft [illegible]

The differ[illegible] vented allian[illegible] advantageo[illegible] falfe princ[illegible] fophy and [illegible] and the [illegible] Rom[illegible] Luth[illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible]

I thought it neceffary to adopt this [illegible] meafure, left the Englifh, [illegible] at the part which you feemed determined to adopt with regard to them, and of the fupply of men which I have fent to you.

In confequence of the requeft made to me by your ambaffadors, I fent fix cafes, numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, & 6, containing garden trees, plants of the Ifle of France, and drawings of different flowers, with [illegible] each containing a nurfery full blown, an object of much curiofity in natural hiftory. I hope you will receive them all in good order; the account of thefe articles, under my fignature, has been delivered to your ambaffadors.

I conclude my letter by requefting you to place confidence in me, and in every thing that I fhall write to you.

Believe not fo readily thofe who deceive you.

Endeavour, by every means in your power, to point out to the Mahratt[illegible] their true interefts, by fatisfying them th[illegible] your enemies are in reality theirs.

[illegible]

To a capt[illegible]
To each lieut[illegible]
To each enfign[illegible]
To each mid[illegible]
To the fhip-build[illegible]

We, the genera[illegible] general of the Ifles [illegible] Reunion, and comma[illegible] French eftablifhments [illegible] the Cape of Good Hope, [illegible] and do hereby determin[illegible] rates of the pay of the [illegible] marine, of all ranks, to be [illegible] refpects.

Done at Port North Weft, [illegible] the 9th March, [illegible] French Republic.

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Engliſh; and that by this ſucceſs you may be enabled to render your people and yourſelf happy. This is the ſincere prayer of a true Frenchman, who is, with eſteem and reſpect,

Great Prince,
Your moſt humble ſervant,
(Signed) M. DESCOMBER.

The Governor-general of the Iſles of France and La Re-Union, to the Nabob Tippoo Sultaun.

Iſle of France, Port North Weſt, 17th Ventoſe, 6th year of the French Republic, or 7th March 1798, O. S.

I received, on the 20th of january laſt (old ſtyle), your letter under date the 9th October 1797, which announced to me that you had deputed Captain Ripaud, whom you had engaged in your ſervice, and two ambaſſadors, to confer with me reſpecting the ſtate of your affairs, and that I might place the greateſt confidence in whatever they might communicate. Your ambaſſadors afterwards delivered to me your memorandum of propoſals to the executive directory, tending to form an alliance offenſive and defenſive with the French, and by which you offer to entertain, at your own expence, as long as the war in India ſhall laſt, the troops they may be able to ſend you.

Not thinking myſelf authoriſed by my powers to conclude this alliance with you, I immediately diſpatched two frigates to France, with your propoſitions to the executive directory. I have not the ſmalleſt doubt but they will take your propoſal into their moſt ſerious conſideration; and I am perſuaded that they will ſend you, as ſpeedily as poſſible, the ſuccours of men which you demand, and which you require for the purpoſe of attacking your enemies, who are alſo the enemies of the French republic.

In the mean time, and whilſt waiting the arrival of theſe ſuccours, I diſpatch the Preneuſe frigate, commanded by Captain L'Hermite, to convey back your ambaſſadors and their ſuite, with the officers, ſurgeons and volunteers, whom I have recruited in the two iſlands for your ſervice.

I have annexed to this letter,

1. The roll of the officers compoſing the marine eſtabliſhment, whom you were deſirous of having to command your ſhips, and to form ſeamen for you.

2. The roll of the land officers, of the ſurgeons, and of the volunteers.

Theſe liſts exhibit the reſpective ranks of the officers.

You will alſo receive with this letter the monthly pay-tables of the allowances to be given, independently of the appointments and proviſions for each rank, and for every perſon who ſhall enter your territories.

It would have been more regular, had a treaty been entered into between your ambaſſadors and myſelf, and ſigned by both parties which you might have ratified on the return of every ambaſſadors; but I could not perſuade them to undertake to ſign the treaty. They aſſured me that you would moſt unqueſtionably agree to my demand, and that the appointments and pay of the troops, as well as the eſtabliſhment and proviſions which I had requeſted, would be exactly and regularly paid at the end of every month. Should it prove otherwiſe, I authoriſe all the officers, volunteers, and others, to avail themſelves of the return of the frigate, or of any other opportunity which may offer, to return to theſe iſlands.

I muſt alſo premiſe, that it is my intention, that they ſhall, at all times, be at liberty to quit your territories; and I therefore requeſt you will give orders that they may be furniſhed with the neceſſary means, that every aſſiſtance and protection be granted to them, and that they may not be ſubjected to any hindrance or moleſtation on the part of your ſubjects.

The eſtabliſhment of the factory which you are anxious to have in this iſland, in order to facilitate the means of connecting yourſelf more cloſely with the French, preſenting reciprocal advantages, you are at liberty to eſtabliſh it whenever you may think proper. The two Muſſulmans and the Frenchman whom you propoſe to ſend for that purpoſe, will eaſily find a commodious houſe for their reception. They ſhall be under the protection of government, and they ſhall enjoy all the privileges uſually granted to ſuch eſtabliſhments.

I muſt now mention to you the good conduct of your ambaſſadors, and the anxiety they have always ſhewn to execute punctually the commiſſion with which you had entruſted them; I am happy to render them this juſtice, which they on every account deſerve.

Immediately on their arrival in this colony, they delivered all the letters with which they were entruſted, for the repreſentatives and for the naval and military generals. They urged entreaty upon entreaty, and ſtrenuouſly ſolicited the diſpatch of a conſiderable force to their prince, according to the tenor of their inſtructions, founded on the reports which had been made to you.

After having for ſome time heſitated to accept of the unconſiderable aſſiſtance in

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men which was offered to them, your ambaſſadors determined to receive it upon the ſolemn aſſurances which I gave them, to diſpatch to you not only ſuch troops as might arrive from France, but alſo thoſe from this iſland, who might hereafter reſolve to proceed to India.

Your ambaſſadors having likewiſe ſolicited me, with great earneſtneſs, to cement the alliance exiſting between the French and yourſelf, by a formal oath, I informed them, that as this alliance ſtill remained in full force, I thought the executive directory and the legiſlative body of the French republic had alone a right to renew the confirmation.

In ſhort, I can only give you advantageous teſtimonies of their good conduct; they conducted themſelves, I can aſſure you, with the moſt perfect honour and propriety, and all their actions have been well calculated to procure for your intereſts the conſiderable force which you had directed them to obtain.

They will tell you that I publiſhed a proclamation which has been ſent into all the cantons of this iſland, for the purpoſe of raiſing volunteers.

They will inform you that a veſſel has been diſpatched to the iſland of La Reunion, for the ſame purpoſe.

They will inform you likewiſe, that a general embargo has been laid on all the veſſels in this port, in order that none might ſail for India or for the Straits, untill after the departure of the Preneuſe frigate, which conveys your ambaſſadors back to your territories.

I thought it neceſſary to adopt this laſt-mentioned meaſure, leſt the Engliſh, our common enemy, ſhould be apprized of the part which you ſeemed determined to adopt with regard to them, and of the ſupply of men which I have ſent to you.

In conſequence of the requeſt made to me by your ambaſſadors, I ſent ſix caſes, numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, & 6, containing garden trees, plants of the Iſle of France, and drawings of different flowers, with flaſks, each containing a nutmeg full blown, an object of much curioſity in natural hiſtory. I hope you will receive them all in good order; the account of theſe articles, under my ſignature, has been delivered to your ambaſſadors.

I conclude my letter by requeſting you to place confidence in me, and in every thing that I ſhall write to you.

Believe not ſo readily thoſe who deceive you.

Endeavour, by every means in your power, to point out to the Mahrattas their true intereſts, by ſatisfying them that your enemies are in reality theirs.

Write to all the princes of Hindoſtan, and to all the nabobs of Bengal; tell them that your enemies are alſo theirs, and that the time is come to rid yourſelves of your common enemy.

Make ſacrifices of money, pay your army well, and give money to the Mahrattas.

Of what uſe to you is money? A great reputation is ſuperior to every thing.

Your courage, and the reſources of your genius are known to me; both will every where attend the ſon of the great Hyder Ally Khan; you are deſtined to ſurpaſs even his fame.

Write to me ſometimes. Why have you delayed ſo long to give me an account of yourſelf; you cannot have received falſe reports? I know, however, that much has been ſaid to you of the legiſlative body and the executive directory of France.

The beneficence of the French republic, its policy, and particularly its deſire to perpetuate friendſhip with your government, and to confirm the harmony which has ever ſubſiſted between you and the French, will induce it to ſend troops to India.

When you write to me, you may add to your letters a tranſlation in French, in Engliſh, or in Portugueſe.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) MALARTIQUE.

Colonial. Iſle of France.

(Marine.)—Statement of the Pay of the Officers of Marine of all ranks, who enter into the ſervice of the Nabob Tippoo Sultaun.

Pay per month, independently of the eſtabliſhment fixed by law.

To a captain of a ſhip, or captain of the port, - - - - - - -	*Rupees* 2000
To each lieutenant of a ſhip, - -	500
To each enſign of a ſhip, - - -	300
To each maſter of the port, - -	250
To the ſhip-builder, - - - - -	200

We, the general in chief, governor-general of the Iſles of France and La Re-union, and commander in chief of the French eſtabliſhments to the eaſtward of the Cape of Good Hope, have determined, and do hereby determine, the preſent rates of the pay of the officers of the marine, of all ranks, to be obſerved in all reſpects.

Done at Port North Weſt, in the Iſle of France, the 7th March 1798, in the 6th year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

(Signed) MALARTIQUE.

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Colonial. Isle of France.

(Marine.)—List of the Officers and Masters who enter the service of the Nabob Tippoo Sultaun.

Pierre Paul Du Buc, captain.

Charlemagne Marc de la Rabinaire, Sangenate, lieutenants.

Jacques Barthe, Jacques Roberts, Pierre Filletaz, Pierre Perit, Jacques Dudemain, ensigns.

Michael Lelée of L'Orient, master of the port.

J. Mullet of Bourdeaux, shipbuilder.

Certified as true by us, governor-general of the isles of France and La Re-union, at the Port North West, the 7th March 1798, the 6th year of the French Republic.

(Signed) MALARTIQUE.

Colonial. Isle of France.

Rates of the Pay of the Volunteers of all ranks, who enter into the service of the Nabob Tippoo Sultaun.

Pay per month of the Volunteers, independent of provisions, which are to be furnished them.

The chief of brigade, commanding - - - - - - -	*Rupees* 2000
To each chief of a legion, - -	1800
To each chief of a battalion, - -	1500
To each captain of inf. and cav. -	500
To each lieut. and sub-lieut. - -	300
To the bearer of the colours, - -	60
To each serjeant maj. & serjeant, -	50
To each corporal, - - - - - - -	40
To each private of inf. and cav. -	28
To each drummer, - - - - -	22
To each surgeon, - - - - - -	500

We, the general in chief, governor of the Isles of France and of La Re-union, and commander in chief of the French establishments east of the Cape of Good Hope, have determined, and do hereby determine the present rates of the pay of volunteers of all ranks, to be observed in all respects.

Done at Port North West, in the Isle of France, the 7th March 1798, in the 6th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) MALARTIQUE.

The Captain in the Navy of the French Republic, commanding the frigate la Preneuse, in the Roads of Mangalore, to the Sovereign Prince Tippoo, in his palace at Seringapatam. 25th April 1798.

SOVEREIGN PRINCE,

Having been dispatched from the Isle of France, by Admiral Sercey, commander of the naval forces of the French republic, on service in the Indian seas, to bring back to one of your ports your ambassadors, Assen Ally Khan, and Mahommed Ibrahim, whom you had deputed by Citizen Ripaud, to the government of the Isle of France, I have the honour to announce to you my arrival this day, the 25th of April, in the roads of Mangalore, with your ambassadors, and the Frenchmen whom General Malartique has sent to you, under the orders of M. Capuis commanding the land, and M. Du Buc commanding the naval forces.

I should felicitate myself the more on having been selected for this honourable commission, did not the approach of the stormy season oblige me to hasten my departure, and deprives me of the honour of presenting to you, in person, the assurances of my respect and attachment.

I have requested Assen Ally Khan, who is about to approach his sovereign with an account of his embassy, to express to you my zeal for your service, and at the same time the lively regret which I feel at being obliged so soon to depart.

With as much justice as pleasure I can assure your majesty, that your ambassadors, during the fifty days they have been on board my ship, have rendered themselves conspicuous for all the good qualities and virtues required in the station with which you have invested them; and that their quitting my ship, as well as their departure from the Isle of France, has been the cause of regret to those friends whom their irreproachable conduct has gained them; nor can I wish you greater happiness than to possess many subjects as faithful and as much attached to you as they are.

Anxious to evince my zeal to serve you, and to procure you the means of corresponding with my government, before the approaching monsoon, I have the honour to acquaint you, that in fifteen or eighteen days at farthest, I may possibly touch again at Mangalore, and from thence perhaps sail for the Isle of France; you might by that period honour me with your answer, and your commands.

As it would be advantageous to the Isle of France, and convenient to me, to carry thither, on my return, from 150 to 200 tons of rice in bags, I have the honour to make a demand for the same.

I will deliver the receipt for whatever quantity I may ship, at your government of Mangalore, to whomsoever you may please to order to make over to me the quantity required, if that be possible.

What I receive will become a debt due by my government to you, of which they will acquit themselves in any mode you may think proper.

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As I have already had the honour to obſerve to you, and as you without doubt know, that in 15 or 20 days at the fartheſt, your coaſt will no longer be ſafe, I offer my ſervices, and confine my requeſt to that period; for when it is paſſed, I ſhall be under the abſolute neceſſity of quitting Mangalore, with the regret of no longer having it in my power to be ſerviceable to you with my government, and without being able to give them any intelligence from you, which could prove advantageous to you, as well as to the Generals Malartique and Sercey, who are anxious to ſerve you.

As for the reſt, rely on my zeal and good wiſhes for your ſervice, and accept, with the ſentiments of my lively reſpect and attachment to your intereſts, the ardent prayers which I addreſs to Heaven for the triumph of your arms, and the ſplendour of your government.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) L'HERMITE.

The Commander in Chief of the forces ſent by the French Government to the Pacha Tippoo the Victorious.

SOVEREIGN PACHA,

I haſten to announce to your majeſty my arrival in your kingdom, and that of the French officers and volunteers ſent to you by the Governor-general Malartique, of whom you will find the muſter roll annexed.

Your majeſty will obſerve, that among the volunteers there are about twenty ſoldiers of colour, of different nations and caſtes, the greater part of whom may be employed with advantage in the artillery.

You will there obſerve the chief of a legion, poſſeſſing every military qualification for filling with diſtinction the ſtation of commander in chief, and two officers of artillery, with whom I hope you will be ſatisfied.

I flatter myſelf that your majeſty will afford an opportunity to the military which the French government already has ſent, and may hereafter ſend you, of ſhewing that they will never make any diſtinction between the ſervice of a prince whoſe alliance we ſo highly eſteem and appreciate, and the ſervice of their country.

I have the honour to inform your majeſty, that I have found here almoſt all the aſſiſtance which I could deſire for my troops.

The zeal and activity ſhewn by the commandant of Mangalore, in the diſembarkation and reception of the troops, has convinced me of the great attention which he has paid to every thing that regarded us.

I can add nothing to the well deſerved commendation which General Malartique has expreſſed to your majeſty, of your ambaſſadors, Aſſen Ally Khan and Mahommed Ibrahim; their exemplary conduct, on every occaſion, at the Iſle of France, on the paſſage, and particularly during the action which we had in Tellicherry roads with two Engliſh ſhips, mounting 52 guns, having on board the officers of a regiment, a battalion of Sepoys, and two ſtandards, all which we captured and diſpatched to the Iſle of France, has merited our general eſteem.

I have the honour to expreſs to your majeſty the extreme deſire which I feel to preſent my homage to you in perſon, and to communicate all the details reſpecting the miſſion with which the French government has entruſted me; and alſo to aſſure you, that I ſhall ſeize every opportunity of proving to you that your intereſts and your glory ſhall henceforth be conſidered by me as united with thoſe of my country.

I requeſt your majeſty will enable me to proceed to your preſence as ſoon as poſſible, and iſſue your orders that the detachment with the baggage, which is conſiderable, may follow without delay.

General Du Buc and myſelf hope to precede the detachment, which will be left under the orders of Dumoulin, the chief of a legion.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) CHAPUIS.

The Captain of the Ships of War of the French Republic, one and indiviſible, appointed by the Government to the chief command of the Naval Force acting under the Sovereign Pacha Tippoo Sultaun the Victorious.

Mangalore, 28th April 1798.

SOVEREIGN PACHA,

I unite with General Chapuis in apprizing your majeſty of my arrival, and of that of my officers, diſpatched by Generals Malartique and Sercey to ſerve under your orders.

We have no wiſh but to convince your majeſty of the zeal and fidelity with which we ſhall act, in every ſervice which can contribute to your glory, and to the ſucceſs of your arms.

The French Republic, the ancient ally of your auguſt father, has received your embaſſy to the Iſle of France in a manner which cannot fail to convince you that the reſpective intereſts of the two nations will be conſidered as one; and we are eſpecially

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especially deputed to your majesty, for the purpose of renewing and consolidating that friendship and harmony which has hitherto reigned between you and the French.

The near approach of the rainy season renders it necessary that your majesty should give orders for our journey to your presence, with our baggage, as speedily as possible, that we may incur no risk of delay in our mission.

I inclose a return of the officers under my command. It seems advisable that they should remain at Mangalore until your naval establishment shall be fixed by the reports which I shall have the honour to submit to you, with regard to the situation of the coast and harbour of Mangalore; and, in the mean time, you should issue orders to the governor of that place, to supply them with every thing necessary until your final pleasure shall be known.

I have brought a port-master and ship-builder, both well qualified for their respective departments; I have also with me a master carpenter, and a marine cadet.

I cannot conclude my letter without paying a tribute of praise to your ambassadors, Assen Ally Khan and Mahommed Ibrahim. Their duty could not have been more faithfully discharged; the prince may be deemed happy who has such zealous and faithful subjects. I feel a particular pleasure in rendering this justice to their merit. With General Chapuis I shall relate more particularly to your majesty, their exertions in soliciting the generals of the French republic at the isle of France for your glory and interests.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Du Buc.

Return of the Naval Officers of the French Republic, one and indivisible, sent by the Generals Malartique and Sercey, for the service of the Sovereign Prince Tippoo, viz. Mangalore, 28th April 1798.

M. Du Buc, captain of the ships of war of the French Republic, and commanding the naval force.

M. M. St. Genes, Barth, La Rabinais, lieutenants in the French navy.

M. Filetas, acting marine major.

M. M. Petit, Dudemaine, midshipmen in the French navy.

M. Lelee, master director of the works of the port.

M. Merlet, ship-builder and carpenter.

M. Bessiere, marine cadet.

M. Francois Robert, carpenter.

Eleven persons attached to the marine.

(Signed) Fillietaz, *Maj. of Mar.*

Copy of the Questions put to the French Generals by the Chiefs of the Sircar.

1. We request you to inform us, if the Generals Malartique and Sercey have sent you to the pacha as ambassadors from them? When we are informed on this point, you shall be introduced according to your dignity and our customs.

2. We request you also to inform us, if the Generals Malartique and Sercey have sent you to serve the pacha? You shall be received as men of distinction, according to our customs.

3. We request you also to inform us, if you have full power to transact business with the durbar, and at the same time to serve the pacha? You shall then be received and introduced as men of distinction, according to our customs.

The French generals having nothing more at heart than to give to the sircar of the pacha, Tippoo Sultaun, the explanations and information which it is in their power to afford, as to the dignity and the object of their mission, answer to the first question,

1. That the Governor-general Malartique, representing the French republic in his government of the Isle of France, has dispatched us to the pacha, in the quality of envoys from the French republic, as has also Rear-admiral Sercey, to represent them at the court of the pacha.

2. The Governor-general Malartique, and Rear-Admiral Sercey, have sent us to serve the pacha in arms, according to our respective ranks and professions.

3. We have full power and authority, in the name of the French republic, and in the names of the generals who represent the republic in the Isle of France, to treat with the pacha, and with his durbar, of an alliance between the two nations, which is to serve as the fundamental basis for all the great objects which we may have to propose; and all our treaties shall be presented to the national convention, and ratified by the executive power at Paris.

Done in the camp at Seringapatam, 1st Thermidor, in the 6th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible, corresponding with the 20th June 1798, O. S.

(Signed) Chapuis.
Du Buc.

Rates of Pay for the Officers of the Marine.

The commander in chief Du Buc,
per month, - - - - *Rupees* * 2,000

* *Of which Mr. Fillietaz, the Major, who goes with me to Europe, is to have* 300 *rupees per month.*

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out of which he will leave 500 rupees in the hands of the ſircar, to be paid him on his return, and he will receive 1500 rupees *per* month.

Lieutenants - - - - -	*Rupees* 250
Midſhipmen - - - - - -	200
Maſter of the port - - - - -	150
Builder - - - - - - - -	125
Carpenter - - - - - - -	50
The marine cadet, Beſſiere - - -	50

Settled the 8th July 1798.

(Signed) Du Buc.

I accept, for the preſent, 1500 rupees per month, payable immediately, with a promiſe from the pacha to pay me 2000 on my return from Europe, after having executed the commiſſion with which he charges me.

The 18th July 1798.

(Signed) Du Buc.

I have received from the ſircar Condadad, the ſum of two thouſand ſeven hundred eighty-one Bahader pagodas, and five fanams, in the following manner, that is to ſay:

	Pag.	*Fan.*
Eight months due to Debay	171	0
Six months in advance -	1282	0
Six months to General Du Buc - - - - - - -	1928	1
Six months to Filletaz -	385	10
One month to the marine, as follows:		
One lieutenant - - - - -	53	8
One midſhipman - - - - -	42	12
One maſter of the port - -	32	2
One builder - - - - - -	26	11
One carpenter - - - - -	10	11
Total Bahader pagodas	2781	5

Camp of the pacha, July 28, 1799.

(Signed) Du Buc.

N. B. Every officer or other perſon belonging to the marine, who ſhall not diſcharge his duty punctually, and with ſkill, ſhall be diſmiſſed and ſent back.

To the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

Placing entire confidence in the patriotic zeal and fidelity manifeſted by Citizen Du Buc, captain in the navy of the French republic, one and indiviſible, and commander in chief of my marine, I have appointed, and do hereby appoint him one of my ambaſſadors to the executive directory at Paris, there to fulfill with punctuality the orders which I have given him. For that purpoſe I have given him all the moſt extenſive powers neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the miſſion which I have entruſted to him, promiſing and binding myſelf to the French republic, one and indiviſible, to ratify the engagements which Citizen Du Buc may enter into, in my name, with the national convention and the executive directory at Paris; as well as with the artiſts and workmen whom I have directed him to engage for my ſervice.

Given in my palace of Seringapatam, under my ſignature and that of my prime miniſter, with the ſeal of ſtate affixed, the 20th July 1798.

(Signed)

Letter of Credit from the Sircar Condadad for Citizen Du Buc, Captain in the Navy of the French Republic, one and indiviſible, and Commander in Chief of my Marine.

Placing entire confidence in the fidelity of Citizen Du Buc, captain in the navy of the French republic, one and indiviſible, and commander in chief of my marine, I authorize him, by this preſent letter of credit, to procure, either from the French republic, or from individuals, ſuch ſums as he may require, to fulfill the orders I have given him for different purchaſes, or to defray expences which he may think urgent or neceſſary for the advantage of his miſſion.—Being deſirous that the ſaid letter of credit ſhould have full power and value, I hereby bind myſelf to pay, or cauſe to be paid, all the bills of exchange which Citizen Du Buc may draw upon my ſircar.

Given in my palace of Seringapatam, under my ſignature, and that of my prime miniſter, with the ſeal of ſtate affixed, the 20th July 1798.

(Signed)

* *Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to M. Du Buc.*

Seringapatam, the 2d January 1799.

The hircarrahs, who were the bearers of your letter of the 16th ultimo, arrived on the 30th. They have been paid, as a preſent, ten rupees. You muſt make every exertion to depart with all poſſible expedition, for it is urgently neceſſary. The clothes which you mention as not being arrived, have been brought back without orders. I have cauſed them to be returned again without delay; but ſhould they not arrive immediately, let not this preven;

* *For the letter to which this is an anſwer, ſee page 98 of the State Papers.* Ed.

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prevent your departure. The letter of credit for France, which you desire, is in the packet. I hope that you will find the person who ought to pay you the money: we consider him as entirely to be depended upon; but if he should fail, you will endeavour, by means of your letter of credit, to arrange matters, and depart as soon as possible. You need not doubt that you possess my entire confidence, and that I consider you as one of my very good friends. We have settled together every thing which you have to do. It is useless, and even dangerous, to write again, because letters may be lost; and what I am most anxious about, is, that you should depart as quickly as possible. Your dispatches have already been once intercepted, and have furnished information of your destination, which is much to be regretted. If you should write again, mention no names; we shall always understand each other: I have always written to you in that manner.

You ask me to send money from hence: how can this be done, when letters pass with so much difficulty? I authorise you to take up, by means of the letter of credit upon Europe, whatever you may require for yourself, as well as for other purposes. After the departure of this dispatch, I will send the necessary persons to carry on the correspondence. I rely solely on Providence, expecting that I shall be alone and unsupported; but God and my courage will accomplish every thing. I have sent to Poonah; but it is your departure which most interests me, and which is most pressing. Overcome all obstacles, and depart with speed.

(Signed)

To Tippoo Sultaun the Victorious, the Ally of the French Republic, and the well-beloved of the Republicans, his Children, Health!

From the Republican Camp, the 3d day of the 1st Decade of Prairial, the 5th Year, (May 23d, 1797.)

CITIZEN SULTAUN,

I have received the letter which you have done me the friendship to write to me, and I take the liberty of replying to it article by article.

With respect of that which relates to Monsieur Raymond, I have read the letter written by him to Citizen Dompard:—M. Raymond, more subtle than him, has the air of a man who would be a Frenchman, or who would at least wish to be thought so; and this with a view to discover your intentions, and those of the republic, your sister;—he expresses a wish to be informed of our means, and of our force, alleging that he has sacrificed the greater part of his property, to prove his attachment to the French, and to support the French, and their name in India; and that his party is called the French, and that he has always borne the French colours.

He is known to you, excellent Prince, and still better to France.—He has made war,—on whom?—on you, the ally of my nation: it is thus that he would prove to you his sincerity. He has erected the ancient standard of France: this was only to disengage you from the French, who acted under your orders—he is in the service of a prince, who is both your enemy and ours, and has formed an unworthy alliance with the English, with whom he is in constant habits of intercourse.—But my Prince, in dealing with traitors, we must make use of their own arms. You must not let him perceive that you have unmasked him.—If you will permit me to write to him, I will manage matters in such a manner as to draw him over, and induce him to enter entirely into your wishes. In politics, we should avail ourselves of the arms of those hands we should be glad to see cut off, and put it out of the power of our enemy to hurt us, either by word or deed.

I repeat to you, that your interests are as dear to me as those of my own nation, and you may rely on the frankness of my heart; but Raymond appears to make advances to you: do you appear to accept and return this confidence, and allow me to act a part with him. Be assured that he will submit himself to your pleasure; subtle as he is, I will outwit him, and you shall be satisfied.

With respect to the men who are in irons, had they deserved death, be persuaded that they should have received no mercy: I do not love either cowards or traitors, and you may rest assured that your camp shall be ordered with all the dignity and respect which is due to you. I do not command it, but I am a republican, and I will make them know that you do not pay them either for their debauchery or their vices, and that they must earn the money which you give them; that every where, and at all times, they must be ready to maintain your precious name and glory. They begin to listen to me. I will render them worthy of this honour; and this is no trifling attempt, after their late disorderly behaviour. An order from you to Citizen Dompard, conceived in the terms

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of the writing incloſed, would have the beſt effect. Your will ſhall be complied with; on Monday afternoon I will take out, with your permiſſion, the citizen gunners to your place of exerciſe, that they may fire at the mark. I make them practice daily firing at the mark. But as it is the cuſtom among the republicans to attach a ſmall piece of artillery to each company of infantry, for the purpoſe of manœuvring, and to favour attacks or retreats, or the ſkirmiſhes of cavalry, I requeſt of you merely to lend me one of your ſmalleſt field-pieces; theſe pieces, in time of action, are drawn with traces. Your wiſhes are laws, I wiſh you all the happineſs you deſerve.

Your citizen,

(Signed) RIPAUD.

P. S. I deſire the Citizen Dompard, as commandant, to qualify himſelf, that he may be able to command in perſon the French republicans who are under his orders: that he will, in the ſame manner, require his officers to qualify themſelves to command, as well as his inferior officers. I give you all one month to enable you to practiſe, and I ſhall judge myſelf of the military evolutions which you may be able to perform at that period. To be republicans, it is neceſſary to be well informed, to poſſeſs a degree of pride, and to merit the eſteem of thoſe whoſe pay we receive.

Hitherto you have neglected thoſe duties of honourable men; repair your former errors, and merit my eſteem. You will daily make the citizens whom you command, without any diſtinction, except that of age, practiſe with the muſket and great guns. Thoſe who perform their exerciſe well with the muſket and cannon, will practiſe only every Monday on my parade; thoſe who will not make the moſt of their time, ſhall be formed, according to their reſpective acquirements, into ſecond and third claſſes: thoſe of the ſecond claſs ſhall exerciſe three times a week; thoſe of the third daily, until all your citizens become qualified for the firſt claſs, both with reſpect to the management of the muſket and of the artillery; they muſt all be equally expert at the muſket and the artillery.

Be careful that this order be carried into execution; you will be anſwerable to me for it. Iſſue orders alſo to your cavalry to inſtruct themſelves. It is proper that all ſhould be perfect. Such is my will.

*** This letter eſtabliſhes the fact, that M. Raymond, commander of the French army at Hyderabad, had opened a correſpondence with Tippoo Sultaun. With regard to the ſtandard under which M. Raymond's corps ſerved, they were delivered up at Hyderabad on the 22d October 1798; they conſiſted of the three-coloured flag, ſurmounted by an emblem repreſenting the Ottoman creſcent tranſfixed by a dagger, on the point of which was placed the French cap of Liberty.

The Originals of the following Tranſlations from General BONAPARTE were communicated to Captain WILSON at Mocha, and the Tranſlations were by him tranſmitted to the Governor in Council at Bombay.

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

LIBERTY, EQUALITY.

Bonaparte, Member of the National Convention, General in Chief, to the moſt magnificent Sultaun, our greateſt Friend Tippoo Saib.

Head-quarters at Cairo, 7th Pluvioſe, 7th Year of the Republic, one and indiviſible.

You have already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea, with an innumerable and invincible army, full of the deſire of delivering you from the iron yoke of England.

I eagerly embrace this opportunity of teſtifying to you the deſire I have of being informed by you, by the way of Muſcat and Mocha, as to your political ſituation.

I would even wiſh you could ſend ſome intelligent perſon to Suez or Cairo, poſſeſſing your confidence, with whom I may confer,

May the Almighty increaſe your power, and deſtroy your enemies!

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

From Bonaparte to the Sheriffe of Mecca, written in Arabic, without date, and received in Judda the 17th February 1799.

You will be fully informed by the Nocqueda of this Dow, how tranquil and quiet every thing is at Cairo and Suez and between thoſe places, and of the tranquillity which is eſtabliſhed among the inhabitants. Not a ſingle Mameluke oppreſſor remains in the country, and the inhabitants, without dread or fear, employ themſelves in weaving, cultivating the ground,

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ground, and in other trades, as formerly; and by the bleſſing of God, this will be daily increaſing, and the duties on merchandize and the taxes will be leſſened. The duties on merchandize are now the ſame as they were prior to their being raiſed by the Mamelukes; the merchants have every aſſiſtance granted them, and the road between Suez and Cairo is open and ſafe; therefore, do you aſſure the merchants of your country, that they may bring their goods to Suez, and ſell them without dread or apprehenſion, and may purchaſe in exchange for them ſuch articles as they may wiſh.

I now ſend you a letter for our friend Tippoo Sultaun; oblige me by forwarding it to his countries.

Copies of the above letters were given to my Moonſhee for me, by Shaik Soliman and Mahommed Ameen, the Sheriffe's firſt Vizier and firſt Secretary.

The preceding Papers form but a ſmall part of the maſs of Correſpondence found in the Palace of Seringapatam, all of the ſame tendency, and manifeſting the ſame implacable hatred of the Britiſh nation, but are deemed by the Governor General more than ſufficient to ſhew the unremitting ardour with which the late Tippoo Sultaun has purſued the objects of his inſatiable revenge.

In ſome of theſe papers Tippoo is called *Sirtar Khoudadaud.* This is a deſignation adopted by him at the concluſion of the laſt war, in 1792. *Khoudadaud* literally ſignifies *God given.*

Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable the Governor-General to the Court of Directors.

Fort St. George, 3d Auguſt 1799.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Par. 1. The rapid ſucceſſion of active meaſures in which I have been engaged, has not admitted of my recording, in a connected ſhape, for the information of your honourable court, the ſeveral opinions which I have entertained, at different periods of time ſince the month of June 1798, relative to the terms of an adjuſtment with the late Tippoo Sultaun. The knowledge of my progreſſive ſentiments on this important ſubject, may appear neceſſary to your honourable court, in forming your judgment of the meaſures which I have purſued; it is therefore my intention, in this letter, to review my original plan for a ſettlement with Tippoo Sultaun, and the variations which it has undergone, according to the change of circumſtances and of the general aſpect of affairs, ſince the firſt diſcloſure of the nature of the embaſſy diſpatched by the Sultaun to the French government.

2. In my letter of the 20th March 1799, I have declared to your honourable court, that as ſoon as I had aſcertained the views of Tippoo Sultaun to be ſuch as they are repreſented in the proclamation of M. Malartique, of the 30th of January 1798, I determined to make an immediate effort for the reduction of that Prince's reſources and power; but the defect of the requiſite means had precluded the poſſibility of the attempt at that time.

3. In this ſtate of things, my intention was to have endeavoured to detach Tippoo Sultaun from his connection with the French nation; and I ſhould then have been contented with any adjuſtment which appeared to offer a reaſonable proſpect of ſecuring that object. The arrangement which occurred to me at this period of time was ſtated in a minute recorded in the ſecret department on the 12th Auguſt 1798. My views were then limited to the eſtabliſhment of permanent reſidents, on the part of the company and of the allies, at Seringapatam; to the diſmiſſion of all the French then in the Sultaun's ſervice; and

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to the perpetual exclusion of the French from his armies and dominions.

4. But before I could safely attempt to propose even this moderate arrangement to Tippoo Sultaun, it was necessary that the vigour of the triple alliance should be restored, and that our armies should be placed in a posture, not only of defence, but sufficiently respectable to enforce the just and moderate demands at that time in my contemplation, or any augmentation of those demands, which the obstinacy, treachery, or violence of the Sultaun, might ultimately compel me to make: for although my views were then limited to the objects stated in the preceding paragraph, it appeared prudent to provide for every possible contingency.

5. The measures which I pursued for the purpose of restoring our alliances, and of assembling our armies, are already known to your honourable court; you are also apprized of my several unsuccessful attempts to open a pacific negociation with Tippoo Sultaun.

6. In the month of November, 1798 (at the period of my first attempt to open such a negociation with him) my opinion, with respect to the nature of the terms necessary for our security against the designs of the Sultaun, had undergone some change. I had received the intelligence of the French invasion of Egypt; and it could not be doubted that the expedition, if it had not been originally planned with a view to the assistance of Tippoo Sultaun, might be converted to that purpose. On the other hand, our strength was considerably increased; we had subverted the French party at Hyderabad, and by that successful blow, had secured the effectual cooperation of the nizam's government; our military forces and preparations were also in a state of forwardness. Under these combined circumstances, my opinion was, that Tippoo Sultaun should not only be compelled to renounce his connection with France, to dismiss all the French in his service or dominions, and to receive resident ambassadors from the allies, but also to cede, as an additional security against a renewal of his hostile intercourse with the French, the maritime province of Canara to the company, for an equivalent to be given to him at a distance from the coast. It would not have been difficult for the company to have made the necessary exchanges, for the purpose of obtaining the equivalent, if circumstances had favoured such an adjustment with the Sultaun.

7. This plan, without any material variation, formed my views of the settlement necessary to be concluded with Tippoo Sultaun, until the period of my arrival at Fort St. George, on the 31st of December 1798.

8. With this plan in contemplation, I addressed to the Sultaun my letter dated on the 9th January; but I was induced, towards the close of the month of January, to extend my views beyond the limits by which they had hitherto been circumscribed.

9. Tippoo Sultaun's neglect of my letter of the date above mentioned, manifested a strong indisposition to any amicable adjustment of our differences, and appeared to indicate a determination to pursue his project of instigating the French to invade India. His obstinacy had already induced a very heavy expence upon the finances of the company, and threatened to augment, and even to perpetuate, the charge of our defensive system. On the other hand, the armies of the allies were now so concentrated, as to warrant

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warrant the expectation of our being able to enforce any demands which we might think it juſt and prudent to make. On theſe grounds, towards the cloſe of the month of January 1799, my intention was to have required from Tippoo Sultaun, in addition to the terms already ſtated, the payment of a conſiderable ſum of money, as an indemnification for the expence to which his hoſtile and treacherous conduct had ſubjected the allies.

10. The next change in my view of the ſubject took place at the commencement of the month of February 1799, after I had obtained the intelligence that Tippoo Sultaun, while he declined the amicable advances of the allies, had actually diſpatched another embaſſy to the French, under the conduct of M. Du Buc. The inſidious conduct of Tippoo Sultaun now determined me to ſuſpend all negotiation with him, until the advance of our armies into Myſore ſhould ſeriouſly menace his capital. It was reaſonable that the indemnification to be demanded ſhould keep pace with the burthens which the progreſs of his unjuſtifiable proceedings impoſed on the allies. The French, at this period of time, being to all appearances eſtabliſhed in Egypt, the neceſſity of reducing the power of Tippoo Sultaun was greatly increaſed; and as our means of effecting this important object were proportionably augmented, I now determined to raiſe my demands to the extent ſtated in the incloſure marked (A.) of my letter of the 22d of January 1799, to the commander in chief, already ſubmitted to your honourable court. I reſolved, at the ſame time, in the event of our obtaining any deciſive advantage in the field, and of our being compelled, by the obſtinacy of the Sultaun, to open our batteries upon Seringapatam, to inſiſt on greater conceſſions from him; and I therefore proviſionally directed the commander in chief to demand the terms ſtated in the incloſure (B.) of the ſame letter to his excellency.

11. Towards the end of April, freſh circumſtances aroſe, which diſpoſed me to think, that if the courſe of the war ſhould favour the attempt, it would be prudent and juſtifiable entirely to overthrow the power of Tippoo: accordingly, on the 23d of April, I ſignified to Lieutenant-general Harris, my wiſh that the power and reſources of Tippoo Sultaun ſhould be reduced to the loweſt ſtate, and even utterly deſtroyed, if the events of the war ſhould furniſh the opportunity.

12. The commander in chief in the interval, however, (as ſtated in my letter of the 16th of May to your honourable court,) had been induced to offer to Tippoo Sultaun the terms marked (B), contained in the incloſure of my inſtructions of the 22d February; and for the powerful reaſons detailed in his letter of the 18th April, his excellency, with great propriety, had not offered theſe, or any other propoſals, to Tippoo Sultaun, previouſly to opening the batteries on the fort of Seringapatam. After the batteries had been opened, Lieutenant-general Harris was not authoriſed, by my inſtructions, to offer or accept any terms leſs advantageous to the allies than thoſe contained in the paper (B), to which I have already referred.

13. Accordingly, his excellency, on the 22d of April, propoſed the terms contained in that paper, with ſuch a modification of the ſecurities as the actual ſtate of circumſtances appeared to require. Tippoo Sultaun not having agreed to Lieutenant-general Harris's propoſitions, and

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and his excellency poſſeſſing no authority to depart from them, the neceſſary conſequence was the proſecution of the ſiege, which terminated in the reduction of the place.

14. I have already informed your honourable court, that the conduct of Lieutenant-general Harris, in this reſpect, as well as in every part of the campaign and ſiege, has met with my entire approbation. I ſhall expect, with anxiety, the judgment of your honourable court on the important queſtions ſubmitted to it in this letter; requeſting you to conſider every act of Lieutenant-general Harris, in the management of the negotiations with Tippoo Sultaun, to be founded in the ſpirit of my orders, and to be ſtrictly conformable to my views of my duty towards you, and of the exigencies of your ſervice.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MORNINGTON.

Extract from the Right Hon. the Governor-general's Minute in the Secret Department.

12th of Auguſt 1798.

The firſt regular authentication of the proclamation, which I received, was contained in the letter from Lord Macartney of 28th of March, and in that from Sir Hugh Chriſtian of the ſame date, received on the 18th of June. It could now no longer be doubted, that the proclamation actually had been iſſued by the governor-general of the Iſle of France. Whatever may have been the motives of Monſieur Malartique in this tranſaction, the object of Tippoo Sultaun was always plain and clear, altho', fortunately for our intereſts, his ſucceſs has not yet been anſwerable to the extent of his deſign. Of the object of that deſign I ſoon poſſeſſed ample proof, ariſing from the beſt evidence which the nature of the caſe could admit. In the firſt place, it appeared by the general tenor of the letters from the Cape, as well as by every public account which had been given of the tranſaction, to be an undiſputed fact, that Tippoo diſpatched two ambaſſadors to the Iſle of France, and that the proclamation in queſtion was publiſhed ſubſequent to their arrival, and during their reſidence in that iſland. Theſe facts would perhaps have been ſufficient, without further inquiry, to warrant a ſtrong preſumption, that this proclamation, purporting to declare the object of the embaſſy, muſt have been framed with the conſent and knowledge of the ambaſſadors of Tippoo, then on the ſpot, and muſt have correſponded with their inſtructions from their ſovereign, whoſe orders they would ſcarcely have ventured to exceed, in a matter of ſuch ſerious conſequence as the concluſion of an alliance offenſive and defenſive with the French. In order, however, to obtain the moſt accurate information with reſpect to the circumſtances attending the reception of the embaſſy, the publication of the proclamation, and the conduct of the ambaſſadors, I examined upon oath ſome reſpectable perſons, who were preſent in the Iſle of France during the reſidence of the ambaſſadors at Port Nord Oueſt; from the concurrent teſtimony of theſe perſons, ſince corroborated by intelligence from various quarters, I obtained a connected account of the whole tranſaction.

Tippoo diſpatched two ambaſſadors, who embarked at Mangalore, for the Iſle of France, and arrived there at the cloſe of the month of January 1798. They hoiſted Tippoo's colours upon entering the harbour of Port Nord Oueſt, were received publicly and formally by the French government, with every circumſtance of diſtinction and reſpect,

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ſpect, and were entertained, during their continuance on the iſland, at the public expence. Previouſly to their arrival, no idea or rumour exiſted in the iſland, of any aid to be furniſhed to Tippoo by the French, or of any proſpect of a war between him and the company. The ſecond day after the arrival of the ambaſſadors, an advertiſement was publiſhed of the ſame purport as the proclamation, and immediately afterwards the proclamation was fixed up in the moſt public places, and circulated through the town. The ambaſſadors (far from proteſting againſt the matter or ſtyle of the proclamation) held, without reſerve, in the moſt * public manner, the ſame language which it contains with reſpect to the offenſive war to be commenced againſt the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India; they even ſuffered the proclamation to be publicly diſtributed at the place of their reſidence. In conſequence of theſe circumſtances, an univerſal belief prevailed in the iſland, that Tippoo would make an immediate attack upon the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India; which opinion had gained ſo much force, that the perſons who gave this evidence, and all thoſe who arrived at that period in India from the Iſle of France, expected to find us at war with Tippoo. The ambaſſadors were preſent in the iſland when the French government proceeded to act under the proclamation in queſtion, and they aided and aſſiſted the execution of it, by making promiſes, in the name of Tippoo, for the purpoſe of inducing recruits to enliſt; they propoſed to levy men to any practicable extent, ſtating their powers to be unlimited with reſpect to the numbers of the force to be raiſed. The ambaſſadors aided and aſſiſted in the levy of 150 officers and privates for the ſervice of Tippoo, under the terms and for the purpoſes ſtated in the proclamation. Few of the officers are of any experience or ſkill, and the privates are the refuſe of the democratic rabble of the iſland: Some of them are volunteers, others were taken from the priſons and compelled to embark: ſeveral of them are Caffrees, and people of half caſt. With ſuch of theſe troops as were volunteers, the ambaſſadors entered into ſeveral ſtipulations and engagements in the name of Tippoo.

On the 7th of March 1798, the ambaſſadors embarked on board the French frigate *La Preneuſe*, together with the force thus raiſed; and they publicly declared an intention of proceeding to the Iſle of Bourbon, with the hope of obtaining more recruits for the ſame ſervice.

The proclamation, therefore, originated in the arrival of the ambaſſadors at the Iſle of France, was diſtributed by their agents, was avowed in every part by their own public declaration, and finally was executed, according to its tenor, by their perſonal aſſiſtance and co-operation.

The proclamation itſelf furniſhes the moſt powerful internal evidence of the concurrence of the ambaſſadors in all its eſſential parts. The principal facts ſtated therein are: "That Tippoo Sultaun, through two ambaſſadors diſpatched for the purpoſe to the Iſle of France, had addreſſed letters to the colonial aſſembly of the Iſle of France, to all the

* Although the ambaſſadors, on their firſt arrival at the Mauritius, were very ſolicitous, according to the tenor of their inſtructions, to keep the object of their miſſion ſecret, yet when the government neglected this precaution, and gave them a public reception, the conduct of the ambaſſadors became equally public, and the object of their miſſion equally undiſguiſed.

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the generals employed there, and to the executive directory of France, and had made the following propositions: 1*ſt*, That he deſired to form an alliance offenſive and defenſive with the French, and offered to maintain, at his expence, during the continuance of the war in India, whatever troops ſhould be furniſhed by the French, and to ſupply (with the exception of certain ſtores) every neceſſary for carrying on the war: 2*d*, That he had given aſſurances, that all his preparations were already completed, and that the generals and officers would find every thing neceſſary for carrying on a ſpecies of war, to which Europeans have not been accuſtomed in their conteſts with the native powers in India: 3*d*, That he only waited for the ſuccour of France to declare war againſt the Engliſh, and that it was his ardent deſire to expel the Engliſh from India."

Upon the ground of theſe facts the proclamation recommends a general levy of men for the ſervice of Tippoo, and it concludes by aſſuring "all the citizens who ſhall enliſt, that Tippoo will give them an advantageous rate of pay and allowances, which will be fixed by his ambaſſadors; who will alſo engage, in the name of their ſovereign, that the Frenchmen who ſhall have enliſted in his army, ſhall never be detained there, after they ſhall have expreſſed a deſire of returning to their native country."

The avowed purpoſe of this proclamation is to acquaint the inhabitants of the iſland with the propoſitions made by Tippoo Sultaun, through his ambaſſadors, on the ſpot. It enumerates thoſe propoſitions with a particularity of detail, which could never have been hazarded in the preſence of the ambaſſadors, if the facts ſtated had not been correctly true, or if the propoſitions enumerated had varied in ſubſtance from thoſe communicated by the ambaſſadors, under the orders of their ſovereign: but the laſt paragraph of the proclamation, connected with the conduct of the ambaſſadors, as already deſcribed, eſtabliſhes, in the cleareſt manner, their participation in the whole tranſaction. That paragraph contains a direct reference to the power of the ambaſſadors, and engages, on their behalf, that they ſhall enter into certain ſtipulations, in the name of their ſovereign, with reſpect to the pay and final diſcharge of ſuch French ſubjects as ſhall enliſt in his army, under the conditions of the proclamation. The accounts which I have received from the Iſle of France concur in ſtating, that the ambaſſadors openly acted under this part of the proclamation; and, in the name of Tippoo, entered into engagements and ſtipulations with the recruits, according to the aſſurances ſpecified in the proclamation. Monſieur Du Buc, now maſter attendant at Mangalore, ſtated to one of the witneſſes whom I examined, the whole ſubſtance of the engagements which had paſſed perſonally between him and the ambaſſadors, all of which engagements referred immediately to Tippoo's intention of commencing war upon the company, with the aid of the French force then about to be levied. It appears from the evidence which I have collected, that the ambaſſadors had not brought to the Iſle of France a ſupply of treaſure ſufficient for advancing bounty-money to the recruits. It was ſtated, that an apprehenſion of the Engliſh cruizers had prevented the embarkation of treaſure for this purpoſe; and no doubt was entertained, that if the ambaſſadors had been better provided with money, they might have raiſed a much greater number of

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men, who refuſed to engage on the mere ſecurity of promiſes in the name of Tippoo.

The ambaſſadors, together with the force thus collected during the time of their miſſion to the Iſle of France, landed from the frigate *La Preneuſe*, at Mangalore, on the 26th of April 1798. Accounts vary with reſpect to the exact number of the force landed: the moſt probable are, that it did not exceed two hundred perſons. Tippoo (far from manifeſting the leaſt ſymptom of diſapprobation of the conduct of his ambaſſadors in any part of the tranſaction) formally received them, and the officers and leading perſons ſo landed, with public marks of honour and diſtinction. One of his ambaſſadors reſided for ſome time with the French recruits in a fortreſs near Mangalore, and the Sultaun has admitted the whole levy of officers and men into his ſervice.

Referring, therefore, to the conduct of the ambaſſadors in the Iſle of France, to their arrival at Mangalore with the force levied in conſequence of their miſſion, and finally to the reception of the ambaſſadors and the French recruits by Tippoo Sultaun, the following concluſions appeared to me to be incontrovertibly eſtabliſhed:—*1ſt*, That the ambaſſadors diſpatched by Tippoo Sultaun to the government of the Iſle of France, propoſed to that government an alliance offenſive and defenſive againſt the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India, which alliance was * accepted by that government, and its acceptance formally notified by a public proclamation. *2dly*, That the ambaſſadors were charged with letters from Tippoo Sultaun to the executive directory of France; which letters were ſtated to contain the ſame propoſitions; and that the ambaſſadors delivered thoſe letters to the governor-general of the Iſle of France, for the purpoſe of tranſmiſſion to France. *3dly*, That the ambaſſadors, in the name of Tippoo Sultaun, gave public aſſurances, that he had actually completed the neceſſary preparations for commencing immediate hoſtilities, and that he only waited the arrival of ſuccour from the French to declare war againſt the company, for the expreſs purpoſe of expelling the Britiſh nation from India. *4thly*, That the ambaſſadors demanded unlimited military ſuccour from the French, and levied a military force in the Iſle of France, with the declared object of commencing immediate war againſt the Britiſh nation in India. *5thly*, That this force has been actually landed in Tippoo's country, and publicly admitted into his ſervice, with ſignal marks of approbation; and that the ambaſſadors have been received with ſimilar diſtinction. *6thly*, That Tippoo Sultaun (by receiving with public marks of approbation his ambaſſadors, who had concluded, in his name, an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the French, and by admitting into his ſervice the military force raiſed for effecting the objects of that alliance) has perſonally ratified the engagements contained in the proclamation of the governor-general of the Iſle of France, and has proceeded to act under thoſe engagements conformably to the tenor of that proclamation. *7thly*, That although the ſuccour

* Although it appears the Government of the Iſle of France did not actually enter into a formal treaty of defenſive and offenſive alliance with the ambaſſadors, by executing regular engagements, yet they adopted the more decided meaſure of ſending all the troops they could raiſe, and of promiſing more for the aid of Tippoo Sultaun, with a view to the expreſs object of that alliance; and with the ſame view they diſpatched his letters to France, and aſſured him that the alliance would here be formally concluded.

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ſuccour actually received by Tippoo Sultaun, under his offenſive alliance with the French, is inconſiderable, yet the tenor of the proclamation, the propoſition made to the French government for unlimited military aid, and the declarations of the ambaſſadors, prove, that it was the intention of Tippoo Sultaun to receive into his ſervice the largeſt force which he could obtain, for the purpoſe of commencing a war of aggreſſion againſt the company in India.

Having thus entered into offenſive and defenſive engagements with the enemy; having proceeded to collect, in conjunction with the enemy, a force openly deſtined to act againſt the poſſeſſions of the company; having avowed, through his public ambaſſadors, that he has completed his preparations of war, for the expreſs purpoſe of attempting the entire ſubverſion of the Britiſh empire in India; and having declared that he only waits the effectual ſuccour of the French to proſecute offenſive operations, Tippoo Sultaun has violated the treaties of peace and friendſhip ſubſiſting between him and the company, and has committed an act of direct hoſtility againſt the Britiſh government in India.

Before I proceed to apply the principles of the law of nations to the conduct of Tippoo Sultaun, it appeared proper to inquire, what had been the conduct of the company towards him for ſome years paſt, and whether he had received any provocation to juſtify or palliate his late proceedings?

Since the concluſion of the treaty of Seringapatam, the Britiſh government in India have uniformly conducted themſelves towards Tippoo Sultaun, not only with the moſt exact attention to the principles of moderation, juſtice, and good faith, but have endeavoured, by every practicable means, to conciliate his confidence, and to mitigate his vindictive ſpirit. Some differences have occaſionally ariſen with reſpect to the boundaries of his territory bordering upon the confines of our poſſeſſions on the coaſt of Malabar; but the records of all the Britiſh governments in India will ſhew, that they have always manifeſted the utmoſt anxiety to promote the amicable adjuſtment of every doubtful or diſputed point, and that Tippoo Sultaun has received the moſt unequivocal proofs of the conſtant diſpoſition of the company to acknowledge and confirm all his juſt rights, and to remove every cauſe of jealouſy which might tend to interrupt the continuance of peace.

The ſervants of the company in India have not, however, been ignorant of the implacable ſentiments of revenge which he has preſerved, without abatement, ſince the hour of his laſt defeat. It has always been well underſtood, that Tippoo Sultaun's reſentment was not to be appeaſed by any conciliatory advances on our part, nor by any other means than the recovery of his loſt power, the diſgrace of the Britiſh arms, and the ruin of the Britiſh intereſts in India. With ſuch views, it was expected that he would eagerly embrace the firſt favourable occaſion of ſtriking a blow againſt our poſſeſſions; and his intrigues at the courts of Hyderabad and Poonah, together with his embaſſy to Zeman Shah, (although managed with ſuch a degree of caution as to avoid the appearance of direct acts of aggreſſion,) were ſufficient indications of an hoſtile mind. But none of theſe circumſtances have, in any degree, affected the conduct of the company's ſervants towards him. The correſpondence between him and the late governor-general,

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general, and the letters from Bombay on the ſubject of the diſtrict of Wynaad, furniſh ample proofs of a ſincere deſire to bring that queſtion to a fair iſſue, "*with the conſent and knowledge of both parties,*" according to the tenor of the 7th article of the treaty of Seringapatam.

I appeal to the letter which I diſpatched to him, ſoon after my arrival in Bengal, propoſing an amicable adjuſtment of the ſame queſtion, as well as of his recent claims upon certain parts of the diſtrict of Coorga, for a teſtimony of the pacific ſpirit which has marked my firſt communication with him, although, perhaps, a leſs mild repreſentation might have been juſtified, by his unwarrantable precipitation in ſtationing a military force on the frontier of Coorga, before he had made any trial of the preſcribed and regular channels of negotiation.—Tippoo Sultaun cannot therefore allege even the pretext of a grievance, to palliate the character of his recent acts. He has indeed alleged none, but has continually profeſſed the moſt ſincere deſire to maintain the relations of amity and peace with the company. In his letters to Sir John Shore, (written a ſhort time before the return of the Myſorean ambaſſadors from the Iſle of France, and received in Fort William on the 26th of April 1798, the day on which the French force landed at Mangalore,) Tippoo declares, "That his friendly heart is diſpoſed to pay every regard to truth and juſtice, and to ſtrengthen the foundations of harmony and concord eſtabliſhed between the two States;" and he ſignifies his deſire, that "Sir John Shore would impreſs Lord Mornington with a ſenſe of the friendſhip and unanimity ſo firmly ſubſiſting between the two States."

This is not the language of hoſtility, nor even of diſcontent. From what diſpoſition in the friendly heart of Tippoo theſe amicable profeſſions have proceeded; how they are connected with a regard to truth and juſtice, or calculated to ſtrengthen the foundations of harmony and concord, and to impreſs me with a ſenſe of the Sultaun's friendſhip, can now admit of no queſtion, ſince it is now proved, that theſe letters were written at the very moment when Tippoo was in anxious expectation of the hourly arrival of that military ſuccour which he had ſolicited from the enemy, for the expreſs purpoſe of commencing a war of aggreſſion againſt the company's poſſeſſions.

The motive, therefore, of Tippoo Sultaun, was no other than that avowed in his correſpondence with the enemy, and publiſhed under the eyes of his own ambaſſadors—"*an ardent deſire to expel the Britiſh nation from India.*"

It appears highly probable, that he was inſtigated by the promiſes and exhortations of the government of France, (whoſe emiſſaries have reached his councils,) to haſten the execution of a project, in which every conſideration of intereſt, and every ſentiment of paſſion, would induce the French to embark with a degree of zeal, ardour, and rancour, not inferior to his own.

The importance of theſe poſſeſſions to all the moſt valuable intereſts of Great Britain, has pointed the particular attention of the government of France to the deſtruction of our empire in India. The proſperity of our ſettlements in India has long been the primary and undiſguiſed object of the jealouſy of France, avowed by all her miniſters in every negotiation, and by all her rulers in every ſtage of her innumerable revolutions: Tippoo, therefore, might reaſonably hope,

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that if the ceſſation of hoſtilities on the continent of Europe ſhould at any time enable the French directory to turn their views to the diſturbance of the peace of India, ſuch an adventure would be amongſt the earlieſt of their operations.

The concluſion of a peace upon the continent of Europe may have appeared, both to Tippoo and to the French, to offer a favourable opportunity for the proſecution of their joint deſign. The premature diſcloſure of this deſign may perhaps be imputed rather to the policy of M. Malartique, than to the imprudence of Tippoo. Whether the ſcope of that policy was to involve us in a war with Tippoo, or to expoſe his treachery to our view, is yet a matter of doubt; but whatever circumſtances occaſioned the premature diſcloſure of the deſign, whether the deſign was wiſely or raſhly conceived, whether it has partially ſucceeded or entirely failed, are queſtions, the ſolution of which in no degree affects the offenſive nature of an aggreſſion ſo unprovoked, and of a violation of faith ſo flagrant and unqualified. The hiſtory of the world ſcarcely furniſhes an inſtance, in which any two Powers have united in confederacy or alliance preciſely with the ſame motives. The party propoſing an offenſive alliance againſt the company cannot be abſolved from the conſequences of ſuch an act, by any apparent or real indifference in the party accepting ſuch a propoſal: the conduct of Tippoo Sultaun, therefore, cannot be correctly eſtimated by reference to the ſuppoſed motives of M. Malartique.

From the application of the acknowledged principles of the law of nations to the facts of this caſe, I formed my judgment of the rights of the company, and of my own duties. With reference to the aggreſſion of Tippoo, the courſe of reaſoning which I purſued may be ſtated in the following manner:

The rights of States, applicable to every caſe of conteſt with foreign Powers, are created and limited by the neceſſity of preſerving the public ſafety. This neceſſity is the foundation of the reciprocal claim of all nations to explanation of ſuſpicious or ambiguous conduct, to reparation for injuries done, and to ſecurity againſt injuries intended.

In any of theſe caſes, when juſt ſatisfaction has been denied, or from the evident nature of circumſtances cannot otherwiſe be obtained, it is the undoubted right of the injured party to reſort to arms, for the vindication of the public ſafety; and in ſuch a conjuncture, the right of the State becomes the duty of the Government; unleſs ſome material conſideration of the public intereſt ſhould forbid the attempt.

If the conduct of Tippoo Sultaun had been of a nature which could be termed ambiguous or ſuſpicious; if he had merely increaſed his force beyond his ordinary eſtabliſhment, or had ſtationed it in ſome poſition on our confines, or on thoſe of our allies, which might juſtify jealouſy or alarm; if he had renewed his ſecret intrigues at the courts of Hyderabad, Poonah, and Cabul, or even if he had entered into any negotiation with France, of which the object was at all obſcure, it might be our duty to reſort, in the firſt inſtance, to his conſtruction of proceedings, which being of a doubtful character, might admit of a ſatisfactory explanation. But where there is no doubt, there can be no matter for explanation. The act of Tippoo's ambaſſadors, ratified by himſelf, and accompanied by the landing of a French force in his country, is a public, unqualified, and unambiguous declaration of war, aggravated

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aggravated by an avowal, that the object of the war is neither explanation, reparation, nor security, but the total destruction of the British government in India.

To affect to misunderstand an injury or insult of such a complexion, would argue a consciousness either of weakness or of fear; no State in India can misconstrue the conduct of Tippoo; the correspondence of our residents at Hyderabad and Poonah sufficiently manifests the construction which it bears at both those courts; and in so clear and plain a case, our demand of explanation would be justly attributed either to a defect of spirit or of power. The result of such a demand would therefore be, the disgrace of our character, and the diminution of our influence and consideration in the eyes of our Allies, and of every Power in India. If the moment should appear favourable to the execution of Tippoo's declared design, he would answer such a demand by an immediate attack. If, on the other hand, his preparations should not be sufficiently advanced, he would deny the existence of his engagements with France, would persist in his denial until he had reaped the full benefit of them; and finally, after having completed the improvement of his own army, and received the accession of an additional French force, he would turn the combined strength of both against our possessions, with an alacrity and confidence inspired by our inaction, and with advantages redoubled by our delay. In the present case, the idea therefore of demanding explanation must be rejected, as being disgraceful in its principle, and frivolous in its object. The demand of reparation, in the strict sense of the term, cannot properly be applied to cases of intended injury, excepting in those instances where the nature of the reparation demanded may be essentially connected with security against the injurious intention.

Where a State has unjustly seized the property, or invaded the territory or violated the rights of another, reparation may be made, by restoring what has been unjustly taken, or by a subsequent acknowledgment of the right which has been infringed. But the cause of our complaint against Tippoo Sultaun, is not that he has seized a portion of our property which he might restore, or invaded a part of our territory which he might again cede, or violated a right which he might hereafter acknowledge: we complain that, professing the most amicable disposition, bound by subsisting treaties of peace and friendship, and unprovoked by any offence on our part, he has manifested a design to effect our total destruction; he has prepared the means and instruments of a war of extermination against us; he has solicited and received the aid of our inveterate enemy, for the declared purpose of annihilating our empire; and he only waits the arrival of a more effectual succour to strike a blow against our existence.

That he has not yet received the effectual succour which he has solicited, may be ascribed either to the weakness of the government of Mauritius, or to their want of zeal in his cause, or to the rashness and imbecility of his own councils: but neither the measure of his hostility, nor of our right to restrain it, nor of our danger from it, are to be estimated by the amount of the force which he has actually obtained; for we know that his demands of military assistance were unlimited; we know that they were addressed, not merely to the government of Mauritius, but to that of France; and we cannot ascertain how soon they may be satisfied, to the full extent

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of his acknowledged expectations. This therefore is not merely the case of an injury to be repaired, but of the public safety to be secured against the present and future designs of an irreconcileable, desperate, and treacherous enemy. Against an enemy of this description no effectual security can be obtained, otherwise than by such a reduction of his power as shall not only defeat his actual preparations, but establish a permanent restraint upon his future means of offence.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Governor-General to the Court of Directors.

Fort St. George, 3d August 1799.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Par. 1. My last separate letter to your honourable court was dated on the 6th of June, at which period I informed you that I was occupied in framing a general settlement of the conquered territories of the late Tippoo Sultaun. In this dispatch I shall submit to your honourable court a summary abstract of the principles by which my conduct has been governed in framing the settlement, and of the means which I have employed for carrying it into effect.

2. From the justice and success of the late war with Tippoo Sultaun, the company and the nizam derived an undoubted right to the disposal of the dominions conquered by their united arms. This right of conquest entitled the company and the nizam to retain the whole territory in their own hands: the cession of any portion of it to any other party might be a consideration of policy or humanity, but could not be claimed on any ground of justice or right.

3. The Mahrattas, (whatever might have been their disposition,) having taken no share in the war, had forfeited every pretension to the advantages of the peace. The numerous progeny of Tippoo Sultaun, (even if it had been possible to adjust their separate pretensions to the succession,) could plead no title which had not been superseded by the conquest of the kingdom; nor was it possible, in estimating their claims, to forget the usurpation of Hyder Ally, and the sufferings of the unfortunate family expelled by his crimes from the throne of Mysore. A lineal descendant of the ancient house of the Rajahs of Mysore still remained at Seringapatam; but whatever might be the hopes of his family, from the moderation and humanity of the conquerors, this young prince could assert no right to any share of the conquered territory.

4. To the free and uncontrouled exercise of the right of conquest, thus vested in the company and the nizam, no obstacle existed in the internal state of the kingdom of Mysore. The whole body of the people had manifested the most favourable disposition to submit to our authority: the commanders of most of the principal fortresses had surrendered, or expressed their readiness to surrender to our arms: and within a few days after the fall of Seringapatam, I was satisfied that no difficulty would arise from the influence of the Mahommedans introduced into Mysore under the reigns of Hyder Ally and Tippoo Sultaun. It had been the uniform policy of the latter, to destroy every vestige of hereditary right, established office, or territorial possession among his subjects; and to concenter, not only the whole authority of the State, but the whole conduct of the government, in his own person: during his reign, therefore, his numerous Mahommedan chiefs possessed neither individual weight nor collective

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collective force; many of them had fallen at Malavelly, Sedasere, and Seringapatam, during the course of the war; and most of the survivors, together with their families, were actually in the fortress of Seringapatam, subjected to our discretion, and confiding in the clemency of the British government, without union, spirit, or strength to resist its power. The inclination and temper, both of the surviving chiefs and of the people, were also most happily disposed to receive any new settlement which might promise to secure them against the revival of a despotism, the barbarity and caprice of which has never been surpassed, even by any of the Mahommedan conquerors of India.

5. In regulating the exercise of our right of conquest, it appeared to me that no principle could more justly be assumed, than that the original objects of the war should constitute the basis of the peace, and of the general settlement of our territorial acquisitions. These objects had been repeatedly declared by the allies to be a reasonable indemnification for our expence in the war, and an adequate security against the return of that danger which originally provoked us to arms.

6. With a view to each of these just and necessary objects, it was requisite that the company and the nizam should retain a large portion of the conquered territory; but it required much consideration to determine the precise extent of that portion, as well as the just rule of partition. The war had not been undertaken in pursuit of schemes of conquest, aggrandisement of territory, or augmentation of revenue. In proportion to the magnitude and lustre of our success, it became a more urgent duty to remember, that a peace, founded on the gratification of any ambitious or inordinate view, could neither be advantageous, honourable, nor secure.

7. The approved policy, interests, and honour of the British nation, therefore, required that the settlement of the extensive kingdom, subjected to our disposal, should be formed on principles acceptable to the inhabitants of the conquered territories, just and conciliatory towards the contiguous native states, and indulgent to every party in any degree affected by the consequences of our success.

8. To have divided the whole territory equally between the company and the nizam, to the exclusion of any other State, would have afforded strong grounds of jealousy to the Mahrattas, and aggrandized Nizam Ally's power beyond all bounds of discretion. Under whatever form such a partition could have been made, it must have placed in the hands of the nizam many of the strong fortresses on the northern frontiers of Mysore, and exposed our frontier, in that quarter, to every predatory incursion. Such a partition would have laid the foundation of perpetual differences, not only between the Mahrattas and the nizam, but between the company and both those powers.

9. To have divided the country into three equal portions, allowing the Mahrattas (who had borne no part in the expence or hazard of the war) an equal share with the other two branches of the triple alliance in the advantages of the peace, would have been unjust towards the nizam, and towards the company; impolitic, as furnishing an evil example to our other allies in India; and dangerous, as affecting a considerable aggrandisement of the Mahratta empire, at the expence of the

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company and the nizam. This mode of partition, alſo, muſt have placed Chittledroog, and ſome of the moſt important northern fortreſſes, in the hands of the Mahrattas; while the remainder of the fortreſſes, in the ſame line, would have been occupied by the nizam, and our unfortified and open frontier in Myſore would have been expoſed to the exceſſes of the undiſciplined troops of both powers.

10. The Mahrattas, unqueſtionably, had no claim to any portion of the conquered territory; and any conſiderable extenſion of their empire was objectionable, eſpecially when accompanied by the poſſeſſion of ſtrong fortreſſes bordering on the line of our frontier. It was, however, deſirable to conciliate their good will, and to offer to them ſuch a portion of territory as might give them an intereſt in the new ſettlement, without offence or injury to the nizam, and without danger to the frontier of the company's poſſeſſions. On the other hand, it was prudent to limit the territory retained in the hands of the company and of the nizam, within ſuch bounds of moderation as ſhould bear a due proportion to their reſpective expences in the conteſt, and to the neceſſary means of ſecuring the future ſafety of their reſpective dominions.

11. For the information of your honourable court, I have annexed to this diſpatch a comparative ſtatement of ſeveral plans for the partition of Tippoo Sultaun's dominions, drawn up under my inſtructions, with a view to the relative intereſts and power of the nizam, the Mahrattas, and the company; to the nature, produce, and geographical boundaries of the country; and to the poſition and ſtrength of the ſeveral fortreſſes and paſſes. An attentive inveſtigation of every comparative view of theſe important queſtions, terminated in my deciſion, that the eſtabliſhment of a central and ſeparate government in Myſore, under the protection of the company, and the admiſſion of the Mahrattas to a certain participation in the diviſion of the conquered territory, were the expedients beſt calculated to reconcile the intereſts of all parties, to ſecure to the company a leſs invidious and more efficient ſhare of revenue, reſource, commerce, advantage, and military ſtrength, than could be obtained under any other diſtribution of territory or power, and to afford the moſt favourable proſpect of general and permanent tranquillity in India.

12. Having decided theſe leading principles of the new ſettlement, I proceeded to determine the rule of diſtribution for the reſpective ſhares of the company, the nizam, and the Mahrattas, to fix the moſt eligible poſition for the ceſſions to be made to each party, and to define the limits of the new government of Myſore.

13. To the company's ſhare naturally fell the province of Canara, and the diſtrict of Coimbatoor and Deramporam, with all the territory lying between your poſſeſſions in the Carnatic and thoſe in the Malabar province. Theſe acquiſitions appeared the moſt eligible, not only on account of their intrinſic value in point of produce, but as ſecuring an uninterrupted tract of territory from the coaſt of Coromandel to that of Malabar, together with the entire ſea coaſt of the kingdom of Myſore, and the baſe of all the eaſtern, weſtern, and ſouthern ghauts. To theſe I thought it neceſſary to add the forts and poſts forming the heads of all the paſſes above the ghauts, and the table land. The poſſeſſion of the baſe of the ghauts alone, formed no effectual barrier for the inhabi-

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tants of the low-lands againſt an enemy poſſeſſing the ſummits of thoſe mountains; and I therefore conſidered the acquiſition of all the entrances of the paſſes, ſituated above the ghauts, to be an eſſential object of ſecurity againſt every poſſible approach of danger from the table land. This acquiſition derived a farther importance, in my opinion, from the means which it appeared to afford, of curbing the refractory ſpirit of the Poligars, and of all other turbulent and diſaffected ſubjects in the Carnatic, and on the coaſt of Malabar; I alſo conſidered the diſtricts of Wynaad to be an uſeful poſſeſſion, with a view to the tranquillity of your territories on the latter coaſt. The laſt addition which I deemed it neceſſary to make to your ſhare of the conquered dominions, conſiſted of the fortreſs, city, and iſland of Seringapatam, the poſſeſſion of which would effectually ſecure the communication between your territories on both coaſts, and conſolidate all your lines of defence in every direction.

14. To the nizam it appeared moſt expedient to allot the diſtricts of Gooty, of Gurrumcondah, bordering on the ceſſions which he acquired by the peace of 1792, together with a tract of country, the frontier of which ſhould be drawn nearly along the line of Chittledroog, Sera, Nundidroog, and Kolar, leaving however thoſe fortreſſes to the ſouthward to form the frontier of the new government of Myſore. Nizam Ally certainly could not aſſert any juſt claim to an equal participation with the company in the advantages of the peace. The operation of the 6th article of the treaty of Pangul, reſpecting an equal diviſion of conqueſts, was limited to the war which terminated in 1792. Since the peace of Seringapatam, the 10th is the only article of the treaty of Pangul which can be conſidered to continue in force; and no ſubſequent engagements had been contracted with Nizam Ally, which could entitle him to any advantage in the preſent peace, exceeding his relative proportion in the expences and exertions of the allied force during the late war. It was however deſirable, that the territorial revenue retained in ſovereignty by the company (after deducting whatever charges might be annexed to the tenure) ſhould not exceed Nizam Ally's proportion; and accordingly I determined that this principle ſhould be obſerved in the partition, reſerving however to the company, as a juſt indemnification for their ſuperior ſhare in the expences and exertions of the war, the principal benefit of whatever advantages might flow from any engagements to be contracted with the new government of Myſore.

15. For the Mahrattas I reſolved to reſerve a portion of territory, the revenues of which ſhould not exceed two-thirds, nor fall ſhort of one-half of the portions retained in ſovereignty by the nizam and the company reſpectively. Conſidering that any ceſſion to the Paſhwa muſt be viewed as a matter of favour, it appeared to me that the ſhare to be allowed to him was amply ſufficient; it would contain Harponelly, Soonda above the ghauts, Annagoody, part of the diſtrict of Chittledroog, part of Bednore above the ghauts, and other diſtricts; but the frontier fortreſſes of Chittledroog and Bednore would remain for the protection of the new government of Myſore. I alſo determined, that no portion of territory ſhould be ceded to the Paſhwa unconditionally, and that the ceſſion ſhould form the baſis of a new treaty with the Mahratta empire.

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16. The territory remaining unoccupied by this plan of partition, would be bounded to the northward by a ſtrong line of hill-forts and poſts, forming a powerful barrier towards the ſouthern frontiers of Nizam Ally, and of the Mahrattas from Punganoor, on the line of the eaſtern, to Bednore, on the line of the weſtern ghauts; and would be entirely ſurrounded, to the eaſt, weſt, and ſouth, by the territories of the company above and below the ghauts; the company alſo holding the fort of Seringapatam in the centre of the table land.

17. The neceſſity now occurred, of determining in what hands the new government of Myſore ſhould be placed; and although no poſitive right or title to the throne exiſted in any part, it ſeemed expedient that my choice ſhould be made between the pretenſions of the family of Tippoo Sultaun, and thoſe of the ancient houſe of the rajahs of Myſore.

18. The claims of humanity on both ſides rendered the deciſion a painful and ungracious taſk. No alternative remained, but to depoſe the Dynaſty which I found upon the throne, or to confirm the Mahommedan uſurpation, and with it the perpetual excluſion and degradation of the legitimate Hindû ſovereigns of the countries. The uſurpation, although not ſanctioned by remote antiquity, had ſubſiſted for ſuch a length of time as to have nearly extinguiſhed the hopes of the Hindû family, and accuſtomed them to the humility of their fortune; while the ſons of Tippoo Sultaun, born in the ſtate of royalty, and educated with the proudeſt and moſt exalted expectations of ſovereignty and power, would be proportionably ſenſible to the ſudden change of their condition, and the unexpected diſappointment of their ſplendid proſpects. In this view of the ſubject, it would have been more grateful to my mind, (ſecuring a munificent proviſion for the ancient family of Myſore,) to have reſtored that of Tippoo Sultaun to the throne, if ſuch a reſtoration could have been accompliſhed without expoſing Myſore to the perpetual hazard of internal commotion and foreign war, and without endangering the ſtability of the intended ſettlement of your intereſts, and thoſe of your allies, in this quarter of India.

19. Since the peace of Seringapatam, and more eſpecially ſince the year 1796, the deſtruction of the Britiſh power in India has formed the favourite and unremitting object of Tippoo Sultaun's hopes and exertions. His haughty mind never could be reconciled to the ſacrifice which he was compelled to make for the purchaſe of peace in 1792; and his increaſing eagerneſs to recover the extenſive portion of his dominions then ceded to the allies, urged him to purſue a ſyſtematic courſe of intrigue againſt the Britiſh power among all the native ſtates, and to revert to his ancient and hereditary connection with France, as the only effectual means of gratifying either his ambition or revenge.

20. The proofs which I had obtained, previous to the war, of the nature and objects of his machinations, were ſufficient to ſatisfy my judgment: they have ſince been corroborated by the voluminous records diſcovered in the palace at Seringapatam. It is now inconteſtible, that Tippoo Sultaun's thoughts were perpetually intent upon the ruin of the Britiſh power; that he truſted to have accompliſhed our expulſion, by inſtigating the French to invade India; and that he proſecuted this unalterable purpoſe with all the zeal and ardour of paſſionate reſentment and vindictive hate, as well

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well as with the ſteadineſs of a deliberate maxim of ſtate.

21. Perhaps the moſt wiſe policy which Tippoo Sultaun could have purſued, would have been to have reſted ſatisfied with the dominions remaining in his hands after the peace of 1792; but a policy of ſo moderate and pacific a ſpirit being utterly incompatible with the impetuoſity of his temper, and with the military character of his government, it might be at leaſt a matter of rational ſpeculation, whether a cloſe alliance with France (however dangerous in its remote conſequences) was not his true intereſt, in the actual ſtate of his immediate views and purſuits. The poſſeſſion of his loſt dignity, wealth, and power, could not be recovered without the conqueſt of a great part of the company's territories, nor effectually ſecured without the total ſubverſion of the Britiſh intereſts in India. A French army was the only inſtrument by which ſuch an enterprize could be attempted. An alliance with France was therefore the neceſſary conſequence of Tippoo Sultaun's reſtleſs but natural deſire to reſtore the empire to its former ſplendour and ſtrength. In addition to his correſpondence with the French at Tranquebar, with thoſe at the Iſle of France, and with the executive directory at Paris, his embaſſy to Zemaun Shah, his intrigues at Poonah and Hyderabad, and his correſpondence with Mr. Raymond, (all which tranſactions appear diſtinctly in the records diſcovered at Seringapatam,) furniſh abundant evidence, that his antipathy to the Engliſh was the ruling paſſion of his heart, the main-ſpring of his policy, and the fixed and fundamental principle of his councils and government.

22. The heir of Tippoo Sultaun muſt have been educated in the ſame principles, encouraged to indulge the ſame prejudices and paſſions, and inſtructed to form the ſame views of the intereſts and honour of the throne of Myſore. Theſe ſentiments would neceſſarily acquire additional force in his mind, from the iſſue of the late war. Our unexampled ſucceſs had ſubverted the foundations of his father's empire, and transferred to our poſſeſſion every ſource of the civil or military power of Myſore; and, placed on the throne by our favour, and limited by our controul, he muſt have felt himſelf degraded to a ſtate of humiliation and weakneſs ſo abject as no prince of ſpirit will brook. Under ſuch an arrangement, our ſafety would have required us to retain, at leaſt, all the territory which we now hold by the partition treaty of Myſore. Whatever we retained, muſt have been conſidered by this prince as a new uſurpation upon his royal inheritance, and an additional pledge of his degradation and diſgrace. In proportion to the reduction of his territory and reſources, he would have had leſs to loſe, and more to regain, in any ſtruggle for the recovery of his father's empire; nor does it ſeem unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the heir of Hyder Ally and Tippoo Sultaun, animated by the implacable ſpirit and bold example of his parents, and accuſtomed to the commanding proſpect of independent ſovereignty, and to the ſplendour of military glory, might deliberately hazard the remnant of his hereditary poſſeſſions, in purſuit of ſo proud an object as the recovery of that vaſt and powerful empire, which for many years had rendered his anceſtors the ſcourge of the Carnatic, and the terror of this quarter of India.

23. In the moſt narrow view of the ſubject, it muſt be admitted, that

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that the ſon of Tippoo Sultaun muſt have felt a perpetual intereſt in the ſubverſion of any ſettlement of Myſore, founded on a partition of his father's dominions, and a limitation of his own independence. If, therefore, a prince of this race had been placed on the throne of Myſore, the foundation of the new ſettlement would have been laid in the very principle of its own diſſolution. With ſuch a prince, no ſincere alliance, no concord of ſentiment or union of views, could ever have been eſtabliſhed: the appearance of amity or attachment muſt have been deluſive: even his ſubmiſſion muſt have been reluctant, if not treacherous; while all his intereſts, his habits, prejudices and paſſions, his vices, and even his virtues, muſt have concurred to cheriſh an irreconcilable averſion to our name and power, and an eager deſire to abet the cauſe, and to exaſperate the animoſity, and to receive the aid of every enemy of the Britiſh nation. Whatever degree of influence or ſtrength might have been left to the native government of Myſore, in ſuch hands would always have been thrown into the ſcale oppoſed to their intereſts. The hoſtile power of Myſore would have been weakened, but not deſtroyed: an enemy would have ſtill remained in the centre of your poſſeſſions, watching every occaſion to repair the misfortunes of his family at their expence, and forming a point of union for the machinations of every diſcontented faction in India, and for the intrigues of every emiſſary of the French.

24. Under theſe circumſtances, the ſame anxiety for the ſecurity and repoſe of your poſſeſſions, which originally compelled me to reduce the power of Tippoo Sultaun, now appeared to require that I ſhould provide effectually againſt the revival, in any degree, of a ſimilar danger in the perſon of his ſon.

25. On the other hand, the reſtoration of the deſcendant of the ancient rajahs of Myſore was recommended, by the ſame courſe of reaſoning which excluded the heir of the uſurpation.

26. The indignities which the depoſed family of Myſore had ſuffered, eſpecially during the cruel and tyrannical reign of Tippoo Sultaun, and the ſtate of degradation and miſery to which they had been reduced, muſt naturally excite a ſentiment of gratitude and attachment in their minds towards that Power which ſhould not only deliver them from oppreſſion, but raiſe them to a ſtate of conſiderable affluence and diſtinction. Between the Britiſh government and this family, an intercourſe of friendſhip and kindneſs had ſubſiſted; in the moſt deſperate criſis of their adverſe fortune, they had formed no connection with your enemies. Their elevation would be the ſpontaneous act of your generoſity; and from your ſupport alone could they ever hope to be maintained upon the throne, either againſt the family of Tippoo Sultaun, or againſt any other claimant. They muſt naturally view, with an eye of jealouſy, all the friends of the uſurping family, and conſequently be adverſe to the French, or to any State connected with that family, in its hereditary hatred of the Britiſh government. The heir of the rajah of Myſore, if placed on the throne, muſt feel that his continuance in that ſtation depended on the ſtability of the new ſettlement in all its parts; it muſt therefore be his intereſt to unite, with cordiality and zeal, in every effort neceſſary to its harmony, efficiency, and vigour. The effect of ſuch an arrangement of the affairs of Myſore would not be limited to the mere deſtruction of

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of the hoſtile Power which menaced our ſafety: in the place of that Power, would be ſubſtituted one whoſe intereſts and reſources might be abſolutely identified with our own; and the kingdom of Myſore, ſo long the ſource of calamity or alarm to the Carnatic, might become a new barrier of our defence, and might ſupply freſh means of wealth and ſtrength to the company, their ſubjects and allies.

27. In addition to theſe, motives of policy, moral conſiderations, and ſentiments of generoſity and humanity, favoured the reſtoration of the ancient family of Myſore. Their high birth, the antiquity of their legitimate title, and their long and unmerited ſufferings, rendered them peculiar objects of compaſſion and reſpect; nor could it be doubted, that their government would be both more acceptable and more indulgent than that of the Mahommedan uſurpers, to the maſs of the inhabitants of the country, compoſed almoſt entirely of Hindûs.

28. Theſe conſiderations induced me to adopt the reſolution of preferring the deſcendant of the rajahs of Myſore to the heir of Tippoo Sultaun.

29. I determined, at the ſame time, to grant to the families of Hyder Ally and Tippoo Sultaun, a more munificent maintenance than either had enjoyed during the late reign, and to provide with the ſame liberality for all the Mahommedan officers and chiefs of the State who had ſurvived the Sultaun, and for the families of all thoſe who had fallen in the courſe of the war.

30. For the accompliſhment of a ſettlement founded on the principles which I have had the honour to detail to your honourable court in the preceding paragraphs, I iſſued a ſpecial commiſſion, on the 4th of June, appointing Lieutenant-general Harris, the hon. Col. Welleſley, the hon. Henry Welleſley, Lieut.-colonel William Kirkpatrick, and Lieut.-col. Barry Cloſe, commiſſioners for the affairs of Myſore, with the ample powers ſpecified in the commiſſion; and I named Captains Malcolm and Munro to be ſecretaries, and Mr. Golding and Lieut. Charles Paſley aſſiſtant ſecretaries to the commiſſion. As the favourable ſtate of the country had rendered my preſence at Seringapatam unneceſſary, I accompanied the commiſſion with inſtructions, directing the commiſſioners to proceed, without delay, to lay the foundation of the new arrangement; and for the purpoſe of precluding the intrigues of the natives, and of all the great intereſts which were in ſuſpence, I enjoined the commiſſioners and their ſecretaries to take an oath of ſecrecy, in order that no part of my plan might tranſpire until the arrangement for its accompliſhment had been completed.

31. The commiſſioners aſſembled at Seringapatam on the 8th June; and, under my inſtructions, the firſt ſtep taken by them was to make proviſion for the ſurviving officers and chiefs of the late Sultaun, and for the families of thoſe ſlain during the campaign. The particulars of this arrangement will appear in the letter of the commiſſioners of the 12th June, an extract of which is annexed to this diſpatch. I am happy to inform your honourable court, that this meaſure produced the moſt ſalutary effect, in tranquillizing the minds of the principal Mahommedans remaining in Myſore, and in placing the clemency and generoſity of the Britiſh government in the moſt conſpicuous and honourable light. It was determined, that Meer Kummer ud Deen ſhould be ſettled at Gurrumcondah, with

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with a jaghire from the nizam, and another from the company.—This arrangement having been concluded, Kummer ud Deen departed from Seringapatam on the 19th June, with many expreſſions of gratitude towards the company's government. The Brahman, Purnea, who had been the principal financial miniſter of the late Sultaun, having given ſatisfactory proofs of his readineſs to ſerve the new government in the ſame capacity, it was determined that he ſhould be appointed Dewan to the young rajah of Myſore.

32. The next proceeding of the commiſſioners, in purſuance of my directions, was to undertake the painful, but neceſſary taſk, of removing the families of Hyder Ally and Tippoo Sultaun from Seringapatam to the Carnatic. The details of this proceeding will appear in the letter from the commiſſioners of the 19th of June. I had previouſly given orders that the fortreſs of Vellore ſhould be prepared for the reception of the families; and I had appointed Lieutenant-colonel Doveton to the command of that fortreſs, and had alſo entruſted him with the payment of the ſtipends allotted to both families, directing him to ſpare no reaſonable expence in providing for their accommodation, on a ſcale ſuitable to their former rank and expectations. The four princes, Futteh Hyder, Abdul Khaulik, Moyen-o-Deen, and Mohu-o-Deen, with their families, arrived at Vellore on the 12th of July: they expreſſed their ſatisfaction in the accommodations provided for them. The remainder of the families of Hyder Ally and Tippoo Sultaun will be removed as ſoon as may be practicable.

33. Previouſly to the departure of the princes from Seringapatam, the commiſſioners had cautiouſly abſtained from all intercourſe with the family of the rajah of Myſore; but as ſoon as the four eldeſt ſons of the late Sultaun had left the capital, the commiſſioners, paid a viſit to the young rajah, whom they found, with others of his perſecuted family, in a condition of poverty and humiliation, which excited the ſtrongeſt emotions of compaſſion. It was determined to fix the reſidence of the rajah in the ancient town of Myſore, as being the moſt eligible ſituation for the ſeat of his government.

34. On the 6th of June, I had furniſhed the commiſſioners with the firſt draft of a treaty between the company and his highneſs the nizam, for the partition of Myſore; and having received the fulleſt communication of their ſentiments, and of thoſe of Meer Allum, on the ſubject, I made ſuch alterations as appeared to be adviſeable. On the 22d June this treaty was executed by the commiſſioners and Meer Allum at Seringapatam, and ratified by me in council at Fort St. George on the 26th of the ſame month, and by his highneſs the nizam at Hyderabad on the 13th July. It is annexed to this diſpatch, under the title of "The Partition Treaty of Myſore," and is accompanied by a memorial explanatory of its ſeveral proviſions; the ſubſtance of which, however, I have already had the honour to ſubmit to you in the preceding paragraphs of this letter. I have alſo added, for the information of your honourable court, a map of the partition of the 22d of June 1799, conſtructed by Captain Mackenzie; and ſeveral documents relating to the revenues of Myſore, furniſhed by Captain Macleod from the records at Seringapatam; together with a map conſtructed by Captain Marriott, containing a view of the new

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new diviſion of the country lately introduced by Tippoo Sultaun.

35. On the 30th of June, the rajah of Myſore was formally placed on the Muſnud by the commiſſioners, aſſiſted by Meer Allum. The letter of the commiſſioners, containing an account of this intereſting and affecting ceremony, is annexed to this diſpatch.

36. On the 8th of June, I had forwarded to the commiſſioners the firſt draft of the ſubſidiary treaty to be concluded between the company and the rajah of Myſore. After an ample diſcuſſion with the commiſſioners, (who had communicated the whole arrangement to the Brahman, Purneah, and conciliated his co-operation,) and after the adoption of ſeveral alterations, this treaty was executed in the fortreſs of Nuzzerbah, near Seringapatam, by the commiſſioners, and certain proxies on the part of the young rajah, on the 8th of July, and ratified by me in council on the 23d July, under the title of "The Subſidiary Treaty of Seringapatam:" It forms No. 16 of the papers annexed to this diſpatch. Although the treaty is accompanied by an explanatory memorial, I ſhall, in this place, requeſt the attention of your honourable court to the main principle upon which its ſtipulations are founded.

37. In framing this engagement, it was my determination to eſtabliſh the moſt unqualified community of intereſts between the governor of Myſore and the company, and to render the rajah's northern frontier, in effect, a powerful link of our fence. With this view I have engaged to undertake the protection of his country, in conſideration of an annual ſubſidy of ſeven lacks of ſtar pagodas; but recollecting the inconveniences and embarraſſments which have ariſen to all parties concerned, under the double governments and conflicting authorities unfortunately eſtabliſhed in Oude, the Carnatic, and Tanjore, I reſolved to reſerve to the company the moſt extenſive and indiſputable powers of interpoſition in the internal affairs of Myſore, as well as an unlimited right of aſſuming the direct management of the country, and of requiring extraordinary aid beyond the amount of the affixed ſubſidy, either in time of war, or of preparation for hoſtility.

38. Under this arrangement, I truſt that I ſhall be enabled to command the whole reſources of the rajah's territory, to improve its cultivation, to extend its commerce, and to ſecure the welfare of its inhabitants. It appeared to me a more candid and liberal, as well as a more wiſe policy, to apprize the rajah diſtinctly, at the moment of his acceſſion, of the exact nature of his dependence on the company, than to leave any matter for future doubt or diſcuſſion. The right of the company to eſtabliſh ſuch an arrangement, either as affecting the rajah or the allies, has already been ſtated in this diſpatch.

39. I entertain a ſanguine expectation, that the rajah and his miniſters being fully appriſed of the extenſive powers reſerved to the company, will cheerfully adopt ſuch regulations as ſhall render the actual exerciſe of thoſe powers unneceſſary. Much indulgence will be required at the commencement of the new government; and it is my intention to abſtain from any preſſure upon the rajah's finances, which, by embarraſſing them, might tend to the impoveriſhment of the country, and to the diſtreſs of the people.

40. Soon after the enthronement of the rajah, the Brahman, Purneah, was appointed by the commiſſioners to be his highneſs's dewan.

41. The

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41. The eminent talents and integrity of Lieutenant-colonel Cloſe, added to his extraordinary ſkill in the country languages, and to his experience in the manners, cuſtoms and habits of the natives of India, induced me to ſelect him for the important charge of reſident with the rajah of Myſore; he was accordingly appointed to that office immediately after the ſubſidiary treaty of Seringapatam had been ſigned; and the commiſſion was then diſſolved, on the —— of July.

42. Although your honourable court will perceive in the commiſſion the names of two perſons of whoſe merits it may be difficult for me to form an impartial judgment, I feel it to be my duty to recommend the conduct of the commiſſioners to your moſt public and diſtinguiſhed approbation.

43. The concluſion, within one month, of two treaties ſo extenſive in their conſequences, and complicated in their details, together with all the ſubordinate arrangements connected with this important ſettlement, will appear a more extraordinary effort of diligence and ability, when it is remarked that reference was neceſſarily made to me at Fort St. George in every ſtage of the buſineſs. It will alſo be ſatisfactory to your honourable court to obſerve, that the whole arrangement has been conducted at Seringapatam with a ſpirit of humanity and liberality which cannot fail to conciliate the good-will of the inhabitants of Myſore.

44. The command of Seringapatam will remain in the hands of Colonel Welleſley. It is a truſt of great delicacy and importance, which it is my duty to repoſe in a perſon of approved military talents and integrity, and to ſuperintend with peculiar vigilance and care.

45. Although I ſhall deem it prudent to detain the army in the field for a ſhort period of time, I have the ſatisfaction to aſſure your honourable court, that far the greater part of the dominions of the late Tippoo Sultaun is now in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity.

46. A detachment of the army of Bombay took poſſeſſion of Mangalore on the 4th of June; and the province of Canara, with the exception of the fortreſs of Jemaulabad, appeared diſpoſed to ſubmit cheerfully to our authority. I have little doubt that the commanding officer of Jemaulabad will ſoon be induced to ſurrender to the company's arms: in any event, however, he will be reduced without difficulty: in this confidence a collector has been appointed for the province of Canara.

47. The remainder of the territory allotted to the company in Coimbatoor has paſſed into our hands without any difficulty, and collectors have been appointed for the adminiſtration of the revenue. The fort of Gurumcondah is in the poſſeſſion of his highneſs the nizam, and thoſe of Sera and Chittledroog are now garriſoned by the Britiſh troops. Some diſturbances have taken place in Bednore, in which province an adventurer had aſſembled a banditti, which had diſtreſſed the inhabitants of the country. A diviſion of the army being now on its progreſs towards Bednore, I have every reaſon to expect that the commotions in that quarter will be ſpeedily quelled.

48. The advantages reſulting to your intereſts from the recent ſettlement of Myſore, are ſufficiently obvious, as they appear in the preceding parts of this diſpatch, and in the papers which accompany it. It may not, however, be uſeleſs to ſubmit to your honourable court, in a connected form, a general view of the

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the whole of this important queſtion, together with the reflections which have ariſen in my mind, from an anxious and aſſiduous attention to every branch of the ſubject.

49. Since the firſt war with Hyder Ally, the tranquillity of your poſſeſſions has been continually menaced by the power of Myſore. Even in the intervals of peace which have ſucceeded to the ſeveral wars in which the company has been engaged with Hyder Ally and Tippoo Sultaun, your ſecurity in the Carnatic has ever been precarious. During the ceſſation of actual hoſtilities the deſigns of the ſovereign of Myſore have ſtill continued uniformly hoſtile, and his means of executing them have always remained conſiderable, while the degrees of your ſafety have fluctuated with the ſtate of your military eſtabliſhments and preparations, and with the diſtribution of your force.

50. The baneful effects of this perpetual ſtate of uncertainty and ſolicitude have been felt not only in the decay of agriculture, and of the arts of peaceful induſtry on the coaſt of Coromandel, and in the rebellious ſpirit of certain deſcriptions of your ſubjects on that coaſt, and on the coaſt of Malabar, but occaſionally throughout all India, in the diminution of the Britiſh influence and conſideration at foreign courts, in the riſing hopes of the turbulent and diſaffected, and in the decline of public and private credit, ſhaken by repeated rumours of war, and by the conſtant neceſſity of guarding againſt ſurpriſe, from the ſudden aggreſſion of an enemy, whom no clemency or moderation could conciliate, and no faith could bind.

51. The reduction of Tippoo Sultaun's power and reſources, effected by the treaty of Seringapatam in 1792, had weakened, but not extinguiſhed, the cauſe of theſe complicated evils. Soon after the concluſion of peace, this cauſe and its effects appear to have recovered a conſiderable degree of activity and vigour, until, in the year 1796, the intrigues and military movements of Tippoo Sultaun compelled the government-general to aſſemble the army on the coaſt of Coromandel; and in autumn of 1797 ſuch apprehenſions were juſtly entertained of his deſigns and power, as induced the government of Fort St. George to abandon the proſecution of an expedition ably planned, intimately connected with your intereſts, and which had already brought a heavy charge on your finances.

52. Judicious indeed, and provident, was the policy which dictated the relinquiſhment of that enterprize, ſince ſubſequent diſcoveries and events have manifeſted the great probability, (if not the abſolute certainty,) that the departure of the large force deſtined for Manilla would have proved a ſignal to the watchful vengeance of Tippoo Sultaun to invade the Carnatic, even without waiting for the aid of a French force, the aſſiſtance of which might not perhaps have appeared to him neceſſary during the abſence of a conſiderable portion of our army.

53. But the apprehenſion of the deſigns and movements of the power of Myſore had never perhaps been more anxiouſly or more juſtly entertained, than between the months of June and September 1798. It cannot be denied, that, during that period, your intereſts were menaced by a combination of the moſt ſerious dangers. The anxiety and fears hitherto entertained, with regard to the deſigns of Tippoo Sultaun, were now confirmed by a certain knowledge of his having actually propoſed to the French, projects of the

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the moſt extenſive hoſtility againſt your poſſeſſions in India. The alarm, as well as the danger, were conſiderably aggravated by the formidable preparations of the French in the Mediterranean, by the apparently deſperate ſtate of our alliances in the Deccan, and by the peculiar ſituation of the court of Hyderabad, ſubjected to the will of a powerful French army and French faction.

54. The ſituation of our allies at this period of general deſpondency, is now well known to your honourable court; it will therefore be ſufficient, in this place, to obſerve, that the degree of danger with which the nizam and peſhwa were threatened by the impending ſtorm, exceeded that which menaced our poſſeſſions. It is true that Tippoo Sultaun's views againſt the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad were oſtenſibly limited to the recovery of the ceſſions made by him to thoſe powers in 1792; but it cannot be doubted that his ambition and rapacity would have augmented with the progreſs of his victories, and his revenge was not of a temper to be mitigated by ſucceſs.

55. Your honourable court is apprized of the changes which ſucceſſively and rapidly took place in the condition of our alliances, and of our army, ſubſtituting at Hyderabad, in place of a French faction and a French army, Britiſh influence and a conſiderable Britiſh force, and producing, ultimately, the happy reſtoration of confidence and energy among your ſervants at Fort St. George: it is, therefore, unneceſſary to dwell on that part of the ſubject: but it may be expedient to advert to the ſtate of the general expectations at different periods of time previous to the war, and to compare our actual ſituation with thoſe expectations, as well as with our poſition in the month of June 1798.

56. At that time, even the moſt ſanguine diſpoſitions, and theſe leaſt affected by the prevalent panic, would probably have been content to have detached Tippoo Sultaun from his alliance with the French nation, in the hope that, without the aid of a French force, he would not attempt to diſturb the tranquillity of the Carnatic.

57. Even at a later period, when the ſubverſion of the French party at Hyderabad, the reſtoration of the Nizam to the condition of an efficient ally, and the advanced ſtate of our military preparations, had inſpired a general ſpirit of confidence and zeal, the moſt confident and zealous would have deemed the iſſue of the approaching conteſt proſperous as well as honourable, if it had effected a conſiderable reduction of the power and reſources of Tippoo Sultaun, and had obtained a reaſonable indemnity for the expences of the allies.

58. The entire deſtruction of Tippoo Sultaun's power, or the abſolute transfer of his reſources to any hand leſs inimical or leſs violent, would have been deemed a glorious termination, even of a long and expenſive conteſt.

But the ſucceſs of your arms in the ſhort period of the late campaign, has not merely excluded the French from Myſore, provided an ample indemnity to you and your ally for the charges of the war, deſtroyed the hoſtile power of Tippoo Sultaun, and effectually precluded its revival, but has transferred the ſword of your implacable enemy into your own hands, and turned to your uſe the mainſprings of his wealth and ſtrength.

60. By the partition treaty of Myſore, you have acquired an augmentation of direct territorial re-

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venue to the annual amount of about ſtar pagodas 6,47,641.10. By the ſubſidiary treaty of Seringapatam you have ſecured an annual ſubſidy of ſtar pagodas 7,00,000, making, together with your new territorial revenue, the ſum of ſtar pagodas 13,47,641.10. and leaving (after deducting the proviſion allotted for the families of Hyder Ally Khan and Tippoo Sultaun) an annual increaſe of your funds in this quarter in India, equal to ſtar pagodas 11,47,641.10. But a reaſonable expectation is entertained that the territory acquired by the company, under the treaty of Myſore, will yield, in the courſe of a few years, a ſum not leſs than ſtar pagodas 14,78,698. If ſuch an advance in the nominal revenue of the acquired diſtricts ſhould actually be realized, the poſitive augmentation of your available annual reſources, in conſequence of the late ſettlement of Myſore, will amount nearly to twenty lacks of ſtar pagodas: But in eſtimating the increaſe of your annual available reſources ſince the month of June 1798, the augmentation which took place in the ſubſidy payable by the nizam is not to be omitted. By the treaty of Hyderabad, concluded on the firſt of September 1798, the annual ſubſidy was augmented from Arcot rupees 6,44,556 to Arcot rupees 24,17,100, making an increaſe annually of Arcot rupees 17,72,544, or ſtar pagodas 8,64,982. Thus the total augmentation of your available annual reſources, ſince June 1798, in this quarter of your poſſeſſions, amounts actually to ſtar pagodas 17,12,623; and, if the revenue of the newly acquired territory ſhould be realized (according to juſt expectation), will amount to ſtar pagodas 25,43,680.

61. Againſt theſe acquiſitions muſt be placed the expenſe of whatever additions it may be found neceſſary to make to your military force, either in conſequence of the extenſion of your territory, or of the ſubſidiary engagements which have been contracted with the nizam and with the rajah of Myſore.

62. The ſubſidiary force at Hyderabad muſt be conſidered as a part of your efficient ſtrength, prepared for your ſervice on any emergency, and ready to aid you in any future war, as it has done in the laſt. It does not appear to me probable, that it will be neceſſary to make any conſiderable addition to the military eſtabliſhment of Fort St. George, in conſequence of the treaty of Hyderabad; nor do I apprehend that the requiſite increaſe of that eſtabliſhment, and of the army of Bombay, in conſequence of the two treaties annexed to this diſpatch, will bear any proportion to the increaſe of your revenue and reſources; for it muſt never be forgotten, that while your territory has been extended, your frontier has been contracted and ſtrengthened, your principal enemy utterly deſtroyed, and an ally and dependant of the company eſtabliſhed on the throne.

63. I do not yet poſſeſs the means of ſtating, with ſufficient accuracy, to your honourable court, either the amount of the charges incurred in conſequence of the various meaſures of preparation and precaution which became neceſſary on the diſcovery of Tippoo Sultaun's hoſtile deſigns in June 1798, or the amount of the expenſe which is to be placed to the account of the operations of the late war. The accumulated charges, both of our preparations and of the war, muſt be conſiderable; but whenever a ſtatement of the expenſes of the late war can be ſubmitted to your honourable court, your wiſdom and juſtice will neceſſarily diſtinguiſh the charges incurred for the purpoſe of aſſembling

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an effective army in the field, from those actually belonging to the operations of your armies in Mysore, and to the siege of Seringapatam.

64. From the moment that Tippoo Sultaun's negotiation had transpired, it became an indispensable duty to place the Carnatic in a posture of complete defence. The experience of former wars with Mysore, the nature of the frontier of the Carnatic, (exposed, in various points, by its almost innumerable passes, to the incursions of the enemy,) the actual state of affairs in India and in Europe, all concurred to convince me, that the only rational system of defence against Tippoo Sultaun was to assemble your armies on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, in such force, in such a state of equipment, and in such a position, as should excite in the mind of the Sultaun a just alarm for the safety of his capital. No other plan was calculated to secure the Carnatic against the ravages of his numerous cavalry; because no other plan would have compelled him to concentrate his forces within his own territories for the defence of the vital point of his empire. His capital was not only the object of his pride, but the centre of his power. It was the strongest fortification, the principal granary of his army, his only arsenal, the repository of his treasure, and the prison of the legitimate claimant of his throne, as well as of the families of all his great chieftains, whose obedience he secured by retaining the object of their reverence and affection within the walls of the fortress of Seringapatam. On the preservation of that fortress, therefore, depended the fate of his empire, and, (although I did not neglect any practicable precaution against the contrary course of events,) my judgment was always decided that he would never abandon the defence of Seringapatam but with his life.

65. The success of the plan (founded on this opinion) fully answered its primary purpose, since no part of the Sultaun's force ventured to enter the company's possessions in the Carnatic during the late hostilities. It also fully answered the secondary purpose of enabling your armies (when our specific negotiation had failed) to act offensively, with promptitude, vigour and effect.

66. Neither the expense of the magazines of grain and other stores on either coast, nor of the battering train, with its equipment of cattle, ought therefore to be charged to the account of the war; for every expense incurred previous to the 8d February 1799, (the day on which Lieutenant-general Harris received orders to march) must and would have been incurred if no war had taken place, and ought to be charged to the account of the indispensable defence of your possessions, according to the only plan which could provide effectually for that object.

67. The expenses of moving the battering train to Seringapatam, as well as of maintaining the army in Mysore, cannot have much exceeded the charges which must have been continued if the whole had remained within your frontier; and when it is considered, that if the army, with the battering train, had not moved to Seringapatam, the expensive but necessary system of defence already explained must have been protracted until all danger from Tippoo Sultaun's connexion with the French should have been averted, your honourable court will probably sanction my decided opinion, that the rapid movement of the British forces towards the scene of their certain triumph, was not only the most effectual,

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fectual, but the moſt economical meaſure which could have been adopted, to fruſtrate the views of the enemy, and to ſecure the tranquillity of your poſſeſſions.

68. For, on the one hand, no proſpect appeared of any practicable reduction in the expenſe of a defenſive ſyſtem, during the continuance of the war between Great Britain and France; while every hour of delay in the movement of our army afforded to Tippoo Sultaun the means of increaſing his ſtrength, of receiving ſuccours from the French, and, conſequently, of aggravating to the company both the expenſe and hazard of the impending conteſt.

69. On the other hand, the ſtate of our army, the arrangements which had been made for its equipment and ſupply in every department, and the period of the ſeaſon, left no doubt that the great object of the war would be attained in one ſhort campaign. Nor did this calculation prove to have been in any degree ſanguine: for although an alarm of a deficiency of grain prevailed in the army before Seringapatam on the 16th of April, it appeared ſoon after, upon an accurate examination, that at that time, (excluſive of the immenſe depôt eſtabliſhed in the diſtrict of Coorga,) a quantity of grain remained in camp, ſufficient to maintain the whole of the fighting men of the army, at half allowance, until the 20th of May; and on the 18th of that month, Major-general Floyd returned to Seringapatam, with the large ſupplies which had been forwarded from the Carnatic, under the care of Lieut.-colonels Read and Brown. It may alſo be uſeful to remark, in this place, that if any accident had protracted the operations of the ſiege beyond the 4th of May, ample time would ſtill have remained for the reduction of the place previous to the riſing of the Cavery, ſince the four eldeſt ſons of Tippoo Sultaun, with an eſcort of 1500 men, and a conſiderable train of attendants, croſſed that river on the 18th of June, on which day the water was nearly as low as on the day of the aſſault.

70. Reviewing all theſe circumſtances, your honourable court will hereafter compare the expenſe incurred by the movement of the army to Seringapatam, with the probable charges of any other practicable plan of policy, or of military operation. In any view of the ſubject, it will probably appear, that the increaſe of your revenue and pecuniary reſources obtained by the iſſue of the war, far over-balances the combined expenſe of the preparations for your defence, and of the operations of the late campaign.

71. But in addition to this poſitive indemnification for your expenſes, your honourable court will alſo conſider the augmentation of your commercial and military reſources from the conqueſt of Myſore.

72. Hitherto all traffic between your ſubjects or dependents, and thoſe of the late Sultaun, was nearly prohibited, by the reſtraints to which his hatred of the Britiſh nation, or his ignorance and prejudice, had ſubjected the communication with your poſſeſſions. Theſe reſtraints being removed, and every proper encouragement to commercial intercourſe being ſubſtituted in their place, it may reaſonably be expected that the neighbouring, and now united countries of the Carnatic and Myſore, will mutually conſume a conſiderable portion of their reſpective productions and manufactures, and that even a proportion of Britiſh commodities will ſoon find a market in Myſore. My information, with regard to the articles produced, manufactured, or

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conſumed, in the countries acquired by the company and by the rajah of Myſore, is at preſent too imperfect to enable me to form any accurate calculation of the poſſible increaſe of the imports from the coaſt of Malabar to Europe; but it appears probable, that your inveſtment in the article of pepper may ſoon be augmented to any extent which you may deem adviſeable.

73. Your military reſources may be conſidered to have received a great augmentation, not only from the additional ſupplies of grain, proviſions and cattle, which your connexion with Myſore places at your diſpoſal, but from the new channels which it opens for recruiting the native force, both of the preſidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay. Under this head may alſo be conſidered the ſuperiority of the climate of Myſore to any in this quarter of India, and the means which it affords of preſerving the health, and conſequent efficiency, of European troops.

74. Highly as I eſtimate theſe immediate and direct advantages of revenue, and of commercial and military reſource, I conſider the recent ſettlement of Myſore to be equally important to your intereſts, in its tendency to increaſe your political conſideration and influence among the native Powers of India, together with your means of maintaining internal tranquillity and order among your ſubjects and dependents, and of defending your poſſeſſions againſt any enemy, either Aſiatic or European.

75. Theſe are principles of ſubſtantial and durable ſecurity, the operation of which muſt be felt throughout every part of your poſſeſſions, and in every branch of your affairs both in India and Europe.

76. The balance which it was the policy of the treaty of Seringapatam, in 1792, to eſtabliſh between the native Powers of India, was ſoon deranged by the courſe of events; our influence in the general ſcale proved inſufficient, not only to maintain peace between our allies, but to check either the rapid decline of their reſpective reſources and ſtrength, or the growing aſcendancy of the French faction at Hyderabad on the ſyſtematic machinations of Tippoo Sultaun. Experience has manifeſted, that the power preſerved to that infatuated and reſtleſs prince, muſt always have been thrown into the ſcale oppoſed to our intereſts; and that, in no poſſible combination or conflict of the politics of Poonah and Hyderabad, could the interpoſition of neutrality of Tippoo Sultaun take a bias favourable to our ſecurity. If he menaced war, or ſought alliance with either or with both thoſe States, his uniform object was our diſturbance. If he remained neuter, either in their diſſentions or union, it was to preſerve his own ſtrength unimpaired for that conteſt with ours which formed the favourite ſcope of all his views. In no caſe has his power been brought into action, or remained at reſt, without a hoſtile deſign, and an injurious effect to our influence and conſideration. The balance is now in our own hands; we now poſſeſs the irreſiſtible power, either of concentrating the moſt efficient part of the reſources of Myſore in one maſs, for our ſingle defence againſt any poſſible combination; or of throwing the ſame weight into that ſcale which ſhall appear to require ſuch an aid, for the preſervation of the general tranquillity, on the ſolid baſis of moderation and juſtice.

77. The connexion between the nizam and the French is entirely diſſolved, under circumſtances which, I truſt, will render its renewal impracticable, at leaſt for many years.

78. The

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78. The intrigues of Tippoo Sultaun among the rajahs inhabiting the coaſt of Malabar, among the Poligars in the Carnatic, and among every other deſcription of your diſaffected or refractory ſubjects, were the ſources of continual commotion within your territories; while the vicinity of the hoſtile frontier of Myſore offered refuge and impunity to every offender againſt your authority, and to every diſturber of the public peace. It may reaſonably be expected, that the eſtabliſhment of your influence in Myſore will operate as a powerful check on the ſpirit of diſorder in your own poſſeſſions, and, by removing the cauſes of internal weakneſs, may enable you to oppoſe every foreign attack with greater confidence and vigour.

79. Such appear to me to be the conſequences of the late ſettlement, as they relate more immediately to the intereſt of the honourable company; but it will be proper to conſider them alſo as they affect our allies.

80. The eſtabliſhment of a Hindû State in Myſore, with the reſtoration of the temples and endowments of that religion, muſt be grateful to the government of Poonah, independently of the advantages ariſing from the ſubſtitution of a Power of the ſame religion, and of pacific views, in the place of an odious Mahommedan uſurpation, ſcarcely leſs hoſtile to the Mahratta than to the Britiſh nation.

81. With regard to the nizam, the ſolid and permanent benefits which have reſulted to his highneſs from the recent improvement of his connexion with the company, and particularly from the new ſettlement of Myſore, are obvious and conſiderable. The exiſtence of his throne was ſaved, by the deſtruction of the French party at Hyderabad, in October 1798. The formidable power of Tippoo Sultaun, which perpetually menaced his highneſs's poſſeſſions, and filled his court and dominions with intrigues and treaſon, has been annihilated, and a friendly and allied State eſtabliſhed in Myſore. His highneſs has received a large increaſe of territory, revenue, and power, together with ſeveral important fortreſſes, tending greatly to ſecure the tranquillity of his dominions. His expenſes in the war have been inconſiderable; and if a compariſon were to be inſtituted, of the advantages accruing to him and to the company from the whole arrangement, thoſe obtained by his highneſs would probably be found to preponderate; for the danger from which he has been delivered was even more imminent than that which menaced the company's poſſeſſions; and while his expenſes have borne no proportion to ours, he has attained equal benefits, both of indemnification and ſecurity. The collateral benefits derivable by the company from its connexion with the rajah of Myſore, will neceſſarily extend to the nizam, and be ſcarcely leſs felt by him than by us, while he ſhall remain faithful to his alliance with the company. I have the ſatisfaction to know, that his moſt able and experienced counſellors are fully ſenſible of the extenſive and ſolid benefits acquired by his highneſs, under the general operation of the late treaties. I am therefore perſuaded that his highneſs's juſt ſenſe of the permanent intereſts of his State, will command his cordial co-operation in the maintenance of the new ſettlement.

82. The intereſts of the rajah of Myſore being identified with thoſe of the company, and the ſafety, proſperity, and honour of the peſhwa and the nizam being amply ſecured by the treaties of Hyderabad and Myſore, and by the ſubſi-

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diary treaty of Seringapatam, I entertain a confident expectation, that the recent settlement of the dominions of Tippoo Sultaun will prove not less durable than, I trust, it will be found equitable in its fundamental principles, beneficial in its general operation, and conformable, in every point of view, to the liberal character of the English East India company, and to the just and moderate policy established by parliament for the government of the British empire in India.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MORNINGTON.

Fort St. George, 3d Aug. 1799.

Commission for Mysore, dated 4th June 1800.

RICHARD, Earl of Mornington, &c. Governor-General for all the Forces and Affairs of the British Nation in India; To all whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Whereas the glorious success of the British and allied armies in Mysore, under the favour of Providence, has reduced the territories of the late Tippoo Sultaun to the joint power and authority of the honourable the English East-India company, and of his highness the Soubah of the Deccan, their friend and ally; and whereas his said highness has given full power and authority to the Right Honourable Richard earl of Mornington, governor-general for all the forces and affairs of the British nation in India, to conduct and order the interests of his highness in the said possessions, and to conclude such an arrangement thereof as shall appear to his lordship to be most expedient for the security and welfare of the country, and for the common benefit of the allies: Now know ye, that, for the more speedy conclusion of such a salutary arrangement, and for the restoration of order and tranquillity by the settlement of the said conquered territories, I the said Richard earl of Mornington, governor-general as aforesaid, do hereby constitute, nominate and appoint Lieutenant-general George Harris, the honourable Colonel Arthur Wellesley, the honourable Henry Wellesley, Lieutenant-colonel William Kirkpatrick, Lieutenant-colonel Barry Close, or any three or more of them, to be commissioners for the settlement of the territories so recently conquered from the said Tippoo Sultaun, and to be styled Commissioners for the Affairs of Mysore, with full powers to negotiate and conclude, in my name, all such treaties, and to make and issue all such temporary and provisional regulations, for the ordering and management of the civil and military government, and of the revenues of the said territories, as may be necessary for the immediate administration and settlement thereof: The said commissioners to be, nevertheless, subject to such orders and instructions as they shall from time to time receive from me, and regularly to report their proceedings to me, keeping an exact diary, or daily record thereof, under the signature of one of their secretaries. And I do hereby empower the said commissioners to hold their meetings at such places, either within the territories of the late Tippoo Sultaun, or elsewhere, as they shall judge most convenient; and to adjourn from time to time, and to change the place of their meeting, according to the exigency of the public service. And I authorise and direct the said commissioners to communicate, from time to time, with Meer Allum, Bahauder, touching the objects of this commission. And I nominate and appoint Captain Malcolm

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Malcolm and Captain Munro to be ſecretaries, and Mr. Edward Golding to be aſſiſtant ſecretary to the ſaid commiſſion during my pleaſure. And before the ſaid commiſſioners, or any of them, ſhall proceed to act in the execution of any of the powers or truſts veſted in them by this commiſſion, ſave only the power of adminiſtering the oath herein after mentioned, he or they ſhall ſeverally take and ſubſcribe the following oath; that is to ſay:

"I *A. B.* do faithfully promiſe and ſwear, that, as a commiſſioner for the affairs of Myſore, I will execute the ſeveral powers and truſts repoſed in me, according to the beſt of my ſkill and judgment, without favour or affection, prejudice or malice, to any perſon whatever. I will not diſcloſe or make known any of the orders or inſtructions which ſhall be tranſmitted to me, or to the ſaid commiſſioners, by the governor-general, or by his order, or any of the proceedings of the ſaid commiſſioners, ſave only to the other members of this commiſſion, or to the perſon or perſons who ſhall be duly nominated and employed in tranſcribing or preparing the ſame reſpectively, or in recording the proceedings of the ſaid commiſſioners, or unleſs I ſhall be authorized by the governor-general to diſcloſe or make known the ſame. I do farther promiſe and ſwear, that I will not demand, take, or accept, directly or indirectly, by myſelf or by any other perſon, for my uſe or on my behalf, or on the behalf or for the uſe of any other perſon, any ſum of money, or other valuable thing, by way of gift, preſent, or otherwiſe; and that to the governor-general in council I will juſtly and truly account for, anſwer and pay, all the rents, duties and other revenues, and ſums of money, which ſhall come to my hands, or to the hands of any perſon or perſons in truſt for, or employed by me, in execution of the powers and authorities veſted in the ſaid commiſſioners by the ſaid governor-general. So help me God!"

Which oath, any two of the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall, and are hereby empowered to adminiſter to the others of them. And the ſaid oath ſhall be entered by one of the ſecretaries to the commiſſion amongſt the acts of the board, and be duly ſubſcribed and atteſted by the ſaid commiſſioners, at the time of their taking and adminiſtering the ſame to each other reſpectively: and the ſeveral ſecretaries, and other officers of the ſaid board of commiſſioners, ſhall alſo take and ſubſcribe, before the ſaid board, ſuch oath of ſecrecy, and for the execution of the duties of their reſpective ſtations, and the integrity of their conduct therein, as the ſaid board ſhall direct. And when any three of the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall have taken the oath, they ſhall immediately conſtitute a board, and proceed to act under the commiſſion. And I do hereby empower and direct the ſaid commiſſioners to take charge, and render an exact account to me, of all ſuch public property as has been or ſhall be found within the territories of the late Tippoo Sultaun, and alſo to collect and bring to account all ſuch arrears of revenue, and all ſuch ſums of money as were due to the ſircar on the 4th of May 1799, or have or ſhall become due to the government of the allies from and after that day. Provided always, that this order ſhall not be conſtrued to prevent or impede the diſtribution, among the allied army, of the prize taken in the fort of Seringapatam on the 4th May, according to the general order iſſued

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by the governor-general in council, under date the————; and provided also, that nothing contained in this commission shall be deemed to preclude the right of the captors of any fort or place taken on or before the said 4th day of May 1799, to obtain from the commissioners an attested account of the public property contained therein, in order that the claims of all such captors may be heard and determined by the governor-general in council, or by the honourable the court of directors, or by his majesty in council, according to the nature of the case. And I do hereby authorize and direct the said commissioners, immediately upon entering on their duties under this commission, to issue a proclamation, notifying the restoration of tranquillity, and promising to all the inhabitants of the territories of the late Tippoo Sultaun, security of person and of private property, encouraging them to resume their ordinary occupations, under the protection of the allies. And I further direct, that the said proclamation shall contain the strictest injunctions, under the most severe penalties, to all persons within the said territories, to abstain from acts of violence, outrage and plunder.

Instructions to the Commissioners for the Affairs of Mysore.

Fort St. George, 4th June 1799.

[*Secret.*]

GENTLEMEN,

1. The commission which accompanies this letter, will apprize you of the nature and extent of the powers which I have deemed it advisable to entrust to you. These powers necessarily supersede those which I had delegated, during the campaign, to the commission appointed to assist Lieutenant-general Harris in all matters relating to political negotiation. The favourable situation of affairs in Mysore appearing to render my presence at Seringapatam quite unnecessary, I have again taken the resolution of remaining at Madras; and I therefore propose to confide to you such a portion of my authority as may enable you, under my orders, to effect a settlement of the country without my presence. Whatever three members of the commission shall be present at Seringapatam on the arrival of this dispatch, will proceed immediately to act under the commission, and to execute the instructions contained in this letter.

2. The restoration of the representative of the ancient family of the rajahs of Mysore, accompanied by a partition of territory between the allies, in which the interests of the Mahrattas should be conciliated, appearing to me, under all circumstances of the case, to be the most advisable basis on which any new settlement of the country can be rested, I have resolved to frame, without delay, a plan founded on these principles; and I hope, in the course of to-morrow, to be able to forward to you the articles of a treaty, with proper instructions annexed, for the purpose of carrying the above-mentioned plan into effect.

3. In the mean while it is absolutely necessary that certain measures of precaution should be immediately adopted, in order to facilitate the intended arrangement. These measures relate, first, to the satisfaction of the principal Mussulman sirdars, and of the killedars of the several forts; secondly, to the mode of removing the family of Tippoo Sultaun from Mysore, with the least practicable injury to their feelings. With regard to the first object, I have already forwarded to the honourable Mr. Henry Wellesley, a letter

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letter to Meer Allum, and a copy of a letter from the nizam to me, which I truſt will enable you to give complete ſatisfaction to Kumer ud Deen; and unleſs you expect any conſiderable advantage from his influence at Seringapatam, in conciliating others of his religion, I deſire that you will take the earlieſt meaſures to induce him to repair to Gurrumcondah. With the other leading Muſſulmans you ſhould immediately enter into ſuch ſpecific engagements as ſhall preclude the poſſibility of any alarm in their minds, with reſpect to their ſituation and proſpects, under any new arrangement of the country.

4. I rely on your diſcretion to conclude ſuch an arrangement, with as little burthen to the finances of the company as circumſtances will admit. The whole body of Tippoo's ſirdars ought not to become an excluſive charge upon the company. They muſt be employed and provided for by the allies, and by the rajah of Myſore, collectively: the families of the ſirdars ſlain during the campaign muſt alſo be provided for in the ſame manner.

5. The killedars who have ſurrendered, and thoſe who ſtill hold forts in their poſſeſſion, ſhould be paid their arrears for the month of April at leaſt, with their pay for the month of May, and for as long a time as we may leave them in charge of their forts. On diſmiſſing any of them, liberal gratuities ſhould be given them for the purpoſe of conciliation. All theſe charges may hereafter be adjuſted between the allies.

6. As ſoon as you ſhall judge that your arrangements with the remnant of the Muſſulman intereſt are in ſufficient forwardneſs, you will proceed to take the neceſſary meaſures for removing the family of the Sultaun. The details of this painful, but indiſpenſable meaſure, cannot be entruſted to any perſon more likely to combine every office of humanity, with the prudential precautions required by the occaſion, than Colonel Welleſley; and I therefore commit to his diſcretion, activity and humanity, the whole arrangement, ſubject always to ſuch ſuggeſtions as may be offered by the other members of the commiſſion. I have appointed Lieutenant-colonel Doveton to take the command of the fortreſs of Vellore, which is deſtined for the future reſidence of the Sultaun's family. Colonel Doveton is alſo appointed paymaſter of ſtipends to the family; and he has been directed to make every poſſible preparation for their accommodation at Vellore. After their arrival, no reaſonble expenſe will be ſpared, to render their habitation ſuitable to their former rank and expectations; and it is my intention to give them a liberal pecuniary allowance. Colonel Welleſley will judge, whether it may be neceſſary to give, either to the whole, or to any branch of the family, any ſpecific aſſurance of the exact amount of the ſums to be allotted to them reſpectively. If any ſuch particular explanation ſhould appear neceſſary for their ſatisfaction, I authoriſe you to make the allotment of ſtipend to each of them, as well as for the eſtabliſhment of the zenana, provided that the total ſum for the maintenance of the whole family be not ſtated at more than three, or at the utmoſt four lacks of pagodas. The ſons of the late Sultaun may be accompanied by ſuch attendants as they may ſelect, provided the number be not ſo great as to endanger the public tranquillity, or to form a point of union for the adherents of the late Sultaun. It might be deſirable, that Ali Reza ſhould accompany the princes, as he appears

to

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to be attached to the intereſts of the company, and at the ſame time to entertain conſiderable affection for the princes. The females and children of the ſeveral families muſt follow the princes as ſpeedily as poſſible. Colonel Welleſley, in my name, will give the moſt unequivocal aſſurances of protection and indulgence to every branch of the family; and at a proper time he will deliver the letters for the four eldeſt ſons of Tippoo, forwarded by the Perſian tranſlator to Mr. Henry Welleſley. If General Harris ſhould be at Seringapatam, or within reach of it, I am perſuaded that his humanity will induce him to exert every effort to mitigate all the rigorous parts of this revolution in Myſore, which I feel myſelf bound, by every principle of duty towards the Britiſh intereſts in India, to accompliſh without delay.

7. I have learned, with the utmoſt degree of ſurpriſe and concern, that the zenana, in the palace of the Sultaun, was ſearched for treaſure ſome time after the capture of the place: I could have wiſhed, for the honour of the Britiſh name, that the apartments of the women had not been diſturbed. In the heat and confuſion of an aſſault, ſuch exceſſes are frequently unavoidable; but I ſhall for ever lament, that this ſcene ſhould have been acted long after the conteſt had ſubſided, and when the whole place had ſubmitted to the ſuperiority of our victorious arms. If any perſonal ornaments, or other articles of value, were taken from the women in that unfortunate moment, I truſt that the commander in chief will make it his buſineſs to vindicate the humanity of the Britiſh character, by uſing the moſt zealous exertions to obtain a full reſtitution of the property in queſtion.

8. After this obſervation, it is ſuperfluous to add my moſt anxious expectation that the utmoſt degree of care will be taken to ſecure the perſonal property of the princes and of the women, when the period of their removal ſhall arrive.

9. You will of courſe apply to the commander in chief for ſuch an eſcort as may be neceſſary to convey the family of Tippoo to the place of their deſtination; and you will arrange the time and mode of their departure, ſo as to preclude the poſſibility of any commotion or eſcape. It is deſirable that ſome officer, converſant in the language, manners and cuſtoms of the natives, and of approved humanity, ſhould accompany the princes, until Lieutenant-colonel Doveton can meet them. His qualifications for the truſt which I have repoſed in him are too well known to require any illuſtration.

10. In exerciſing the general powers veſted in you by the accompanying commiſſion, I deſire that you will not interfere in the management of the province of Canara, until you ſhall receive further inſtructions from me. I have directed General Stuart to make a temporary arrangement for the government of that province; and until I ſhall have received his report, I cannot decide the ſyſtem of meaſures moſt eligible to be adopted in that quarter. You will apprize the commiſſioners, whoſe power is ſuperſeded by this new commiſſion, of my entire approbation of their ſervices; and you will return them my thanks accordingly.

11. The preſent regulation is founded on an opinion, that the commander in chief may not always be at liberty to act in a political capacity, and that he may not be able to ſpare more than one of his confidential ſtaff from about his perſon. My ſelection of Lieutenant-colonel Cloſe has been directed;

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ed, not only by my knowledge of his extraordinary talents, proficiency in the native languages, and experience in the native manners and cuſtoms, but my determination to eſtabliſh him in the important office of reſident with the rajah of Myſore, as ſoon as that prince ſhall be placed on the muſnud. You will obſerve, that the commiſſion enjoins all the commiſſioners, and perſons employed under them, to take an oath of ſecrecy previouſly to their entering upon their functions; you will therefore communicate a copy of the commiſſion to any member who may happen to be abſent from Seringapatam when the diſpatch ſhall arrive: but the contents of this diſpatch muſt not be communicated by the perſon to whom it is addreſſed, to any perſon who ſhall not have taken the oath of ſecrecy preſcribed in the commiſſion, excepting Meer Allum.

12. It has occurred to me, that the removal of your meetings to Bangalore might have an uſeful effect in drawing the multitude of Muſſulmans from Seringapatam. This would enable the Commandant of the fort to commence the repair or improvement of the fortifications, and to proceed in clearing the place, and making it ſtrictly a military ſtation. I recommend the earlieſt poſſible attention to this meaſure, as being of eſſential importance to our ſecurity in Myſore.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MORNINGTON.

Copy of a Letter from the Myſore Commiſſioners to the Right Hon. the Governor-general.

Seringapatam, 8th June 1799.

MY LORD,

1. We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your lordſhip's letter, under date the 4th inſtant, together with the commiſſion accompanying it.

2. The Honourable Colonel Welleſley, Mr. Welleſley, and Lieutenant-colonel Kirkpatrick, having been regularly ſworn in, as members of the commiſſion, according to the form preſcribed by your lordſhip, the commiſſion will proceed, without delay, to act in conformity to your lordſhip's inſtructions.

3. Captain Malcolm, one of the ſecretaries to the commiſſion, and Mr. Golding, aſſiſtant ſecretary, have alſo taken the neceſſary oath.

4. We feel great ſatisfaction in being able to aſſure your lordſhip, that before the zenana was ſearched for treaſure, ſeparate apartments were prepared for the ladies, and no precaution omitted to ſecure them from the poſſibility of being expoſed to any inconvenience. No treaſure was found in the zenana, nor was any article conveyed from thence.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY,
HENRY WELLESLEY,
WM. KIRKPATRICK.

Copy of a Letter from the Myſore Commiſſioners to his Excellency Lieutenant-general Harris.

Seringapatam, 12th June 1799.

SIR,

Upon mature deliberation, we deem it of the laſt importance that the inſtructions of the right honourable the governor-general, with reſpect to the family of the late Tippoo Sultaun, ſhould be carried into effect without delay, and that they ſhould be removed from the fort of Seringapatam with all practicable expedition.

We have the honour to incloſe, for your information, a ſtatement of the number of draft and carriage cattle, which will be neceſſary for the

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the removal of the four elder princes, with their reſpective families.

As Colonel Welleſley finds it impoſſible to procure a ſufficient number in the neighbourhood of this place, we requeſt that you will furniſh him with the number required from the cattle in uſe with the army.

We would hope that the arrangement we propoſe will not interfere with the intentions you may have formed, of moving the army ſhortly in the direction of Sera; but we conceive the removal of the princes to ſuperſede every other conſideration.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY,
HENRY WELLESLEY,
WM. KIRKPATRICK,
BARRY CLOSE.

Copy of a Letter from the Myſore Commiſſioners to the Right Hon. the Governor-general.

Seringapatam, 12th June 1799.

MY LORD,

We have the honour to inform your lordſhip, that having yeſterday taken into conſideration the moſt eligible means of carrying into effect the meaſure of conciliation towards the principal ſurviving ſirdars of the late Tippoo Sultaun, (reſiding at preſent in the city,) ſuggeſted by the directions contained in the 2d paragraph of your lordſhip's letter of the 4th inſtant, we came to the following reſolutions:

Firſt, To promiſe, in the name of the company, penſions for life to the following perſons, to the amount ſpecified after the name of each:

Meer Gholum Ali Meer, Suddoor, - -	*(Star Pag. p. ann.)*	3000
Gholam Ali Khan, Vakeel - -		3000
Ali Reza Khan, ditto - - -		3000
Badruz Zemaun Khan - - -		3000
Syed Mahommed Khan - - -		2400

Secondly, To promiſe, in the name of the company, penſions for life to the following perſons, to the amount ſpecified after the name of each:

Khaſh Jehan Khan	*(Star Pag. p. ann.)*	500
Syed Mohu ud Deen - - - - -		500
Abdul Wahab - - - - - - -		500
Abdul Kuddoos - - - - - - -		500
Bankur Sahib (ſon of Budnoy Zemaun Khan) - - - -		600
Huſſein Sahib ditto - - - - -		600

Thirdly, To promiſe, in the name of the company, ſtipends or allowances to the following perſons, equal to half the amount of their reſpective ſalaries under the late government; ſuch ſtipends to be continued to them during good behaviour, or ſo long as they ſhould remain unemployed either by the company or its allies:

	For. pay. *Cant.*	Pres. pay. *Pag.*
Meer Ghobam Haſſein -	840 -	420
Syed Yaſſin - - - - -	700 -	350
Shaik Mahommed Deen -	700 -	350
Mahommed Hullum - -	700 -	350
Shaik Mahommed - -	700 -	350
Syed Show Abbas - -	700 -	350
Mahommed Iſmael - -	560 -	280
Abdul Mahommed - -	560 -	280
Meer Ibrahim - - - -	630 -	315
Mahommed Syed - -	630 -	315
Mahommed Iſmail - -	630 -	315
Hafez Mahommed Khan,	630 -	315
Mahommed Huſſein - -	420 -	210

In our ſelection of the three firſt of the ſirdars, named under the firſt head, we were guided by conſiderations, referring partly to the ſervices which they had manifeſted towards the Britiſh government, and partly to the high reſpect entertained for their character, and to the weight and authority which they are univerſally acknowledged to poſſeſs among the Mahommedans of this country.

With reſpect to the two laſt, we were influenced ſolely by a regard to the latter of the preceding conſiderations.

All the perſons named under the ſecond head, (with the exception of

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Bankor Sahib, and Haffin Sahib, who are ſons of Budnoy Zemaun Khan,) were Meer Meerans under the late government, and have been reported to us as men of the moſt reſpectable characters in that rank.

In fixing the amount of the penſions to be granted to the ſirdars, already enumerated, our attention was not ſo much directed to the amount of their reſpective ſalaries under the late Tippoo Sultaun, as to the policy of ſecuring, by a liberal proviſion, the attachment of ſo many perſons of rank and influence to the intereſts and welfare of the Britiſh government in India.

It did not appear adviſeable to us to ſetter the proviſion to be made for the foregoing perſons, by any conditions which might be thought to derogate from the liberality and munificence of the company: we determined, therefore, to be ſatisfied with ſignifying to them, that we had no doubt their conduct would be ſuch as to ſecure the continuance of the favour and protection of the Britiſh government.

The perſons included in the laſt liſt, had alſo held the rank of Meer Meerans under the late government, but did not appear to us to poſſeſs ſuch weight of character as to entitle them to equal conſideration with thoſe of the ſame rank, enumerated under our ſecond reſolution.

All the ſirdars mentioned under the foregoing heads attended us this morning by appointment, and were received by us according to the claſſes into which we had previouſly arranged them. We then proceeded to ſtate to each claſs, ſeparately, the powers with which we were entruſted by your lordſhip, and the reſolutions which, under thoſe powers, we had adopted with reſpect to them.

We have great ſatisfaction in informing your lordſhip that this communication was received by every individual with very lively ſenſations of gratitude, and, in ſeveral inſtances, of wonder; many of them expreſſing the greateſt aſtoniſhment at the unparalleled condeſcenſion and generoſity of the company's government, in manifeſting ſo much conſideration for perſons who had ſo recently borne arms againſt them, and who could not aſſert any claims to their favour and protection.

From the manner in which the bounty of your lordſhip to theſe perſons has been received, we entertain a confident expectation that the meaſure will produce the happieſt effect in tranquillizing and conciliating all claſſes of people, and in preparing their minds for the new order of things about to be eſtabliſhed under your lordſhip's inſtructions.

Your lordſhip will obſerve, that the total amount of the allowances which we have hitherto agreed to grant to the ſirdars of the late Tippoo Sultaun, does not exceed the annual ſum of ſtar pagodas 20,907. 2. 6.

We ſhall, no doubt, find it neceſſary to augment the preſent liſt of penſioners, and to make proviſion for the families of certain ſirdars deceaſed, whoſe pretenſions we have not yet taken into our conſideration, excepting in the inſtance of Syed Sahib's family, (conſiſting of eighteen perſons, male and female,) for the maintenance of which we have aſſigned a monthly penſion of two hundred ſtar pagodas. We are perſuaded, however, that the ſum allotted by your lordſhip as a fund for providing ſuitably for theſe various perſons, will be more than adequate to the purpoſe of enabling us to extend the company's liberality to every individual, whom it may be neceſſary to admit to a participation of it, either on the ſcore of humanity or policy.

Having

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Having judged it of the utmoſt importance to loſe no time in carrying into effect your lordſhip's inſtructions with reſpect to the removal of the family of the late Tippoo Sultaun, we this morning addreſſed a letter to the commander in chief, a copy of which we have the honour to incloſe for your lordſhip's information. The deficiency in draft and carriage cattle, which at preſent exiſts both here and at camp, has compelled Colonel Welleſley to confine himſelf to the removal, in the firſt inſtance, of the four elder princes, with their reſpective families. The remaining parts of the family inhabit the zenana; and no danger is to be apprehended from their continuing in Seringapatam until it ſhall be practicable to remove them.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY,
HENRY WELLESLEY,
WM. KIRKPATRICK.

Copy of a Letter from the Myſore Commiſſioners to the Right Hon. the Governor-general.

Seringapatam, 19th June 1799.

MY LORD,

We have the honour to inform your lordſhip, that the four elder princes, with their reſpective families, croſſed the river yeſterday, and proceeded on their march to Vellore this morning. The eſcort appointed to conduct the princes to Vellore, is commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Coke, and conſiſts of two diviſions of the honourable company's ſecond European regiment, of one battalion of native infantry, with four field pieces, and of two troops of cavalry, amounting in the whole to 1500 men.

We truſt that our appointment of Captain Marriott to attend the princes until they ſhall be joined by Lieutenant-colonel Doveton, will meet with your lordſhip's approbation.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY,
HENRY WELLESLEY,
W. KIRKPATRICK.

P. S. We refrained from appointing Ali Reza Khan to accompany the princes to Vellore, having underſtood that no intercourſe had ſubſiſted between him and the princes ſince the return of Ali Reza from Madras, and having been informed that he was particularly obnoxious to Futteh Hyder.

Copy of a Letter from the Myſore Commiſſioners to the Right Hon. the Governor-general.

Seringapatam, 25th June 1799.

MY LORD,

1. Having ſignified, through Purneah, to the family of the rajah, the general outline of your lordſhip's intentions with reſpect to his highneſs, we received a written anſwer to our communication, of which the incloſed is a tranſlation.

2. In conſequence of theſe communications, it appeared to us proper, that the members of the commiſſion ſhould wait upon the rajah without delay: we accordingly yeſterday ſignified, through Purneah, to his highneſs, and to his family, our intention of paying our perſonal reſpects to them in the courſe of the evening.

3. We proceeded to his highneſs's reſidence, accompanied by Purneah, whom we thought it proper ſhould be preſent at this firſt interview. Although every preparation was made for our reception, it is not eaſy to deſcribe to your lordſhip the ſtate of miſery in which we found this perſecuted family.

4. A portion of the apartment in which we were received was concealed by a curtain, behind which the rana, and the other female

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male members of the family, were ſtationed.

5. We were received by the male part of the family with expreſſions of gratitude and joy, proportioned to the magnitude of the benefits conferred on them, and to the ſtate of indigence and obſcurity from which they were relieved. We again communicated, as we had done before, through Purneah, the general outline of your lordſhip's propoſed arrangement, and your intentions with reſpect to the rajah. The rana, in reply, expreſſed, through one of her attendants, the lively ſenſe which ſhe entertained of your lordſhip's clemency, which had raiſed her and her family from the loweſt pitch of human miſery, to that ſtation of which they had been deprived by tyranny and uſurpation. She dwelt particularly on the perſecution to which ſhe and her family had been expoſed, from the cruel, ſavage, and relentleſs diſpoſition of the late Tippoo Sultaun; but ſhe added, that the generoſity of the company, having reſtored the ancient rights of her houſe in the perſon of her grandſon, had opened to her a proſpect of paſſing the remnant of her days in peace.

6. The rajah, who is ſaid to be five years old, is of a delicate habit: his complexion is rather fair than otherwiſe, and his countenance is very expreſſive. He betrayed ſome ſymptoms of alarm on our firſt arrival, but theſe ſoon diſappeared. He ſeems to be of a timid diſpoſition, and to have ſuffered conſiderably from reſtraint.

7. We have the honour to inform your lordſhip, that the partition of the country, and the elevation of the rajah to the muſnud, was this day proclaimed.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY,
HENRY WELLESLEY,
W. KIRKPATRICK,
B. CLOSE.

Copy of a Letter from Letchima Amany, the wife of Kiſna Raige Worrier, and Dewaj Amany, the wife of Chiaum Raige Worrier†, with compliments to the Commiſſioners of Myſore.*

Seringapatam, 25th June 1799.

Your having conferred on our child the government of Myſore, Nuggur, and Chittledroog, with their dependencies, and appointed Purneah to be the dewan, has afforded us the greateſt happineſs.

Forty years have elapſed ſince our government ceaſed. Now you have favoured our boy with the government of this country, and nominated Purneah to be his dewan, we ſhall, while the ſon and moon may continue, commit no offence to your government. We ſhall at all times conſider ourſelves as under your protection and orders: Your having eſtabliſhed us, muſt for ever be freſh in the memory of our poſterity, from one generation to another. Our offspring can never forget an attachment to your government, on whoſe ſupport we ſhall depend.

(Signed) LETCHIMA AMANY,
DEWAJ AMANY.

PARTITION TREATY OF MYSORE.

Treaty for the ſtrengthening the Alliance and Friendſhip ſubſiſting between the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, Bahauder; his Highneſs the Nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder; and the Peſhwa Row Pundit Purdhan, Bahauder; and for effecting a Settlement of the Dominions of the late Tippoo Sultaun.

Whereas the deceaſed Tippoo Sultaun, unprovoked by any act of aggreſſion

* The ſecond wife of the rajah, who reigned at Hyder's firſt uſurpation.

† The ſecond wife of Chiaum Raige, and maternal aunt of the preſent rajah, whoſe father was married to eight wives, two of whom were ſiſters.

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aggreſſion on the part of the allies, entered into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the French, and admitted a French force into his army, for the purpoſe of commencing war againſt the honourable Engliſh company, Bahauder, and its allies, Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder, and the Peſhwa Row Pundit Purdhan, Bahauder; and the ſaid Tippoo Sultaun having attempted to evade the juſt demands of ſatisfaction and ſecurity made by the honourable Engliſh company, Bahauder, and its allies, for their defence and protection againſt the joint deſigns of the ſaid Sultaun and of the French, the allied armies of the honourable Engliſh company, Bahauder, and of his highneſs Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder, proceeded to hoſtilities, in vindication of their rights, and for the preſervation of their reſpective dominions from the perils of foreign invaſion, and from the ravages of a cruel and relentleſs enemy.

And whereas it has pleaſed Almighty God to proſper the juſt cauſe of the ſaid allies, the honourable Engliſh company, Bahauder, and his highneſs Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder, with a continued courſe of victory and ſucceſs, and finally to crown their arms by the reduction of the capital of Myſore, the fall of Tippoo Sultaun, the utter extinction of his power, and the unconditional ſubmiſſion of his people: and whereas the ſaid allies being diſpoſed to exerciſe the right of conqueſt with the ſame moderation and forbearance which they have obſerved from the commencement to the concluſion of the late ſucceſsful war, have reſolved to uſe the power which it has pleaſed Almighty God to place in their hands, for the purpoſe of obtaining reaſonable compenſation for the expences of the war, and of eſtabliſhing permanent ſecurity, and genuine tranquillity, for themſelves and their ſubjects, as well as for all the Powers contiguous to their reſpective dominions: wherefore a treaty for the adjuſtment of the territories of the late Tippoo Sultaun, between the Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, and his highneſs the Nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder, is now concluded by Lieutenant-general George Harris, commander in chief of the forces of his Britannic Majeſty and of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, in the Carnatic and on the coaſt of Malabar, the honourable Colonel Arthur Welleſley, the honourable Henry Welleſley, Lieutenant-colonel William Kirkpatrick, and Lieutenant-colonel Barry Cloſe, on the part and in the name of the right honourable Richard earl of Mornington, K. P. governor-general for all affairs civil and military of the Britiſh nation in India; and by the nabob Meer Allum, Bahauder, on the part and in the name of his highneſs the nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder, according to the under-mentioned articles, which, by the bleſſing of God, ſhall be binding on the heirs and ſucceſſors of the contracting parties, as long as the ſun and moon ſhall endure, and of which the conditions ſhall be reciprocally obſerved by the ſaid contracting parties.

Art. 1. It being reaſonable and juſt that the allies, by this treaty, ſhould accompliſh the original objects of the war, (*viz.* a due indemnification for the expences incurred in their own defence, and effectual ſecurity for their reſpective poſſeſſions againſt the future deſigns of their enemies,) it is ſtipulated and agreed, that the diſtricts ſpecified in ſchedule A, hereunto annexed, together with the heads of all the paſſes

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paſſes leading from the territory of the late Tippoo Sultaun to any part of the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, of its allies or tributaries, ſituated below the ghauts on either coaſt, and all forts ſituated near to, and commanding the ſaid paſſes, ſhall be ſubjected to the authority, and be for ever incorporated with the dominions of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, the ſaid company, Bahauder, engaging to provide effectually, out of the revenues of the ſaid diſtricts, for the ſuitable maintenance of the whole of the families of the late Hyder Ally Khan, and of the late Tippoo Sultaun; and to apply to this purpoſe, with the reſervation herein after ſtated, an annual ſum of not leſs than two lacks of ſtar pagodas, making the company's ſhare as follows:

Eſtimated value of diſtrict enumerated in the ſchedule A, according to the ſtatement of Tippoo Sultaun in 1792, *Cant. Pag.*	777,170
Deduct proviſion for the families of Hyder Ally Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, two lacks of ſtar pagodas - - - - -	240,000
Remains to the Eaſt India company, - - - - - - -	537,170

2. For the ſame reaſon ſtated in the preceding article, the diſtricts ſpecified in the ſchedule B, annexed hereunto, ſhall be ſubjected to the authority, and for ever united with the dominions of the nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder, the ſaid nabob having engaged to provide liberally from the revenues of the ſaid diſtricts, for the ſupport of Meer Kummer ud Deen, Bahauder, and of his family and relations, and to grant him, for this purpoſe, a perſonal jaghire in the diſtrict of Gurrumcondah, equal to the annual ſum of rupees 210,000, or of canteria pagodas 70,000, over and above, and excluſive of a jaghire, which the ſaid nabob has alſo agreed to aſſign to the ſaid Meer Kummer ud Deen Khan, for the pay and maintenance of a proportionate number of troops, to be employed in the ſervice of his ſaid highneſs, making the ſhare of his highneſs as follows:

Eſtimated value of the territory ſpecified in ſchedule B, according to the ſtatement of Tippoo Sultaun in 1792, *Cant. Pag.*	607,332
Deduct perſonal jaghire to Meer Kummer ud Deen Khan, rupees 2,10,000, or - - - -	70,000
Remains to the Nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah Bahauder - - - - - - - -	537,332

3. It being further expedient, for the preſervation of peace and tranquillity, and for the general ſecurity, on the foundations now eſtabliſhed by the contracting parties, that the fortreſs of Seringapatam ſhould be ſubjected to the ſaid company, Bahauder, it is ſtipulated and agreed, that the ſaid fortreſs, and the iſland on which it is ſituated, (including the ſmall tract of land or iſland lying to the weſtward of the main iſland, and bounded on the weſt by a nullah, called the Myſore nullah, which falls into the cavery near Chungal Ghaut,) ſhall become part of the dominions of the ſaid company in full right and ſovereignty for ever.

4. A ſeparate government ſhall be eſtabliſhed in Myſore; and for this purpoſe it is ſtipulated and agreed, that Maha Rajah Myſore Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, a deſcendant of the ancient rajahs of Myſore, ſhall poſſeſs the territory herein after-deſcribed, upon the conditions herein after-mentioned.

5. The contracting powers mutually and ſeverally agree, that the diſtricts ſpecified in ſchedule C, hereunto annexed, ſhall be ceded

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to the ſaid Maha Rajah Myſore, upon the conditions herein after-mentioned.

6. The Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, ſhall be at liberty to make ſuch deduction, from time to time, from the ſums allotted by the firſt article of the preſent treaty, for the maintenance of the family of Hyder Ally Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, as may be proper, in conſequence of the deceaſe of any member of the ſaid families; and in the event of any hoſtile attempt, on the part of the ſaid family, from any member of it, againſt the authority of the contracting parties, or againſt the peace of their reſpective dominions, or the territory of the rajah of Myſore, then the ſaid Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, ſhall be at liberty to limit, or ſuſpend entirely, the payment of the whole, or any part of the ſtipend herein before ſtipulated, to be applied to the maintenance and ſupport of the ſaid families.

7. His highneſs the peſhwa, Row Pundit Purdhan, Bahauder, ſhall be invited to accede to the preſent treaty; and although the ſaid peſhwa Row Pundit Purdhan, Bahauder, has neither participated in the expence or danger of the late war, and therefore is not entitled to ſhare any part of the acquiſitions made by the contracting parties, (namely, the Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, and his highneſs the nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Aſof Jah, Bahauder,) yet for the maintenance of the relations of friendſhip and alliance between the ſaid peſhwa Row Pundit Purdhan, Bahauder, the Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, his highneſs the nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder, and Maha Rajah Myſore Kiſtna Rajah, Bahauder, it is ſtipulated and agreed, that certain diſtricts ſpecified in ſchedule D, hereunto annexed, ſhall be reſerved for the purpoſe of being eventually ceded to the ſaid peſhwa Row Pundit Purdhan, Bahauder, in full right and ſovereignty, in the ſame manner as if he had been a contracting party to this treaty: provided, however, that the ſaid peſhwa Row Pundit Purdhan, Bahauder, ſhall accede to the preſent treaty, in its full extent, within one month from the day on which it ſhall be formally communicated to him by the contracting parties, and provided alſo that he ſhall give ſatisfaction to the Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, and to his highneſs the nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder, with regard to certain points now depending between him the ſaid peſhwa Row Pundit Purdhan, Bahauder, and the ſaid nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder, and alſo with regard to ſuch points as ſhall be repreſented to the ſaid peſhwa, on the part of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, by the governor-general, or the Engliſh reſident at the court of Poonah.

8. If, contrary to the amicable expectation of the contracting parties, the ſaid peſhwa Row Pundit Purdhan, Bahauder, ſhall refuſe to accede to this treaty, or to give ſatisfaction upon the points to which the ſeventh article refers, then the right to and ſovereignty of the ſeveral diſtricts, herein-before reſerved for eventual ceſſion to the peſhwa Row Pundit Purdhan, Bahauder, ſhall reſt jointly in the ſaid Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, and the ſaid nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder, who will either exchange them with the rajah of Myſore, for other diſtricts of equal value, more contiguous to their reſpective territories,

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or otherwiſe arrange and ſettle reſpecting them as they ſhall judge proper.

9. It being expedient, for the effectual eſtabliſhment of Maha Rajah Myſore Kiſtna Rajah in his government of Myſore, that his highneſs ſhould be aſſiſted with a ſuitable ſubſidiary force, it is ſtipulated and agreed, that the whole of the ſaid force ſhall be furniſhed by the Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, according to the terms of a ſeparate treaty, to be immediately concluded between the ſaid Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, and his highneſs Maha Rajah Myſore Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder.

10. This treaty, conſiſting of ten articles, being ſettled and concluded, this day, the 22d of June 1799, (correſponding with the 17th of Mohurrum, 1214 anno Hejirah) by Lieut.-Gen. Harris, the Hon. Col. Arthur Welleſley, the Hon. Henry Welleſley, Lieut.-Col. William Kirkpatrick, and Lieut.-Col. Barry Cloſe, on the part and in the name of the Right Hon. Richard earl of Mornington, governor-general aforeſaid, and by Meer Allum, Bahauder, on the part, and in the name of his highneſs the Nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder, the ſaid Lieut.-Gen. Harris, the Hon. Col. Arthur Welleſley, the Hon. Henry Welleſley, Lieut.-Colonel William Kirkpatrick, and Lieut.-Col. Barry Cloſe, have delivered to Meer Allum, Bahauder, one copy of the ſame, ſigned and ſealed by themſelves; and Meer Allum, Bahauder, has delivered to Lieut.-Gen. George Harris, the Hon. Col. Arthur Welleſley, the Hon. Henry Welleſley, Lieut.-Col. William Kirkpatrick, and Lieut.-Col. Barry Cloſe, another copy of the ſame, ſigned and ſealed by himſelf: and Lieut.-General George Harris, the Hon. Col. Arthur Welleſley, the Hon. Henry Welleſley, Lieut.-Col. William Kirkpatrick, and Lieut.-Col. Barry Cloſe, and Meer Allum, Bahauder, ſeverally and mutually engage, that the ſaid treaty ſhall be reſpectively ratified by the Right Hon. the governor-general, under his ſeal and ſignature, within eight days from the date hereof, and by his highneſs the Nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder, within twenty-five days from the date hereof.

(L. S.) Meer Allum.

Witneſſed, by order of the Commiſſioners,

(Signed) J. MALCOLM, *Sec.*

Separate Articles of the Treaty between the Company and the Nizam.

1. With a view to the prevention of future altercations, it is agreed between his highneſs the Nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder, and the Hon. Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, that, to whatever amount the ſtipends appropriated to the maintenance of the ſons, relatives, and dependants of the late Hyder Ally Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, or the perſonal jaghire of Meer Kummeer ud Deen Khan, ſhall hereafter be diminiſhed, in conſequence of any of the ſtipulations of the treaty of Myſore, the contracting parties ſhall not be accountable to each other on this head.

2. And it is further agreed between the contracting parties, that in the event provided for in the eighth article of the treaty of Myſore, two-thirds of the ſhare reſerved for Row Pundit Purdhan Bahauder, ſhall fall to his highneſs the Nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder, and the remaining third

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to the Honourable Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder.

SCHEDULE A.

1. *The Company's Share.*

The following diſtricts from Nuggur or Bednore:

	Cant.	Pag.	Fan.
Konal (Mangalore) Bekel and Neleferam	133,662	7	½
Karcul	11,393	2	½
Barkoo	48,389	8	½
Khooſaulpore	26,361	7	½
Bulkull	9,177	0	½
Garſopa	9,192	0	½
Hurrawus (Orrow)	17,842	9	½
Melzawn	8,953	4	½
Alcolah Punchmahl and Shedaſheoghur (or Soonda Payen Ghawl)	2,833	22	
Bilghuy	18,929	4	½
Coimbatore, viz.			
Coimbatore	80,000	0	
Danagurecottah	35,000	0	
Cheoor	27,000	0	
Chingerry	27,000	0	
Darapon Chuckergary	64,000	0	
Saltencungabun	30,000	0	
Undon	8,000	0	
Peſoondora	14,000	0	
Viſunnugal			
Avaraconny	20,000	0	
Erroade	20,000	0	
Caroor	41,000	0	
Oodgully	15,000	0	
Caveryporam	4,000	0	
Wynaad (from Ahmednuggur Chucklon) from Talooks belonging to Seringapatam.			
Punganon	15,000	0	
Suttikul, Alumbaddy, Koodahully,	15,200	0	
Ouſſore	18,096	0	
Decani Cottah, and Ruttungherry	14,000	0	
Vencatigeua Cottah	6,000	0	
Ankurghury and Salárghury	4,000	0	
Bangalore	3,000	0	
Tallamulla and Talwaddy, half Talooks of Hurdalucily	5,000	0	
Total	777,170	6	½
Deduct proviſions for the maintenance of the families of Hyder Ally Khan and of Tippoo Sultaun, Star pagodas 200,000, or Canteraí pagodas	240,000	0	
Remains to the Company	387,170	6	½

SCHEDULE B.

2. *The Nizam's Share.*

Gooty.			
Fuze Huzzoor Kubal	15,568	0	
Kona Koomlah	7,500	0	
Pauni	11,000	0	
Weigin Kurroor	8,998	0	
Yunctly Muriajehoroor	5,902	0	
Beem Raſſah	4,800	0	
Mutton	2,700	0	
Pravallie Mumnimoory	9,426	3	
Chunumpilly	8,951	8	
Mulkairya Kotoo	22,251	8	½
Kurtooni	8,800	0	
Yarky	22,673	1	
Penagornda	60,000	0	
Munuſgera	8,000	0	
Thuntyenaatpoor	16,000	0	
Kungoor, remainder of	11,629	0	
Kunchindgoondy, do. of	10,000	0	
Of Gurrumcondah			
All the diſtricts not added in 1792	185,810	0	
Buttonghurry, from Seringapatam	10,000	0	
Rydroog (6 Talooks)	102,858	0	
Kunool Peſhcuſh	66,666	0	
From Chittledroog,			
Jenymullah (1 Talook)	7,800	0	
Total	607,332	1	½
Deduct for a perſonal jaghire to Kumeer ud Deen Khan and relations	70,000	0	
Remains to the Nizam	537,332	1	½

SCHEDULE C.

Diſtrict ceded to Mahá Rajah Myſore Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder.

Talooks belonging to Seringapatam.			
Puttum Alkrawn	11,000	9	9
Myſore Attachaun or Rechmut			
Nuzzur	11,500	0	0
Nuzzur Bar	14,000	0	0
Hardunkally	15,000	0	0
Penapatam	6,000	0	0

Madden

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Muddoor	13,200	0	0
Hetghur Deivan Cottah	8,000	0	0
Betudapoor	7,000	0	0
Tyour	8,000	0	0
Yelandoor	10,000	0	0
Mallivelly Gullinabad	9,000	0	0
Tulkar Sofitah	8,100	0	0
Nurzipore	10,200	0	0
Yeftorah	7,200	0	0
Bailoor	15,700	0	0
Aftrulgon	4,300	0	0
Cherinapatam	12,100	0	0
Bullum Munzerabad	10,000	0	0
Huffin	7,900	0	0
Henaivelly	9,400	0	0
Nagmungul	4,700	0	0
Bellore	3,100	0	0
Mahorage Droog	10,000	0	0
Gram	3,500	0	0
Ramgherry	7,400	0	0
Turkarumb	7,400	0	0
Almured Nuggur Chichoor	10,000	0	0
Thurp	12,000	0	0
Toory Khaira	9,000	0	0
Coonydghul	5,008	9	0
Hootrooidroog	4,008	0	0
Kerkany	4,065	0	0
Cinnayputtum	9,138	0	0
Noogaily	3,000	0	0
Mautatah and Hifmajepoor	6,100	0	0
Sucknyputtuna	6,200	0	0
Banorawar, Gurradungilly, Harrunhilly	10,000	0	0
Boodikall	7,000	0	0
Nighull	6,000	0	0
Poifgur	10,000	0	0
Hagulwary	12,000	0	0
Goomnaupollam	12,000	0	0
Bangalore	55,000	0	0
Maugry	8,400	0	0
Mudgherry	36,000	0	0
Coorghurry	4,000	0	0
Cankanelly	8,900	0	0
Nulwuggle and Durbtila	16,000	0	0
Arricut	10,300	0	0
Byroodroog	4,000	0	0
Hyboor	7,000	0	0
Dewankelly	20,045	0	0
Odradroog	5,000	0	0
Chinroydroog	8,000	0	0
Toomkoor and Devarage	18,000	0	0
Nidgegul and Maclydroog	16,000	0	0
Kundakeeva and Chellnaighelly	16,000	0	0
Chuta Balapoor	80,000	0	0
Colah	80,000	0	0
Jungum Cottah	13,000	0	0
Chuckmogalam	8,134	4	0
Kudoor	7,129	7¼	0
Sera, remainder of			
Sera and Amerapoor	55,000	0	0
Hoofuttah	50,745	0	0
Burra Balarpoor	44,000	0	0

Nuggur above Ghaut.			
Kufbah	20,145	4¾	2
Coolydroog	28,818	0¾	2
Krompfee	8,094	2¾	0
Kope	22,864	5¼	2
Wafittrara	6,818	9	0
Ekaing and Sagur	39,411	0½	2
Gooty (Hoobly)	11,006	8	0¾
Surbtowanundy	10,458	0¼	2
Joniannity	17,424	0	0
Shikarpor	11,774	0	0¾
Aunumtapoor	10,191	0	9¼
Lakoofley Dannafs	11,629	6¾	1
Oodgunny	13,614	1¾	0
Simoga	16,883	5	0
Hooly Honore	6,583	5¾	1
Biddary	10,835	5	2
Chingay Befwapattam	22,091	1¾	3
Tany Reviah	14,076	4¾	2
Azeimpoor	10,696	2¾	3
Chittledroog, remainder of 12 Talooks.			
Hufbah	20,874	7¾	1
Beemfumunder	12,148	4	2
Dideary	12,984	9¼	0
Hufdroog	11,936	2¾	3
Multoor	10,392	3¼	2
Murkah Moroo	12,662	9¼	3
Tullick	11,854	0¾	0
Burnm Surger	10,163	6¼	0
Kunkopa	12,542	0¾	2
Bitchoor	10,683	1¼	2
Hinoor	10,010	0	2
Goody Cottah	11,330	5	0½
Total	13,79,076	8	1
Deduct two Purgunnahs of Hurdenakilly, viz. Talmah & Talwaddy, included in the Company's fhare	5,000	0	0
	13,74,076	8	1

SCHEDULE D.

The Peſhwa's Share.

Harpoonelly	110,630	8¾	0
Soonda (above the Ghauts)	59,377	0	0
Annagoondy	60,010	0	0
From Chittledroog two Talooks, viz. Holul Kaira, and Mycomdo	23,652	3	0
From Bednore one Talook, viz. Hunghur	10,796	0	0
Total Canteria Pagodas	263,957	3¾	0

MEMORIAL *Explanatory of the* PARTITION TREATY *of Myſore.*

1. The principle of partition between the nizam and the company, aſſumed in the firſt and ſecond arti-

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cles, is, that each party ſhould retain, in direct ſovereignty, an equal ſhare of unincumbered territorial revenue, deduction being made, from both ſides, of the amount of the penſions for jaghires, of which each party has agreed to bear the charge.

2. The allowance made by Tippoo Sultaun to his family, and that of Hyder, including the whole expenſes of the maintenance of every branch of the families, did not exceed 112,116 canteria pagodas.

3. It was however thought adviſeable to allot a larger ſum for this purpoſe, as well with a view to meet the firſt expenſes of ſettling the families in the Carnatic, as the increaſed charge of maintaining the younger ſons of the late Sultaun (nine in number) as they ſhall advance in years. The youngeſt of the four princes now at Vellore is about fifteen years of age. It is not intended to make the nine younger ſons now at Seringapatam, the eldeſt of whom is about eleven years of age, ſo large an allowance as that enjoyed by each of the four elder now at Vellore. The four elder ſons have been accuſtomed to a degree of ſtate, of which it would be indelicate to deprive them: the ſame reaſons do not apply to the younger ſons, who have ſcarcely ever been ſuffered to paſs beyond the limits of the zenana.

4. The eſtimate of the revenues of Tippoo Sultaun, on which the partition has been founded, is the ſame as that admitted by the allies at Seringapatam in 1792, deducting the ſum of nine lacks of pagodas, which had been added by the allies to the eſtimate given in by the Vakeels of Tippoo Sultaun on that occaſion. There is every reaſon to ſuppoſe, that this eſtimate is much below the real produce of the revenues of the country, eſpecially in its valuation of the company's ſhare. Tippoo Sultaun had made a fictitious increaſe of his revenues, by an arbitrary addition to the nominal value of his coin, and by other capricious and extravagant operations, the nature of which is explained in the papers annexed to this diſpatch: by this contrivance he had raiſed the apparent amount of his revenues to the ſum of Canteria pagodas 8,367,549: this ſum certainly much exceeded their real amount. In N° — a compariſon is inſtituted between the extravagant ſtatements lately found at Seringapatam, and the depreciation of Tippoo's remaining revenue impoſed upon the allies in 1792. By this compariſon it appears, that, at the loweſt valuation, the company's ſhare of the preſent partition may be expected, within a ſhort period of time, to produce not leſs than 1,478,698 ſtar pagodas*, provided the revenues be ably and honeſtly adminiſtered.

5. A map, conſtructed by Capt. Marriott, will be found in No. —. It is recommended to the attention of your honourable court, as exhibiting a curious and intereſting view of the new and capricious diviſion of territory introduced by Tippoo Sultaun, by which he had changed many of the names, and all the diviſions of every part of his kingdom, loading his eſtabliſhments with innumerable Mahommedan officers of revenue, and entirely ſubverting the wiſe and economical ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by Hyder Ally. In No. — will alſo be found a note, relating to the produce and commercial powers of Myſore. Having already ſtated, in paragraphs 13, 14 and 15, of this diſpatch, the principles which have regulated the ſelection of the particular diſtricts allotted to each of the contracting

* N. B. This is the groſs amount; about twelve lacks net revenue.

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tracting parties, it is unneceſſary to add any thing on that ſubject to this memorial.

6. The 3d article does not appear to require any explanation. The ſmall tract of land retained in addition to the iſland of Seringapatam, is neceſſary to the effectual ſtrength of the place, and to its conſtant ſupply with water. By the next diſpatch, it is hoped that an accurate report of the value of the acquiſitions made under this article may be forwarded to your honourable court.

7. Articles 4 and 5. Theſe articles are ſo expreſſed as to exclude any claim of right to the throne on the part of the rajah, and alſo to prevent many of the poligars deſcended from the antient poſſeſſors of various parts of the territories of Tippoo Sultaun, from preferring obſolete pretenſions, founded on alleged rights of inheritance.

8. Article 6th requires no explanation. The firſt ſeparate article refers to this, and will hereafter be explained.

9. Article 7th refers to an intended treaty with the Mahratta empire, the negotiation of which is now depending at Poonah, with every proſpect of a favourable iſſue.

10. The 8th article requires no particular comment: it is connected with the ſecond ſeparate article, which will be hereafter explained.

11. The 9th article is founded upon the equitable right of the company, ariſing from a ſuperior ſhare in the expenſes and dangers of the war, to the principal benefit of any collateral arrangements to be made with the new government of Myſore. It is evident, that his highneſs the nizam, the exiſtence of whoſe throne has confeſſedly been ſaved, and is now protected by the Britiſh power, will derive a conſiderable additional ſecurity from the eſtabliſhment of the Britiſh influence in Myſore. On the other hand, the penſions to be made to the Mahrattas will be employed to purchaſe certain immunities of the moſt valuable kind for his highneſs; or, if the Mahratta power ſhould decline ſuch an accommodation, the ſecond ſeparate article (as hereafter explained) will place his highneſs's intereſts, under the operations of this treaty, on a level with thoſe of the company.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

1. This article was inſerted with a view to exclude the Nizam from any interference in the affairs of the families of Hyder Ally and Tippoo Sultaun: its operation is reciprocal, as it renounces the company's right of interference between Nizam Ally and Kummer ud Deen.

2. If the Peſhwa ſhould accede to the terms to be propoſed to him under the ſeventh article of the treaty, it has already been remarked, that the Nizam will derive conſiderable benefit from that arrangement. The preciſe nature of the benefit which his highneſs may expect, is now a matter of negotiation at Poonah. If Nizam Ally ſhould be diſappointed in his expectation at Poonah, he will be amply indemnified, by receiving two thirds of the territory now reſerved for eventual ceſſion to the Peſhwa, while the company ſhall receive only one-third.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Macleod to the Myſore Commiſſioners;

Seringapatam, 8th July 1799.

GENTLEMEN,

In compliance with the deſire of

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the right honourable the governor-general, conveyed in his letter to you, dated the 21ſt June, extract of which was forwarded to me by your directions, I have the honour to tranſmit to you a ſtatement of the revenues of the territories lately acquired for the honourable company, in which you will pleaſe to obſerve the grounds on which I am led to believe that thoſe acquiſitions are capable to yield a groſs revenue equal to the ſums in column 4.

The late Tippoo Sultaun raiſed his jummabundy, in the year 1796, by augmenting his land-rent three Cantaria fanams on each pagoda (ten fanams), ſuppoſing the country to be capable of bearing this augmentation. He alſo charged his jummabundy with half a fanam as a tax on ſhroffs, and a quarter of a fanam as a duty on tobacco. The two laſt articles were abſurdly added to the land-rent, as well as the firſt, the whole amounting to $3\frac{1}{4}$ fanams on every ten fanams; ſo that, by this increaſe, every ten, by the preceding jummabundy, became $13\frac{1}{4}$ for the new jummabundy, or 40 was raiſed to 55.

There were, however, ſome inconſiderable articles of the revenue excluded from contributing towards this augmentation; ſuch as the rents of land farmed for portions of the produce, and alſo the road-duties: but as I could not procure an exact account of the amount of items left out in forming the increaſe, I have ſuppoſed, for the convenience of calculation, that the increaſe of 1796 extended to the whole groſs revenue, and by following this mode I have eſtimated the increaſe in column 2 of the ſtatement greater than it really was; conſequently column 3 or 4 is eſtimated lower than it otherwiſe ſhould be, if the detail of the whole increaſe had been accurately aſcertained.

The ſums in Canteria pagodas in the 3d column, or in ſtar pagodas in the fourth, may, in my opinion, be conſidered as nearly the fair jummabundy which may hereafter be expected; though I cannot take upon myſelf to aſſert, that the ſeveral diſtricts ought to yield revenue equal to this valuation of them.

If ſome of the diſtricts ſhould be over-rated in this eſtimate, it is probable that others are under-valued. I think it is not unreaſonable to expect, that, in the aggregate, the whole may, in the courſe of three or four years, produce a revenue equal to the amount of column 4; and if from this ſum one fifth be deducted, for the ſeveral heads of inaums to pagodas, &c. and for defraying all charges of collection, there would remain to the company a clear revenue of near twelve lacks of ſtar pagodas annually.

Should this eſtimate of the new acquiſitions be hereafter found, through better information, to be materially erroneous, I hope it will be remembered, that I followed the trueſt ſcale which can at preſent be procured. Much will always depend on the ſkill and talents of perſons employed in the management of revenue.

I have an account of the amount of the rent of each aumildarrie compoſing the jumma in the firſt column; and I have materials and information ſufficient to prove that the ſchedule of the Myſore revenue, given to the confederates in 1792, was a falſe ſtatement of the jummabundy.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM MACLEOD.

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Copy of a Letter from Captain Macleod, to General Harris; inclosing an abstract of Tippoo Sultaun's Jummabundy.

Seringapatam, 22d May 1799.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to lay before you an abstract of the jummabundy, and a list of the several forts of the late Tippoo Sultaun. As he had given new names to all forts, and the residence of his Asiphs, the proper, or former name, is affixed to each division and fort, for the convenience of geographical information.

The Sultaun's mistaken system of revenue collection operated in a great degree towards reducing his receipts, by his having increased the number of aumildarries to ten times as many as had usually been the proportion under all former governments of the Mysore dominions.

The Sultaun raised his jummabundy in the year 1795, by adding about nineteen lacks of Canteria pagodas to his former jumma: But this increase was only ideal, as I am informed by men, of whose veracity I have a high opinion, that, since the year 1792, his receipts were annually from twenty-five to thirty-five lacks of Canteria pagodas. His actual annual disbursements are estimated at forty lacks of Canteria pagodas since the treaty of 1792; so that it appears a considerable portion of his expenses must have been taken from the treasure collected by his father.

All the asiphs and aumildars under his government were Moormen, who were seldom chosen for any other reason than their being Mahommedans; and although the whole of them had an oath of fidelity administered to them, the embezzlement of public revenue, by the several classes of servants, is supposed to have amounted annually to fifteen or twenty lacks of Canteria pagodas. The jaghires for the support of troops, which amount to about five lacks of Canteria pagodas, do not appear in the statement: The valuation of them is included in the revenue.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM MACLEOD,

Adt. Sup. of Rev.

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STATEMENT of REVENUE, &c. &c. incloſed in CAPTAIN MACLEOD'S Letter to the Myſore Commiſſioners; dated 8th July 1799.

Statement ſhewing that Column 3 or 4 contains an Eſtimate of the Reſources of the Diſtricts lately acquired for the Hon. Company.

SITUATION.	Diſtricts, alluding to former names, and to the arrangement of them in the Schedule of 1792.	1 Tippoo's Jummabundy of 1796, including his ideal Increaſe of 3 1-3d fanams on each pagoda.	2 The increaſe of 3 1-3d on every 13 1-3d fanams included in the firſt column.	3 Remaining Jummabundy, after deducting the Increaſe of 1796.	No. of Aumildaries.	4 Equivalent of Column 3 in ſtar pagodas, at 6 cant. pagodas to 5 ſtar pagodas.	5 Equivalent in ſtar pagodas by the Schedule of 1792, at 6 cant. to 5 ſtar pagodas.
		Cant. Pag. f. a.	*Cant. Pag. f. a.*	*Cant. Pag. f. a.*		*Star Pag.*	*Star Pag.*
Above the Ghauts. S. of Cavery.	Salligal, Coligal, &c.	65,189 0 0	17,778 7 12	47,410 2 4	11	39,508 8	12,666 11
	Talmullah *	14,899 0 0	4,063 3 10	10,835 6 6	2	9,029 11	41,666 10⅔
	Cheukloor, Weemaid or Beinar †	10,000 0 0	2,727 2 12	7,272, 7 4	none	6,060 9½	4,166 13⅓
N. of Cavery.	Runganoor ‡	62,335 0 0	17,000 4 8	45,334 5 8	6	37,778 12½	12,500 0
	Venketygherrycotta	18,243 0 0	4,975 3 10	13,267 6 6	2	11,056 6	5,000 0
	Bangaloor	13,625 0 0	3,715 8 0	9,909 2 0	2	8,257 11	2,500 0
	Soolagery	14,907 0 0	4,065 5 8	10,841 4 8	2	9,034 9	3,333 5⅓
	Denkenicottah §	39,929 0 0	10,889 7 4	29,039 2 12	6	24,199 6½	11,666 10⅔
	Oſſore	27,131 0 0	7,399 3 10	19,731 6 6	4	16,443 0½	15,080 0
	Total	2,66,258 0 0	72,615 6 10	1,93,642 3 6	35	1,61,368 10	71,080 0
Below the Ghauts.	Coimbatoor	2,37,708 3 14	64,829 8 14	1,72,878 5 0	28	1,44,065 6½	66,666 10⅔
	Daniancottah	83,016 7 7	22,640 9 7	60,375 8 0	12	50,313 2½	29,166 10⅔
	Cheoor	1,28,562 3 11	35,062 4 9	93,499 9 2	18	77,916 9½	22,500 0
	Chingeri	78,954 3 12	21,533 0 0	57,421 3 12	10	47,851 2½	22,500 0
	Daraſſoor, and Chuckgerry	1,73,835 0 0	47,409 5 8	1,26,425 4 8	23	1,05,354 8½	53,333 5⅓
	Sattimungle	91,523 5 3	24,409 9 11	66,562 5 8	14	55,468 12½	2,500 0
	Andoor	34,973 0 0	9,538 1 0	25,434 9 0	5	21,195 12	6,666 10⅔
	Perindoorah	39,907 0 0	10,883 7 4	29,023 2 12	6	24,186 1	11,666 10⅔
	Herroad	55,988 0 0	15,269 4 8	40,718 5 8	7	33,932 2	16,666 10⅔
	Viziemungle	39,795 0 0	10,858 1 14	28,941 8 2	6	24,118 2½	16,666 10⅔
	Cangam	54,440 0 0	13,756 3 10	36,683 6 6	8	30,569 11	16,666 10⅔
	Carroor	83,453 0 0	22,760 4 8	60,694 5 8	12	50,578 12½	37,500 0
	Uttungoolly	32,076 0 0	8,748 0 0	23,328 0 0	4	19,440 0	12,500 0
	Caverilloor	10,068 0 0	2,745 8 3	7,322 1 13	2	6,101 13	2,166 10⅔
	Total	11,40,302 3 15	3,10,991 9 0	8,29,310 4 15	155	6,91,092 1	3,39,666 10⅔

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Canara. ¶ Mangalore	Bilgee	43,110 0 0	11,484 5 8	30,625 4 8	6	33,177 9	15,773 [illegible]
	Corial (Mangalore)	3,40,041 0 0	92,738 4 8	2,47,302 5 8	42	2,67,911 1½	1,11,368 15½
	Caricul	31,280 0 0	8,514 5 8	22,705 4 8	2	24,697 9	9,494 5½
	Barkoor	1,96,747 6 0	37,294 8 0	99,452 8 0	11	1,07,740 8½	40,324 14
	Khoosbalpoor	83,790 0 0	22,851 8 4	60,938 1 12	11	66,016 6	21,968 4
	Butail	25,178 0 0	6,866 7 4	18,311 2 12	4	19,837 3½	7,646 11½
	Geisaffah	26,753 0 0	7,296 2 12	19,456 7 4	4	21,078 2	7,660 1
	Honawar (Onore)	41,156 0 0	,224 3 10	29,931 6 6	6	32,425 15	14,569 2
	Mirjan	22,988 0 0	11,269 4 8	16,718 5 8	4	18,111 12	7,461 3½
	Bahaudry Pagodas	7,49,983 6 0	2,04,540 9 4	5,45,442 6 2	92	5,90896 2½	2,36,267 1½
	Canteria Pagodas	9,74,978 6 13	2,65,903 2 14	7,09,075 3 15	—	—	—
	Ancola and Sidaskeerghur	58,313 0 0	15,903 5 8	42,409 4 8	8	35,341 3	23,610 3
	Total	10,33,291 6 13	2,81,806 8 6	7,51,484 8 7	100	6,27.237 5½	2,59,877 4½
	Grand Total	24,39,852 0 12	6,65,414 1 0	17,74,437 6 12	290	14,78,698 ½	6,70,623 15½

* The proportion included in Hureenhully by the Schedule of 1792.
† This district has been deserted since the year 1792. Half this district remains in Rajah's share.
‡ This district has been totally ruined by disturbances.
§ This district has not recovered from the effects of being in the hands of the Mahrattas in 1791 and 1792.
¶ The Revenue of these districts shewn in the first three columns is expressed in *Bahaudry* Pagodas, and the equivalent in *Canteria* Pagodas is noted below the first Total.

Tippoo's Jummabundy had not suffered any other change since the year 1786, excepting the increase shewn in column 2; consequently the schedule he gave the allies in 1792, must have been less than his Jummabundy, in nearly the same proportion that the sums in column 5 are less than those of column 4. (Signed) WILLIAM MACLEOD.

Seringapatam, 8th July 1799.

N. B. From the total there should probably be deducted two-thirds of Pungonoor, for an equivalent taken from the Rajah's share for the Nizam.

*** *These calculations are made in* Canteria Pagodas *(value about seven shillings sterling), which were the current coin of Tippoo's dominions.* A Star Pagoda *is about eight shillings sterling.*

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ABSTRACT *of* TIPPOO SULTAUN'S *Jummabundy, in*

Provinces, or Chief Diſtricts.	Names given by Tippoo Sultaun to each Diviſion or Fort.	The proper or antient name of the Fort or Diſtrict.	No. of Aumildaries in each Diſtrict.	The Revenue, including Jaghires and other Inuams, by the latest Aſſeſſments in Canteria Pag.
				C. P. F. C.
Myſore	Eſar, or South ſide of the Cavery	Myſore Aſtgram	39	2,31,230 0 0
	Enaum or North ſide	Pattan Aſtgram	46	3,26,118 0 0
	Nuzur Bar	Myſore	30	2,14,616 0 0
	Khaumabad	Haſſen	25	1,99,064 4 0
	Aſbarabad	Mahairaidroog	25	1,83,895 0 0
	Jafforabad	Cubbaldroog	32	2,20,259 0 0
	Yeeſſorobad	Hoolcoordroog	24	1,48,780 0 0
	Tullok Shuko	Makeredroog	35	2,74,764 0 0
Gurrungury	Mouhdoonabad	Gurrungury	29	2,18,474 4 0
Dooraidroog	Balla Shuko	Deoraedroog	23	1,90,277 0 0
Ballapore	Gurdoom Shuko	Nundydroog	29	2,69,082 0 0
	Azamut Shuko	Goorcbunda	31	2,38,203 0 0
	Iſoofabad	Duvantrully	25	1,75,222 0 0
Gurrumcondah	Zuffarabad	Gurrumcondah	25	2,03,006 0 0
Chumbarghur	Rezabad	Chumbarghur	29	2,51,184 0 0
Harponelly	Azeemabad	Beerundroog	83	2,61,554 0 0
Chittledroog	Mahmoodabad	Murcal Moogoo	32	2,36,533 0 0
	Turrock Yeat Huſſar	Chittledroog	27	1,96,147 0 0
	Mumtazghur	Concoope	27	1,88,720 0 0
Gooty	Feez Heſſar	Gooty	37	3,84,150 4 0
Raidroog	Nuſſuruhabad	Coonduſpy	33	2,25,126 0 0
Beduore	Nugger	Bednore	33	3,41,636 1 0
	Inheaz Ghur	Caulydroog	23	2,20,673 6 0
	Mookurabar	Chindergooty	31	2,70,992 7 0
	Jummalabad	Mangalore	24	2,60,721 5 0
	Rumutabad	Bekul	21	2,04,178 0 0
	Waſeedabad	Buſcoarageghur	23	2,09,378 0 0
	Dorea Behadurgar	Deria Bahadurgur	23	2,16,073 7 13
Sonda	Mazeedabad	Sedaſheeghur	31	2,62,876 9 0
Coimbatore	Huſſariabad	Daniancottah	31	2,36,798 4 0
Sallemungle	Salamabad	Sattimungle	31	2,16,993 9 15
Andioor	Ahmudabad	Andioor	31	2,21,594 0 0
Canjam	Hurremabad	Canjam	31	2,12,720 0 0
Daraporam	Azeezabad	Chuchegury	31	2,52,196 0 0
Paonghur	Hafezabad	Paonghur	25	1,68,437 0 0
Murgeſſie	Rymanabad	Murgleſſie	25	1,87,097 0 0
Ruttengury	Muſtafabad	Ruttengury	25	1,48,677 0 0
		Total	1075	8,37,549 1 12

N. B. In thoſe Diſtricts where there are two Aſophs, the ſecond is a Deputy.

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the year Fuſely 1217, *or the year* 1797-8.

Names of the Aſophs.	Remarks.		
	JAGHIRES.		No. of horſe to be kept up for the ſircar from the Jaghires.
		Cant. Pag.	
Sheer Khan	Futteh Hyder -	12,000	100
Sheik Malik	Abdul Khalick	12,000	100
Mahommed Sied and Syed Yakoob	Tultaun Meahdeen	4,300	
Mahommed Ghoffar and Syed Alla Zedein	Mauſe ud Deen	4,300	
Meer Haſſein and Kundarelly		32,600	200
Syed Meeran and Abdul Caden	Meer Mohum-ud-Deen -	12,000	
Raige Rally and Mahommed Syed (Syed Shabab)	Kummer-ud-Deen	4,000	
Mahommed Ally Mackeree & Syed Mahodeen	Cooroob-ud-Deen	2,700	
Syed Aleredum and Mahommed Fur Kurdeen	Rubbar Jung -	2,550	
Syed Iſmael and Mahommed Nutter	The Polligar of Rulleum -	5,000	
Abdul Cadir and Shaik Fraick	Meer Mahommed	900	
Shaick Boodum			59,750
Sheek Mahommed	The Inaums to Pagodas, Moſques, & Brahmans, &c. are eſtimated at -		2,50,000
Syed Peer			3,09,750
Meer Mumem and Syed Imaan	The jummabundy of the Sultaun's dominions was raiſed in the year 1795, by adding 3¾ Canteria fanams to each pagoda or 10 fanams, amount to		19,67,877
Haſſan Ally and Mahommed Haſſain			22,77,627
Mouhdeen Khan Lavance & Sheek Mortiza	Which ſum deducted from the groſs jummabundy, would leave the actual revenue expected to be collected, Canteria pagodas 60,89,998, or in Star pagodas 48,71,994, including the jaghires allotted to civil and military officers for their ſervices in lieu of pay.		
Imaun Beg			
Mahommed Haſhum and Golaum Moudein			
Muſlaanſha			
Syed Moudien and Sheek Mahdoom			
Mahommed Ally Beg and Sheek Mahommed			
Syed Huſſain and Abdul Reza			
Mahommed Ghaus & Mahomaned Subdurodeen			
Meer Mahommed Ally and Abdul Ruſoal			
Sheik Scheabudeen and Gholaum Ally			
Mahommed Huſſain and Mahommed Muran			
Abdul Kurrum and Mahommed Davud			
Sheek Mukdoom			
Syed Mukdoom and Sheek Ally			
Meer Haſſain Ally			
Abdul Cadir and Abdul Rhairman			
Fucker-ud-deen and Shaik Ahmed			
Muckdeen Ally and Abdul Ruſoul			
Syed Shully and Syed Davad			
Mahommed Ally Gulluck & Mahommed Haſſain			
Huſſain Reza and Mahommed Imaun.			

(Signed) WM. MACLEOD, *Act. Sup. of Rev.*

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Captain Macleod's Memoranda of the Commerce of the Myſore Country.

EXPORTS.

The following articles generally allude to the exports from Ballaghaut to the coaſt of Coromandel:—The firſt four articles are the moſt conſiderable.

Beetle arrack, (or ſiſſauris,) black pepper, cardamums, ſandal wood, wax, ivory, rubies, thick diamonds, cotton, coarſe painted cloths of Pombrie, &c. raw cotton.

Imports, chiefly from the Eaſtward.

The principal articles are Salt, Cloth, Raw Silk, and Tobacco.

Salt, coarſe and fine cloths of different ſorts, ſilk of different ſorts, velvets, damaſks, copper, lead, tuttenaige, Maſulipatam chintz, Burhanpoor ditto, flat diamonds, pearls, broad cloths, dried fruits, coral, raw-ſilk, ſpices, drugs, tobacco.

It would greatly encourage trade, if the road-duties on all articles were aboliſhed throughout the Myſore territories; but as this meaſure would occaſion an immediate diminution of revenue, amounting perhaps to two lacks of pagodas, it cannot be carried into execution, at leaſt until the land-rent may riſe, in conſequence of a few years peace, and good management.

It would, however, be of importance to the company's poſſeſſions and manufactures, if all duties on raw cotton and thread were diſcontinued throughout the rajah's country, as it is in the company's territories.

(Signed) WILLIAM MACLEOD.

Seringapatam, 12th July 1799.

Copy of a Letter from the Myſore Commiſſioners to the Right Hon. the Governor-General.

Seringapatam, 30th June 1799.

MY LORD,

1. We have the honour to inform your lordſhip, that Purneah having reported to us, on the 25th inſtant, that the Brahmans had fixed on the 30th of June as the moſt auſpicious day for placing Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver on the muſnud of Myſore, we reſolved that the ceremony ſhould accordingly be performed on that day.

2. We at the ſame time communicated to Lieutenant-general Harris our wiſh, that he would, if poſſible, aſſiſt in perſon on this occaſion.

3. His excellency, in conſequence, came hither from camp yeſterday morning, attended by his ſuite, and an eſcort of European cavalry, for the occaſion.

4. The Rajah and his family removed ſome days ago from Seringapatam to the old town of Myſore, where the beſt preparations were made for their accommodation which circumſtances would admit.

5. This morning, the members of the commiſſion, accompanied by Meer Allum, and his ſon Meer Dowran, and preceded by his majeſty's 12th regiment of foot, proceeded to the reſidence of the Rajah, who was placed on the muſnud about noon, under three vollies of muſketry from the troops on the ſpot, and a royal ſalute from the guns of Seringapatam.

6. The ceremony of placing the Rajah on the muſnud was performed by Lieutenant-general Harris, as ſenior member of the commiſſion, and by Meer Allum, each of them taking a hand of his highneſs on the occaſion. His excellency the commander in chief, ſome time after, delivered to the Rajah the ſeal and ſignet of the rauje.

7. The deportment of the young prince, during this ceremony, was remarkably decorous, conſidering the untoward circumſtances which had preceded his elevation, and confirmed the opinion which we had formed of him at our firſt viſit to him.

8. We

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8. We had great pleaſure in informing your lordſhip, that Gholam Aly Khan, Aly Reza, Budruz, Zemaun Khan, and Syed Mohammed Khan Medur, ſpontaneouſly attended on this occaſion. The Meer Suddoor was prevented, we underſtand, by indiſpoſition.

9. After taking leave of the Rajah, we partook of an entertainment which had been provided for us in an adjoining choultry.

10. The inauguration having taken place under an open pandaul, the ſpectators were very numerous; and it would be difficult to deſcribe the joy which was viſible in the countenances of all the Hindûs preſent.

We have the honour to be, &c,

(Signed) GEO. HARRIS,
ARTHUR WELLESLEY,
HENRY WELLESLEY,
W. KIRKPATRICK,
B. CLOSE.

SUBSIDIARY TREATY *of* SERINGAPATAM.

A treaty of perpetual friendſhip and alliance, concluded, on the one part, by his excellency Lieutenant-general George Harris, commander in chief of the forces of his Britannic majeſty and of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, in the Carnatic and on the coaſt of Malabar, the honourable Colonel Arthur Welleſley, the honourable Henry Welleſley, Lieutenant-colonel William Kirkpatrick, and Lieutenant-colonel Barry Cloſe, on behalf and in the name of the right honourable Richard earl of Mornington, K. P. governor-general for all affairs civil and military of the Britiſh nation in India, by virtue of full powers veſted in them for this purpoſe by the ſaid Richard earl of Mornington, governor-general; and, on the other part, by Maha Rajah Myſoor Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, Rajah of Myſore.

Whereas it is ſtipulated in the treaty concluded on the 22d of June 1799, between the honourable Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, and the Nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder, for ſtrengthening the alliance and friendſhip ſubſiſting between the ſaid Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, his Highneſs Nizam ud Dowlah Aſoph Jah, Bahauder, and the Peſhwa Row Pundit Purdhan, Bahauder, and for effecting a ſettlement of the territories of the late Tippoo Sultaun, that a ſeparate government ſhall be eſtabliſhed in Myſore, and that his highneſs Maha Rajah Myſoor Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, ſhall poſſeſs certain territories, ſpecified in ſchedule C, annexed to the ſaid treaty, and that for the effectual eſtabliſhment of the government of Myſore, his highneſs ſhall be aſſiſted with a ſuitable ſubſidiary force, to be furniſhed by the Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder.

Wherefore, in order to carry the ſaid ſtipulations into effect, and to increaſe and ſtrengthen the friendſhip ſubſiſting between the ſaid Engliſh Eaſt India company and the ſaid Maha Rajah Myſoor Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, this treaty is concluded by Lieutenant-general George Harris, commander in chief of the forces of his Britannic majeſty and of the ſaid Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, in the Carnatic and on the coaſt of Malabar, the honourable Colonel Arthur Welleſley, the honourable Henry Welleſley, Lieutenant-colonel William Kirkpatrick, and Lieutenant-colonel Barry Cloſe, on the part and in the name of the right honourable Richard earl of Mornington, governor-general aforeſaid, and by his highneſs Maha Rajah Myſoor

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Myſoor Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, which ſhall be binding upon the contracting parties, as long as the ſun and moon ſhall endure.

Article 1.—The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties ſhall be conſidered as the friends and enemies of both.

2. The honourable the Eaſt India company, Bahauder, agrees to maintain, and his highneſs Maha Rajah Myſoor Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, agrees to receive a military force for the defence and ſecurity of his highneſs's dominions; in conſideration of which protection, his highneſs engages to pay the annual ſum of ſeven lacks of ſtar pagodas to the ſaid Eaſt India company; the ſaid ſum to be paid in equal monthly inſtalments, commencing from the 1ſt of July, anno Domini 1799. And his highneſs further agrees, that the diſpoſal of the ſaid ſum, together with the arrangement and employment of the troops to be maintained by it, ſhall be left entirely to the company.

3. If it ſhall be neceſſary for the protection and defence of the territories of the contracting parties, or of either of them, that hoſtilities ſhall be undertaken, or preparations made for commencing hoſtilities, againſt any State or Power, his ſaid highneſs Maha Rajah Myſoor Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, agrees to contribute towards the diſcharge of the increaſed expenſe, incurred by the augmentation of the military force, and the unavoidable charges of war, ſuch a ſum as ſhall appear to the governor-general in council of Fort William, on an attentive conſideration of the means of his ſaid highneſs, to bear a juſt and reaſonable proportion to the actual net revenues of his ſaid highneſs.

4. And whereas it is indiſpenſably neceſſary, that effectual and laſting ſecurity ſhould be provided againſt any failure in the funds deſtined to defray either the expenſes of the permanent military force in time of peace, or the extraordinary expenſes deſcribed in the third article of the preſent treaty, it is hereby ſtipulated and agreed between the contracting parties, that whenever the governor-general in council of Fort William, in Bengal, ſhall have reaſon to apprehend ſuch failure in the funds ſo deſtined, the ſaid governor-general in council ſhall be at liberty, and ſhall have full power and right, either to introduce ſuch regulations and ordinances as he ſhall deem expedient for the internal management and collection of the revenues, or for the better ordering of any other branch and department of the government of the Myſore, or to aſſume and bring under the direct management of the ſervants of the ſaid company, Bahauder, ſuch part or parts of the territorial poſſeſſions of his highneſs Maha Rajah Myſoor Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, as ſhall appear to him, the ſaid governor-general in council, neceſſary to render the funds efficient and available, either in time of peace or war.

5. And it is hereby further agreed, that whenever the ſaid governor-general in council ſhall ſignify to the ſaid Maha Rajah Myſoor Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, that it is become neceſſary to carry into effect the proviſion of the fourth article, his ſaid highneſs Maha Rajah Myſoor Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver ſhall immediately iſſue orders to his aumils, or other officers, either for carrying into effect the ſaid regulations and ordinances, according to the tenor of the fourth article, or for placing the territories required under the excluſive authority and controul of the Engliſh company, Bahauder. And in caſe his highneſs ſhall not iſſue ſuch orders

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ders within ten days from the time when the application shall have been formally made to him, then the said governor-general in council shall be at liberty to issue orders, by his own authority, either for carrying into effect the said regulations or ordinances, or for assuming the management and collection of the revenues of the said territories, as he shall judge most expedient, for the purpose of securing the efficiency of the said military funds, and of providing for the effectual protection of the country, and the welfare of the people. Provided always, that whenever and so long as any part or parts of his said highness's territories shall be placed, and shall remain under the exclusive authority and controul of the said East India company, the governor-general in council shall render to his highness a true and faithful account of the revenues and produce of the territories so assumed. Provided also, that in no case whatever shall his highness's actual receipt of annual income, arising out of his territorial revenue, be less than the sum of one lack of star pagodas, together with one-fifth part of the net revenues of the whole of the territories ceded to him by the fifth article of the treaty of Mysore; which sum of one lack of star pagodas, together with the amount of one-fifth of the said net revenues, the East India company engages, at all times, and in every possible case, to secure, and cause to be paid for his highness's use.

6. His highness Maha Rajah Myfoor Kistna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, engages, that he will be guided by a sincere and cordial attention to the relations of peace and amity now established between the English company, Bahauder, and their allies; and that he will carefully abstain from any interference in the affairs of any State in alliance with the said English company, Bahauder, or of any State whatever. And for securing the object of this stipulation, it is farther stipulated and agreed, that no communication or correspondence, with any foreign State whatever, shall be holden by his said highness, without the previous knowledge and sanction of the said English company, Bahauder.

7. His highness stipulates and agrees, that he will not admit any European foreigners into his service, without the concurrence of the English company, Bahauder; and that he will apprehend and deliver to the company's government, all Europeans, of whatever description, who shall be found within the territories of his said highness, without regular passports from the English government; it being his highness's determined resolution, not to suffer, even for a day, any European foreigners to remain within the territories now subjected to his authority, unless by consent of the said company.

8. Whereas the complete protection of his highness's said territories requires that various fortresses and strong places, situated within the territories of his highness, should be garrisoned and commanded, as well in time of peace as of war, by British troops and officers, his highness Maha Rajah Myfoor Kistna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, engages, that the said English company, Bahauder, shall at all times be at liberty to garrison, in whatever manner they may judge proper, such fortresses and strong places, within his said highness's territories, as it shall appear to them advisable to take charge of.

9. And whereas, in consequence of the system of defence which it may be expedient to adopt for the

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ſecurity of the territorial poſſeſſions of his highneſs Maha Rajah Myſoor Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, it may be neceſſary that certain forts and ſtrong places, within his highneſs's territories, ſhould be diſmantled or deſtroyed, and that other forts and ſtrong places ſhould be ſtrengthened and repaired, it is ſtipulated and agreed, that the Engliſh Eaſt India company ſhall be the ſole judges of the neceſſity of any ſuch alterations in the fortreſſes. And it is farther agreed, that ſuch expenſes as may be incurred on this account, ſhall be borne and defrayed, in equal proportion, by the contracting parties.

10. In caſe it ſhall become neceſſary, for enforcing and maintaining the authority and government of his highneſs in the territories now ſubjected to his power, that the regular troops of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, ſhould be employed, it is ſtipulated and agreed, that upon formal application being made for the ſervice of the ſaid troops, they ſhall be employed in ſuch manner as to the ſaid company ſhall ſeem fit: but it is expreſsly underſtood by the contracting parties, that this ſtipulation ſhall not ſubject the troops of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, Bahauder, to be employed in the ordinary tranſactions of revenue.

11. It being expedient, for the reſtoration and permanent eſtabliſhment of tranquillity in the territories now ſubjected to the authority of his highneſs Maha Rajah Myſoor Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, that ſuitable proviſion ſhould be made for certain officers of rank in the ſervice of the late Tippoo Sultaun, his ſaid highneſs agrees to enter into the immediate diſcuſſion of this point, and to fix the amount of the funds (as ſoon as the neceſſary information can be obtained) to be granted for this purpoſe, in a ſeparate article, to be hereafter added to this treaty.

12. Leſt the garriſon of Seringapatam ſhould, at any time, be ſubject to inconvenience from the high price of proviſions and other neceſſaries, his highneſs Maha Rajah Myſoor Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, agrees, that ſuch quantities of proviſions, and other neceſſaries, as may be required for the uſe and conſumption of the troops compoſing the ſaid garriſon, ſhall be allowed to enter the place, from all and every part of his dominions, free of any duty, tax, or impediment whatever.

13. The contracting parties hereby agree to take into their early conſideration, the beſt means of eſtabliſhing ſuch a commercial intercourſe between their reſpective dominions as ſhall be mutually beneficial to the ſubjects of both governments, and to conclude a commercial treaty, for this purpoſe, with as little delay as poſſible.

14. His highneſs Maha Rajah Myſoor Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, hereby promiſes to pay, at all times, the utmoſt attention to ſuch advice as the Engliſh government ſhall occaſionally judge it neceſſary to offer to him, with a view to the economy of his finances, the better collection of his revenues, the adminiſtration of juſtice, the extenſion of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture and induſtry, or any other objects connected with the advancement of his highneſs's intereſts, the happineſs of his people, and the mutual welfare of both States.

15. Whereas it may hereafter appear, that ſome of the diſtricts declared by the treaty of Myſore to belong, reſpectively, to the Engliſh company, Bahauder, and to his highneſs, are inconveniently ſituated, with

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with a view to the proper connection of their reſpective lines of frontier, it is hereby ſtipulated between the contracting parties, that in all ſuch caſes they will proceed to ſuch an adjuſtment, by means of an exchange or otherwiſe, as ſhall be beſt ſuited to the occaſion.

16. This treaty, conſiſting of ſixteen articles, being this day, the 8th of July, anno Domini 1799, correſponding to the 3d of Suffer, anno Hejiræ 1214, and to the 7th of the month Haſſar, of the 1721 year of the Salwant æra, ſettled and concluded at the fort of Nuzzerbah, near Seringapatam, by his excellency Lieutenant-general G. Harris, commander in chief of the forces of his Britannic Majeſty and of the Honourable Engliſh Eaſt India company in the Carnatic and on the coaſt of Malabar, the honourable Colonel Arthur Welleſley, the honourable Henry Welleſley, Lieutenant-colonel William Kirkpatrick, and Lieutenant-colonel Barry Cloſe, with the Maha Rajah Myſoor Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, the aforeſaid gentlemen have delivered to the ſaid Maha Rajah one copy of the ſame in Engliſh and Perſian, ſealed and ſigned by them, and his highneſs the Maha Rajah has delivered to the gentlemen aforeſaid another copy, alſo in Perſian and in Engliſh, bearing his ſeal, and ſigned by Letchima, widow of the late Kiſtna Rajah, and ſealed and ſigned by Porneah, dewan to the Maha Rajah Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver.

And the aforeſaid gentlemen have engaged to procure and deliver to the ſaid Maha Rajah, without delay, a copy of the ſame, under the ſeal and ſignature of the right honourable the governor-general; on the receipt of which by the ſaid Maha Rajah, the preſent treaty ſhall be deemed complete and binding on the honourable the Engliſh Eaſt India company, and on the Maha Rajah Myſoor Kiſtna Rajah Oodiaver, Bahauder, and the copy of it now delivered to the ſaid Maha Rajah ſhall be returned.

MEMORIAL, *explanatory of the Subſidiary Treaty of Seringapatam.*

Article 1.—Requires no explanation.

2. The amount of the ſubſidy was fixed after full communication with Purneah. It may, perhaps, be neceſſary to indulge the Rajah with the payment of a leſs ſum for the firſt year of the new government; but no doubt exiſts that, after that period, the full ſubſidy may be realized, without any inconvenience to the Rajah's affairs, or any preſſure upon the country. It was thought more adviſeable to undertake the defence of the country without any ſpecification of the force to be employed, than to bind the company to maintain a ſpecified number of troops in Myſore.

3. The principle eſtabliſhed in this article, connected with the fourth and fifth articles, will enable the company to command the whole reſources of Myſore, in the event of actual or approaching war.

4, and 5. Theſe articles ſecure to the company the power, not only of aſſuming the management of the Rajah's revenues, either in time of peace or war, whenever ſuch a meaſure may appear neceſſary, but alſo of introducing any improvements into any or each of the Rajah's adminiſtration, which the governor general in council may deem adviſeable; it may therefore be hoped, that it will not be neceſſary to reſort to the extreme meaſure of aſſuming the Rajah's country. The powers, both of regulation and aſ-

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ſumption, are ſecured in the moſt unqualified manner, for the purpoſe of avoiding the embarraſſments which have occaſioned ſo much inconvenience in Oude, Tanjore, and the Carnatic. The ſum of one lack of ſtar pagodas, in addition to one-fifth of the net revenue, is reſerved for the Rajah, leſt, in time of war, ſuch a defalcation of revenue ſhould take place, as ſhould reduce his income from the amount of his neceſſary expences. It is not intended that the Rajah, in time of peace, ſhould ever be required to pay to the company a larger ſum than the amount of the ſubſidy; namely, ſeven lacks of ſtar pagodas; excepting only in the caſe of preparation for hoſtilities.

6 to 10—Require no explanation.

11. It is intended by this article, to reſerve the right of charging the the Rajah with the proviſion to be made for the principal ſirdars and kelledars in the ſervice of the late Tippoo Sultaun. The meaſures which have already been taken, with a view to the execution of this article, will appear in the letter from the commiſſioners in the Myſore, under date 12th June. The total amount of the annual charge already incurred on this head is 23,000 ſtar pagodas. Some addition muſt certainly be made to this ſum; but it is not probable that they will increaſe the annual charge beyond the amount of 40,000 pagodas *. This ſum cannot be deemed a conſiderable ſacrifice to the important object of conciliating the good will of the principal ſurviving officers of the late Sultaun. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that the whole of this ſum is not to be ſtated as a permanent charge, ſeveral of the penſions having been granted conditionally, during the good behaviour of the penſioner, or until he ſhall be employed by the company or its allies. The proviſions which have been made for the families of thoſe who have fallen during the campaign, are included in this calculation, and amount to a ſum which bears no proportion to the credit which has reſulted to the character of the company from this tranſaction.

12—Requires no explanation.

13. The ſubject of this article has already occupied the attention of the commiſſioners; ſome time, however, will neceſſarily be required, before a plan can be thoroughly digeſted for this important ſubject.

14 and 15—Require no explanation.

Copy of a Letter from Capt. Macleod to the Hon. Mr. Welleſley, with a Liſt of the Rajahs of Myſore, from A. D. 1610 to 1799.

Capt. Macleod has the honour to forward a liſt of the Rajahs of Myſore, with a few remarks regarding their deſcent, &c. reſpectively. He is ſenſible that it is incomplete with reſpect to detailed information, and only offers it in this ſtate with a deſire of evincing his zeal to endeavour to contribute towards obtaining whatever may be the wiſh of the right hon. the governor-general.

LIST *of the* RAJAHS *of* MYSORE, *from* A. D. 1610 *to* 1799.

In A. D. 1610, *Raige Wurreer* was a petty poligar of Myſore, on which there depended, inclusive of Myſore, thirty-two mouſas, or principal villages. At this time Myſore was dependent on the Rajah of Chickraipatam. This was the capi-

* Tippoo's allowances to his officers, civil and military, were framed on the moſt parſimonious ſcale, although the number of his ſubordinate officers of revenue was extravagant.

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tah of a ſmall Hindû ſubahſhip, to which Myſore was tributary. This town was ſituated near the ground lately occupied by General Stuart's army. The iſland of Seringapatam belonged to Chickraipatam, not to Myſore, or emperor of Amigoody. Shri-Ringa-Rail was, at this period, ſubahdar of Chickraipatam, who had no iſſue. Raige Worrear of Myſore, having the character of being a man of abilities, was nominated to be the ſucceſſor to the ſubahdarry of Chickraipatam, by a decree of the reigning Rajah of Amigoody. Previous to the ſucceſſion to this subahdarry on the death of Shri-Ringa-Rail, in 1610, the Myſore family did not aſſume the ceremony of ſitting on a throne; for which reaſon this period is conſidered to be the foundation of the kingdom of Myſore. Raige Worrear was ſucceeded by his grandſon, *Churn Raige*, in 1618, who firſt built a ſmall fort on the iſland, the eaſt face of which, it is ſaid, interſected the preſent fort in a line with Tippoo's palace. He made ſome additions to the pagoda of Shri Ringa Samy, and added ſome villages to his country. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, *Immerie Raige*, in 1638, who died without iſſue; and was ſucceeded by *Ram Canterwa Narſa Raige*, the ſame year, a male relation, choſen, according to the uſage of the family, from among ſeveral boys. He improved the fort of Seringapatam, built the pagoda of Narſuma Samy, conſtructed the Tank Narſum Boody near Nunjencode, coined the gold fanams called after him "Canteria fanams," and made ſeveral conqueſts, *viz.* to the north, as far as Mudduguriy; to the ſouth, as far as Chuckerghury; to the eaſt, as far as Bagloor and Aſſoor; to the weſt, as far as Haſſen and Beloor. He was celebrated for his perſonal courage and ſtrength, and is ſaid to have engaged and defeated the Rajah of Tritchinopoly in a ſingle combat, in conſequence of a challenge the latter had ſent to his gate, inviting any perſon to engage him. Canterwa, hearing of this challenge, went incog. to Tritchinopoly, to engage his rival. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, *Doda Dewa Raige*, in 1660, who was ſucceeded by his ſon, *Chick Dewa Raige*, in 1674. He extended his dominions to the ſouthward, as far as Caroor; to the weſtward, as far as Waſtara. In one day he took nine forts; on which account he got the name of *Nou Cotteh Narna**. The king of Delhi, having heard of his fame, ſent him a title, *Rajah Jugga Deoo*. He made ſeveral revenue regulations, and other arrangements, which had afterwards been looked upon as models for conducting every department of the ſtate of Myſore. He conſtructed the two great watercourſes in the vicinity of Seringapatam, and the Myſore bridge. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, *Canterwa Narſa Raige*, in 1705. This prince was dumb. His country was managed by two brothers, *Trimulainger* and *Shinga Peremaloo*. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, *Doda Kiſtna Raige*, in 1716. He added Magerie to his dominions, and had the character of being a good prince. He had no iſſue. *Chiaun Raige* was elected, in 1733, according to the cuſtom of the government. During his reign, the government was directed by Dewa-Rajahiah, who confined his maſter, Chiaum Raige, on the top of Cabbal Droog, where he died, in conſequence of drinking the water of a poiſonous reſervoir.

Chick Kiſna Raige ſucceeded, in 1736,

* The Nine Fortreſs-Narna, alſo interpreted the *Nine Crore Narna*, as an alluſion to his wealth.

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1736, by being elected, according to cuſtom, after the death of Sham Raige. Dewa Raige was ſtill *dil-wai*, or prime miniſter; and his brother, Nunda Raige, was *ſur-wadikar*, or commander in chief. Kiſna Raige was only three years old when he was nominated Rajah: The management of the country was entirely in the hands of Dewa Raige and Nunda Raige. The former was reckoned to be a man of better judgment than the latter, who appeared, from his actions, to have been led rather by his paſſions than by maxims of prudence. During this reign, Davanhully and Dindigul were added to the Myſore government, excluſive of the conqueſts made by Hyder, who uſurped the government in the year 1759, by beſieging Nunda Raige in the fort of Myſore. From this period the Rajah became a ſtate priſoner. He died in 1766, aged about thirty-three. Hyder, who was then at Coimbatoor, ordered Kiſna Raige's ſon, *Nunda Raige*, to be placed on the throne, in 1766, with the uſual ceremonies. Nunda Raige having died a natural death, his youngeſt brother, *Chiaum Raige*, was, by Hyder's order, put upon the throne in 1771. Chiaum Raige died without iſſue, at the age of fourteen. Hyder ordered eight or ten boys, lineally related to the Rajah's family, to be brought, according to uſage, from the villages adjacent to Myſore, to Seringapatam, for the purpoſe of electing one of them to be Rajah. Hyder, on the boys being brought to his palace, called for ſome fruit to be diſtributed among them; and, watching attentively the conduct of the boys after receiving the fruit, he obſerved that one of them gave the fruit to his (the child's) father, while all the others either began to eat their ſhares on the ſpot, or tied them up in their clothes. Hyder remarked, that the boy who gave his portion of the fruit to his father was the moſt promiſing; and he immediately appointed him (Chiaum Raige, in 1777, then four years of age) to the throne. This prince lived till the year 1796, when he died of the ſmall-pox; upon his death, Tippoo did not nominate or acknowledge a ſucceſſor.

Kiſna Raige, who was placed on the throne in June 1799, was the only child of Chiaum Raige the fourth, who was married to ſeven wives, of whom five are ſtill alive. The mother of the preſent Kiſna Raige died in about a fortnight after his birth. One of the wives of Chick Kiſna Raige is ſtill alive, aged 58; alſo the paternal grandmother of the preſent Rajah, and his maternal grandfather.

(Signed) W. MACLEOD.

Seringapatam, 13th July 1799.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council, to the Court of Directors.

Fort St. George, 4th Auguſt 1799.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

1. It has appeared to the Governor-general in council to be proper that his lordſhip's proceedings and reſolutions for the diſtribution of the treaſure and jewels captured in Seringapatam, ſhould form the ſubject of a ſeparate diſpatch to your honourable court.

2. The poſſeſſion of Tippoo Sultaun's whole treaſure, even on the fall of Seringapatam, was an event which the governor-general in council could not reaſonably have anticipated; and it was a caſe, therefore, for which no rule could be provided, until the obſtinacy of Tippoo Sultaun, and the rapid progreſs of the ſiege, had actually produced the event.

3. Under

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3. Under these circumstances, and the uncertainty of the amount of the Sultaun's treasure, which common rumour had extremely exaggerated, the disposal of it became a question of considerable delicacy and importance.

4. The right of the crown to the whole of the captured property appeared to be founded on the best interpretations of the law of nations; while the capture having been effected by the joint operation of his majesty's and of the honourable company's forces, his majesty's royal patent, bearing date 14th January 1758, and expressly reserving for his royal prerogative the disposal of all property captured in such operations, seemed to apply with full force to the case.

5. The orders, also, of your honourable court, dated 8th March 1758, direct, that in all hostilities or expeditions in which any of his majesty's forces shall be appointed and commanded to act in conjunction with those of the company, such plunder or booty as may be taken, or the produce thereof, shall be kept entire, and reported to your honourable court, in order that the necessary application may be made to his majesty for a division thereof, in such manner and proportion as the king shall think fit.

6. On the other hand, it remained for us to weigh the prevailing opinion, in favour of the right of captors to all property found in places taken by assault, the invariable practice of his majesty in cases of a similar nature, and the unquestionable claims of this gallant army to every reasonable indulgence.

7. The difficulty of this question (if indeed the doubt had ever been entertained in the minds of the army) would have been solved by the decision and authority of the Marquis Cornwallis; for, during the course of the former war in Mysore, his lordship declared, in general orders, "That he considered all property in places taken by assault, or deserted, to belong to the captors."

8. This order, as well as the uniform practice sanctioned by the same great authority during the whole of the former war, being recent in the memory of the whole army, was considered as an unquestionable confirmation of their right to the property taken in Seringapatam; and although the law of nations, applicable to the case, justified the governor-general in council in dissenting from the authority of the Marquis Cornwallis, yet a decision, founded on abstract grounds of public law, might have appeared rigorous and illiberal, when opposed to the prevailing opinions respecting the right of captors, confirmed by so formal and justly-revered a sanction.

9. Under these circumstances the difficulty appeared to resolve itself into a question of expediency, arising from considerations of the amount of the treasure captured in Seringapatam; and in this view of the subject, the governor-general in council deemed it advisable to permit the captors to proceed to a distribution of the prize, to such an extent as should not incur the hazard of producing any relaxation in the discipline of the army.

10. The report transmitted to his lordship by the commander in chief on this subject, states the amount of specie at about sixteen lacks of pagodas, and the amount of jewels at about nine lacks more.

11. Although this sum is very considerable, yet, comparing it with the donations which have been granted to the army by the Marquis Cornwallis, and by your honourable court, in the year 1792, the governor-general in council did not judge

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judge the difference to be disproportioned to the actual case, under all the circumstances of the assault.

12. With an anxious desire to pay the most respectful obedience to your orders of the 8th of March 1758, as well as to pursue the spirit of his majesty's letters patent, by which the prerogative-royal to distribute all plunder and booty is reserved, in all cases in which his majesty's troops may have been employed; the governor-general in council was also sensible of the utter inexpediency of disappointing the sanguine expectations of the whole army, founded on such rational grounds as the uniform practice of the late war, and the public orders of the Marquis Cornwallis.

13. Being accordingly satisfied that the amount of treasure and jewels, stated to his lordship, was not so great as to produce any dangerous irregularity among the troops, and being urged by the commander in chief, for the reasons stated in his excellency's letter of the 23d May, to an early distribution of such part of the prize property as might be granted to the army, the governor-general in council entertained no doubt that the gracious bounty of his majesty, and the liberality of your honourable court, would be proportioned to the effort which had produced so large an addition to the revenues and resources of the company, and established the security of your possessions in the peninsula of India on such solid and permanent foundations.

14. His lordship, therefore, charged himself with the responsibility of anticipating the royal sanction and your determination, and accordingly authorised the commander in chief to make an immediate distribution of the treasure and jewels to the troops of the allies, in such proportions as might be conformable to the usage of the British service in cases of a similar nature; and his lordship in council took this opportunity of expressing his satisfaction, that the final success of this brilliant campaign had enabled him to afford a substantial proof of the public gratitude towards the army, by bestowing a reward proportioned to the magnitude and importance of their services, and earned, not more by their labour, courage, and perseverance, than by their exact discipline, uniform regularity, and exemplary subordination.

15. In your letter, dated 8th March 1758, you are pleased to direct, that, "in land operations, all cannon, ammunition, and military stores of all kinds, are not to come into the division, but are to belong entirely to the company."

16. On a full consideration of this injunction, the governor-general in council thought it advisable to reserve the whole of the ordnance, ammunition, and military stores (including grain), for the ultimate decision of his majesty, on such application as shall be made to him by your honourable court.

17. For this purpose, his lordship in council directed, that a proper board of officers should be selected and appointed by the commander in chief, to value and take an exact inventory of all that part of the captured property which is included under the denomination of ordnance, ammunition, and military stores.

18. The governor-general in council is concerned, that the irregularity and confusion which was found to prevail in the arsenal of Tippoo Sultaun, together with the extent and variety of his military equipments, render it impossible to transmit, by the present dispatch, a correct

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a correct eſtimate of the value of the ſtores, &c. reſerved under this order; but his lordſhip truſts, that the liſts which are now forwarded will enable your honourable court to lay ſufficient information before his majeſty, and to obtain his royal ſanction for the diſpoſal of the ordnance, ammunition, and military ſtores.

19. His lordſhip in council directed, that the proportion of prize-money to be allotted to the contingent of his highneſs the Nizam, ſhould be determined by the number of his highneſs's regular troops actually employed in the field with the army before Seringapatam at the time of the capture of that place.

20. This principle has accordingly been applied to the infantry, of which regular returns had been made to the adjutant general of the army; but the irregular eſtabliſhment of his highneſs's cavalry having rendered this mode of calculation impracticable, with regard to them, a compromiſe was effected between the commander in chief and Meer Allum, Bahauder, for one lack of pagodas, in lieu of all farther demands, on account of the Nizam's cavalry.

21. Having judged it probable that Meer Allum might not be inclined to diſpenſe with the right of his ſovereign over that part of the captured property which was allotted to his highneſs, the governor-general in council directed the commander in chief to conſult Meer Allum on this point, and to give orders for the appropriation of the Nizam's ſhare, in ſuch manner as ſhall be moſt agreeable to him.

22. It is ſcarcely neceſſary to obſerve to your honourable court, that whatever determination may be taken with reſpect to the appropriation of the ordinance and military ſtores captured in Seringapatam, it will be proper to conſider the title of his highneſs the Nizam to ſhare in this part of the prize. Perhaps his highneſs's proportion of this part of the prize cannot be determined by a more equitable ſtandard than that aſſumed in the firſt dividend to the army. Conformably to this rule, his highneſs would be entitled to about one-fourth part of the ordnance and military ſtores, to be applied to his highneſs's own uſe, or divided among his troops, according to the pleaſure of his highneſs.

23. With a view to render the diſtribution of prize-money an available reſource for the immediate ſupply of ſpecie to the army, and to afford individuals in camp the means of diſpoſing of their reſpective proportions with ſecurity, the governor general in council authorized the commander in chief to open a loan for bonds of this government, bearing intereſt at 8 per cent. per annum; and we are happy to add, that a material ſupply of money has, by this means, been obtained for the uſe of the army, which has relieved us from the neceſſity of ſending ſpecie for that purpoſe from the preſidency, and which will ultimately, we truſt, have a conſiderable effect in reducing the rate of intereſt on your paper.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MORNINGTON,
CLIVE,
W. PETRIE,
E. W. FALLOFIELD.

Extract from General Orders by Lord Cornwallis, Aug. 11, 1799.

G. O. The commander in chief is alſo pleaſed to declare, that he conſiders all property, in places taken by aſſault or deſerted, to belong to the captors; and, in conſequence of the recommendation of the committee, is pleaſed to order, that when perſons ſhall apply to the officer commanding at ſuch places,

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for leave to dig up treasure, jewels, or other valuable effects, it shall be granted, under the express condition of one-half being retained as salvage, and delivered to the prize agents, on account of the army; and they, or the persons acting for them, are to be informed, whenever such applications are made, that they may be present when the treasure or effects are dug up. Persons not claiming as proprietors, but giving information of secret property, are to be allowed one-fourth of the treasure, or value of the effects, discovered in consequence of this information. This order to be sent to the places taken from the enemy, and made public by beat of tom-tom, in the Bazars and Pettahs, and in camp.

(A true copy.)

(Signed) P. A. AGNEW, *Mil. Sec.*

Copy of a Letter from the Commander in Chief to the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council.

Seringapatam, May 23, 1799.

MY LORD,

Inclosed I have the honour to transmit to your lordship, as correct an inventory of ordnance and military stores captured at Seringapatam, as it has been possible to prepare. A board of officers will be ordered immediately to arrange and value the whole with the utmost precision.

A large quantity of grain has been found in the place, chiefly paddy, some of which is of great age. At this season it is not possible to measure it, without risk of damage to the whole, by removing it out of the granaries in which it is placed.

The officers I had named to make inventories of property captured, have not yet completed this duty, and have informed me, that a considerable time will be requisite to enable them to do so: they have, however, ascertained the amount of the most valuable articles, of which I inclose an abstract statement, formed from the reports which they have made to me.

I am not without hope, that the report I am now enabled to make, may be sufficient for your lordship in council to consider as a ground for such resolution as you may deem proper, in regard to the proportion of prize which should be granted to the army, as a reward for their recent services. The usage of the service on former occasions will lead the troops to expect an exertion of the bounty of government; and it is particularly desirable, that whatever amount of property your lordship in council may be pleased to allot to the army, should be granted, before the separation of the troops to various quarters renders the arrangement of its distribution difficult.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEO. HARRIS.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, to the Commander in Chief.

Fort St. George, July 2, 1799.

SIR,

The right honourable the governor-general in council having considered your report upon the ordnance, ammunition, military stores, treasure, and jewels, taken in the fort of Seringapatam, directs me to acquaint you, that his lordship in council has resolved to order an immediate distribution of the treasure and jewels which have fallen into your hands.

At the same time that the governor-general in council communicates this resolution to you, his lordship thinks it expedient to impress upon your attention, the principles of the law of nations, by which all property conquered from an enemy becomes the property of the State, and by which all idea of positive right in the captors to property in a fort

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taken by assault, is exploded. In conformity to these principles, the king has been pleased to grant to the company, by letters patent, bearing date the 14th January 1758, the right of all booty and plunder which shall be taken by their troops alone, reserving, in express terms, his royal prerogative of distribution, in such manner and proportion as he shall think fit, in all cases in which the royal forces may have co-operated with those of the company.

Although the orders of the Court of directors, prescribing the mode of carrying these letters patent into execution, expressly prohibit their government in India from disposing of the "whole plunder and booty which shall be taken in wars, hostilities, or expeditions, by the company's forces;" and although his majesty, by the letters patent themselves, has reserved to himself, in express terms, his "prerogative royal to distribute the said plunder and booty in such manner and proportion as he shall think fit," in all cases in which his own troops may have been employed; yet, having no doubt that the gracious bounty of his majesty, and the liberality of the court of directors, will be proportioned to the important services of the gallant army under your command, his lordship has no hesitation in charging himself with the responsibility of anticipating the royal sanction, and the determination of the court of directors.

In adopting this decision, his lordship trusts that he will manifest to the army an unequivocal proof of the gratitude which he feels for the continued exertion of their matchless bravery and discipline, by the prompt distribution of a reward which their decisive success has enabled him to bestow.

In their letter of the 8th March 1758, the honourable court of directors have ordered, that "in land "operations, all cannon, ammuni-"tion, and military stores, of all "kinds, are not to come into the "division, but are to belong en-"tirely to the company." Upon a full consideration, therefore, of this positive injunction, as well as of the principles of the law of nations, applied to the right of booty, plunder, and conqueft, and to the expences incurred by the company for the support of the present war, the right honourable the governor-general in council directs me to inform you of his lordship's intention to reserve all ordnance, ammunition, and military stores (including grain), for the ultimate decision of his majesty, on such application as shall be made to him by the honourable the court of directors.

It will accordingly be necessary, that a proper board of officers should be selected and appointed for the purpose of valuing, and of taking an exact inventory of all that part of the captured property which is included under the denomination of ordnance, ammunition, and military stores, of all kinds, for transmission to the honourable court of directors.

In ordering the distribution of the treasure and jewels, the governor-general in council directs you to be guided by the established usages which have been observed in the British service in all cases of a similar nature; and to take upon yourself the decision of all points whatever referable to this distribution, without further communication to his lordship in council.

The proportion of prize-money to be allotted to the contingent of his highness the Nizam, is to be determined by the number of his highness's regular troops actually employed in the field with the army before Seringapatam, at the time of taking that place.

The British subsidiary force, serving with the contingent of his high-

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neſs the Nizam, will of courſe be included in the company's army, and receive its proportion of prize-money, according to the diſtribution made to the reſt of the Britiſh force.

As it is probable that Meer Allum, Bahauder, may not be inclined to diſpenſe with the right of his ſovereign over that part of the captured property which may be allotted to his highneſs the Nizam, the governor-general in council directs you to conſult him upon this point, and to give orders for the appropriation of the Nizam's ſhare, in ſuch manner as ſhall be moſt agreeable to Meer Allum.

I have the honour to incloſe a general order by government, which the governor-general in council directs you to publiſh to the army, in order that the diſtribution of the prize-money may be immediately announced to them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. WEBBE, *Sec. to Gov.*

General Orders by Government.

Fort St. George, 2d June 1799.

The right honourable the governor-general in council, having received from Lieutenant-general Harris a report of the ordnance, ammunition, military ſtores, and treaſure, taken by the allied army in the fort of Seringapatam, has much pleaſure in anticipating the ſanction of his majeſty, and of the court of directors, for the diſtribution of prize-money on this memorable occaſion.

His lordſhip, accordingly, authorizes and directs the commander in chief to make an immediate diſtribution of the treaſure and jewels to the troops of the allies, in ſuch proportions as may be conformable to the uſage of the Britiſh ſervice in caſes of a ſimilar nature.

In reſpect to the ordnance, ammunition and military ſtores, his lordſhip directs that they be reſerved entire, until the pleaſure of his majeſty, and the orders of the honourable the court of directors, ſhall be received.

The right honourable the governor-general in council feels particular ſatisfaction, that the happy circumſtances accompanying the glorious and final ſucceſs of this brilliant campaign, enable his lordſhip to afford a ſubſtantial proof of the public gratitude towards the army, by beſtowing a reward proportioned to the magnitude and importance of their ſervices, and earned, not more by their labour, courage, and perſeverance, than by their exact diſcipline, regularity, and exemplary ſubordination.

By order of the right hon. the governor-general in council.

(Signed) J. WEBBE, *Sec.*

Abſtract General Return of Ordnance found in the Fort and Iſland of Seringapatam, 20th May* 1799.

Braſs Ordnance - - -	444
Ditto unfiniſhed in the Foundry	7
Iron Ordnance - - -	478
Total - - -	929

N. B. One long and four ſhort iron Malabar guns of different calibres, not included.

(Signed)

G. SAXON, *Lt. Col. Artil. Pre.*

* Particular articles of this return we do not think it neceſſary to inſert; becauſe the utility in doing ſo would not compenſate for the ſpace which they would neceſſarily occupy, to the excluſion of more important matter. ED.

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CHARACTERS.

WE have been fortunate enough to procure, for this department of our Work, authentic accounts of ſome of the moſt remarkable Characters, both Aſiatic and European, that have appeared either in the Political or Literary World of India during the preſent century: And, with a view to give our Readers all the entertainment in our power, as well as to make known the merits and ſervices of ſome valuable men, we have introduced ſuch Anecdotes of Living Characters as we knew to be founded in the ſtricteſt veracity.

The account of the late TIPPOO SULTAUN, a name that has made ſo much noiſe in the world, will be found extremely amuſing; and we believe it to be perfectly juſt.

Biographical Anecdotes of the late TIPPOO SULTAUN; *together with an Account of his Revenues, Eſtabliſhment of his Troops, &c.*

[*Taken from the information of one of* TIPPOO'S *Officers, written in the year* 1790, *and Tranſlated from the Perſian by Capt.* J. A. KIRKPATRICK.]

TIPPOO SULTAUN is about 48 years of age: his conſtitution is much impaired; he is ſubject to two diſorders, the frequent return of which obliges him to take medicine daily.

He is from five feet eight to nine inches high; is now rather inclined to fat, although, a few years ſince, he was very thin: his face is round, with large full eyes; and there is much animation and fire in his countenance: he wears whiſkers, but no beard: he is very active, and ſometimes takes long walks.

He has eleven children, of whom only two are in marriage; the elder, a girl of ſeven years; the younger, a boy of four years. The eldeſt of his natural children is a girl of ſeventeen years: the ſecond, a ſon of fifteen years; he is a great favourite, and accompanies his father upon all occaſions; his name is Gholaum Heyder. Another ſon, Abdul Khalick, is ten years old.

His diſpoſition is naturally cruel: his temper is paſſionate and revengeful, and he is prone to be abuſive; and his words are falſe and hypocritical, as ſuit his purpoſes.

His policy, thus far differing widely from his father, has been ruinous to his revenues, as well as hurtful to his government. He profeſſes himſelf naib to one of the *twelve prophets*, who, the Mahommedans believe, are yet to come; and he perſecutes all other caſts, forcing numbers to become Muſſulmen. He is jealous of, and prejudiced againſt, his father's favourites; moſt of whom he has removed from their offices, giving to ſome leſſer appointments. When compared to his father, his underſtanding and judgment are ſuppoſed to be inferior: he is eſteemed as good a ſoldier, but a leſs ſkilful general; and he is wanting in that great reſource, which his father ſo eminently diſplayed in all caſes of danger. His father diſcriminated merit, rewarded it liberally, and puniſhed

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niſhed guilt with the utmoſt rigour of a deſpot: he gives little encouragement or reward; and he puniſhes more from the influence of paſſion and prejudice than from any attention to juſtice. His father was aſſiduous in gaining the attachment of his army: he is rather negligent of it; and being very parſimonious, he is led to impoſe upon his troops whenever opportunities offer: he ſometimes retains their pay for ſeveral months, and has his own bankers to lend his money at an enormous intereſt, which is ſtopped when the pay is iſſued.

On Tippoo's return to Seringapatam, after the concluſion of the war with the Engliſh, he took an inventory of his property of every kind, which, in treaſure and various other articles, on valuation, ſtood at twenty crores of pagodas: in the treaſury, Bahaudry pagodas (four rupees each), five crores: the remaining fifteen crores were in jewels, valuable clothes, &c. &c.; and

Elephants	700
Camels	6000
Horſes	11,000
Bullocks and cows	400,000
Buffaloes	100,000
Sheep	600,000
Firelocks	300,000
Matchlocks	300,000
Swords and creſſes	200,000
Guns in Seringapatam, of different calibres, a few of which are Malabar	1000
Guns in other forts	1000

The treaſure, and other valuable property, is now kept entirely at Seringapatam. Formerly ſome part of it was kept in Biddinore, and it is ſaid, that at the time of General Mathews's taking it, there was a treaſure of twenty-five lacks of pagodas, beſides four crores of pagodas value in gold, ſilver, &c.

The full collections amounted to five crores and ninety-two lacks of Canteary pagodas (of three rupees each); the expence of ſebundy, &c. one and a half crore; deficiencies in the collections, from various cauſes, which lay over, ſixty lacks; for building and repairing forts, making docks, and building ſhips, one crore and eighty-two lacks; paid into the treaſury, two crores. Total, five crores and ninety-two lacks.

Since Tippoo aſſumed the government, the revenues have diminiſhed greatly, in conſequence of his having adopted a different policy from his father. He removed from the hamauldaries, all the Brahmans, and others of the Hindu caſt, who were well verſed in country buſineſs, and put Muſſulmen in their places. He forbade the ſale of arrack and gunja throughout his dominions, which had produced a very conſiderable revenue to the ſircar. He removed, from the Biddinore and Soonda countries, about 70,000 Chriſtian inhabitants, who were the cultivators of the ground, by which the revenues of theſe countries ſuſtained a great loſs. The Biddinore country alone yielded to Hyder a net revenue of eighteen lacks of pagodas: it has ſince fallen to ten lacks. From theſe and other cauſes, ariſing from bad management, Tippoo's revenues have been greatly diminiſhed; inſomuch that his net revenue did not exceed, after the foregoing deductions, the firſt year, one and a half crore, inſtead of two, as in his father's time; and every ſucceeding year only one crore. He has not thrown any money into the ſtanding treaſury ſince his government, and he has drawn from it fifty lacks of pagodas.

Since the concluſion of the late war, he has thrown into Seringapatam, proviſions for 100,000 men for twelve months; and into his other forts, proviſions in proportion to their ſtrength and importance: and as a precaution to prevent treachery,

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treachery, he has appointed, to ſome of his principal forts, ſix killedars; to others, three; to others, two; ſuch as are not intended for defence have only one. Although all theſe are commonly called killedars, yet, properly ſpeaking, there is but one killedar; the others go under the denomination of munſhoor (or counſellors). The firſt is buckſhy, or commander of the ſepoys; the ſecond, buckſhy of the peons; the third, buckſhy of the commatties and artificers; the fourth darogah, in charge of the works; the fifth, darogah, for ſuperintending the making of bricks and chunam.—When Tippoo writes, he addreſſes the killedar and munſhuraun; when they write to him, it is, in like manner, from the killedar and munſhuraun: they have all their reſpective orders from the ſircar; and each is at liberty to deteſt the other, if any thing is done contrary to order.

The Eſtabliſhment of his Forces.

CAVALRY.

His own ſtable, horſe for ſervice	7,000
Hired horſe - -	12,000
Total,	19,000

ARTILLERY.

Golandauze - - -	2,000
Laſcars for the guns - -	8,000
Total,	10,000
European artillery, two companies - - -	30

INFANTRY.

Aſſadoulla, or Chelys, from the Carnatic - - -	2,500
Ditto, from Chittledroog -	500
Ahmuddy, or Chriſtians, from Biddinore - - -	1,500
Mahomedy, or Chelys, from Croerg	1,500
Diſmounted troopers - -	8,000
Sepoys - - - - -	55,000
Total,	69,000
Fighting peons - -	40,000
Rocket-men - -	5,000
Total,	45,000
Commatties - - -	10,000
Peons for carrying dooleys, &c. and working at the roads with the Commatties - -	60,000
Total,	70,000
Two riſſallas of topaſſes, one of them having a company of Europeans attached to it, of 100 ſtrong, - - - -	900

LALLY'S PARTY.

European cavalry, one troop -	50
Ditto infantry, intermixed with country born - -	180
Topaſſes - - -	150
Sepoys - - -	250
Total,	680

With the party, 1 ſix pounder.

Tippoo has made great alterations in the eſtabliſhment of his troops. His father was partial to his cavalry, and kept up a much larger body than he does: he is partial to his infantry, and has made great augmentation to them; 5000 of his own ſtable horſe are formed and trained regularly, and 2000 are as Mogul horſe; and there are not above 3000 of the hired horſe that can be called good cavalry; the reſt are more of the plundering kind. He has adopted Perſian terms for the words of command, which were heretofore given partly in Engliſh and partly in French; he has alſo altered the terms for the formation of the troops. In the cavalry, a troop (95 ſtrong) is called a *yews*; the ſubidar, a *yewſdar*; a jemidar, *ſurkele*: a regiment (four yews) is called a *tub*; the commandant, *tubdar*: a *mowkaub* is compoſed of four tubs: the commander, *mowkaubdar*: the troopers are called *oſkur*. In the infantry, a company (125 ſtrong) is called a *jowk*; the ſubidar, *jowkdar*; a jemidar, *ſurkele*: a battalion of four jowks is called a *riſſalla*; the ſepoys are called *jiſh*. A ſentinel is called *ezuddar*; the rounds, *kirwaun*; the parole, *niſhane*; a guard, *munkulla*:

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each tub has two galloper-guns, three pounders, and each riſſalla has two ſix pounders. A *kouſhoun*, or legion, is compoſed of one tub of cavalry, four riſſallas of infantry, and two eighteen pounders. The gallopers are drawn by mules, and all the draught cattle belong to the ſircar. Each kouſhoun has an elephant attached to it, which is harneſſed like a horſe, to aſſiſt the guns through difficulties. The cavalry and infantry are clothed alike, in a ſtriped blue and white ſtuff, of country manufacture. The artillery have alſo a cotton ſtuff, white ground, with large round blue ſpots.

THE MANNER OF HIS PASSING HIS TIME IN CAMP.

He riſes ſometimes at ſeven o'clock, but more commonly at eight or nine in the morning; on halting days, waſhes and takes medicine; the barber then begins to ſhave him, during which the head aukbar-neoiſe, or news-writer, comes in with the letters that have arrived by the tappauls, and relates the news of the different countries, as he has received it. The officer commanding his guard then comes in, and makes his report; after which the adjutants of corps come, and make a report of their reſpective corps. About twelve o'clock he goes to dinner, which is over in about an hour: he then holds his durbar, and tranſacts all buſineſs, civil and military, until five o'clock: he then gives out the parole, which he takes from the planets, or ſigns of the zodiac, writing it himſelf in a book, which is depoſited with his own guard, where the adjutant-general (for each cutcherry has an adjutant-general) comes and takes it; after which he lays down and ſleeps about an hour, riſes, and makes his ſecond meal: the monſhees, or ſecretaries, are then called in; they read the letters that have been received during the day, and he gives his orders for anſwering them:—all this done, and the letters prepared for diſpatch, about two or three in the morning he goes to reſt. On marching days, where there is no immediate exigency, the army ſeldom moves before eight o'clock, after Tippoo has taken his breakfaſt: he goes in his palankeen, on the march; and if any thing particular occurs, he immediately mounts his horſe. The order of march is varied according to circumſtances: during his late war againſt the Mahrattas, as they were greatly ſuperior to him in cavalry, his infantry marched in four columns, thus, ‖ ‖ with the cavalry and baggage in the centre: he encamps in a ſquare; his infantry and guns occupying the four faces; the cavalry within the ſquare; each face has an open ſtreet in its centre, with a bazar. A kouſhoun forms the picquet of the front face, and is advanced from twelve to fifteen hundred paces; a riſſalla is advanced from it, about five hundred paces: and on the march all theſe picquets form the advance and rear guards, and flanking guards to the columns. The infantry are diſencumbered of their baggage on the march, bullocks being allowed by the ſircar for carrying it.

The army marches, in common, about four coſs Sultany *; in expedition, the whole army marches about ſix or ſeven coſs Sultany; but a body

* The Sultany coſs has been eſtabliſhed by Tippoo; and the principal roads through his dominions have three trees, of particular kinds, planted on one ſide, to mark the coſs. The Carnatic coſs is about two and a half miles; the Canteary, or old Myſore coſs, is about three miles; the Sultany coſs is about four miles.

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a body of horſe only, in order to make a puſh, have gone, in little more than a day and a night, a very conſiderable diſtance. During the late war in the Carnatic, Hyder marched with a body of horſe, from Oombly, near Tritchinopoly, to Chillimbrum, in 27 hours; he moved off at three o'clock in the morning, and at ſeven the next morning he reached Chillimbrum; a diſtance of about twenty-eight coſs, or one hundred and ten miles; the third day his infantry and guns came up. At the commencement of Tippoo's late war againſt the Mahrattas, he lay with his army at Perour, in the Riadurg country: marching at three o'clock in the morning, he arrived, at ſeven o'clock the next morning, at Kirchungood, near to Adoni, and attacked a body of 4000 Mahratta plunderers.

He keeps in his pay 800 hircarrahs, at three pagodas a month each: ſuch as prove themſelves moſt active and clever, are employed for intelligence. Beſides theſe, he ſtations news-writers in ſuch principal places as he thinks neceſſary; and theſe are inſtructed to write in the ſtyle of ſoucars, and the intelligence required is made applicable to the coins, &c. treated of; ſo that if a letter is intercepted, no diſcovery is made: ſhould there be any thing that cannot be ſo introduced, it is given verbally to the bearer of the letter. Tippoo ſeldom rewards with preſents; and when he does, they are very trifling, perhaps not more than five rupees.

☞ Theſe anecdotes place the character of TIPPOO SULTAUN in its true light. His abilities have undoubtedly been over-rated. He was neither ſo wiſe a ſtateſman, nor ſo able a general, as he has been repreſented. Though he poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of prudence, and was not wanting either in promptitude or judgment, yet was he greatly deficient in that comprehenſion and vigour of mind which are eſſential ingredients in the compoſition of all true greatneſs. Selfiſh, cunning, and rapacious, in government as well as in war, he acted upon narrow principles.

His revenue regulations *, which are certainly framed with great ability, and which ſeem well calculated to enrich both the prince and people, were fruſtrated in their operation by his ſhifting and ſhallow policy. As a warrior, he was brave, cautious, and intrepid: but his courage was tinctured with ferocity; and his firmneſs proceeded from obſtinacy, rather than from a juſt confidence in his own powers; and he never diſplayed any depth or foreſight, or ſpirit of enterprize. As a politician, he ſhewed little diſcernment, and leſs ſagacity: though his underſtanding was full of artifice, he ſeldom employed it ſucceſsfully; and the ſchemes which he laid to overreach his enemies, generally proved abortive. Cruel in his diſpoſition, and impetuous in his temper, he was often guilty of enormous acts of tyranny; though, for the moſt part, his prudence taught him to rule over his own ſubjects with a degree of juſtice, that rendered them leſs oppreſſed than thoſe of any other Mahommedan prince in India. Tippoo was ambitious to ſurpaſs his father in every thing; and he had the vanity to imagine that he was infinitely ſuperior to that extraordinary man. But in

* See the Myſorean Revenue Regulations, tranſlated by BURKISH CRISP, Eſq. from the Perſian original under the ſeal of Tippoo Sultaun, in the poſſeſſion of Col. John Murray.—See alſo a Diſſertation on the Revenues of Myſore, at once luminous and conciſe, in an Hiſtorical and Political View of the Deccan, by James Grant, Eſq. printed for J. Debrett, 1797.

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truth he ſurpaſſed him in nothing but the low arts of private treachery and public intrigue.—Hyder was not only endowed with great genius, but with many exalted virtues: he was a conſummate ſtateſman, an enterpriſing warrior, a generous conqueror, a faithful ally, a ſtrict obſerver of the laws of war, a benevolent ſovereign, a Mahommedan free from ſuperſtition, a ſteady friend, and an indulgent parent. Tippoo's talents were not much above mediocrity; the qualities of his heart were greatly below it: in ſtate affairs, he was narrow-minded and prejudiced: in the conduct of his army, he never ſhewed any maſterly generalſhip; the few victories which he gained were ſullied with the moſt atrocious cruelties: in his alliances, he was faithful, out of hatred to his enemies, not from any principle of honour or integrity: in war, he diſregarded almoſt all the rules that are obſerved by civilized nations: in the adminiſtration of his government, he was lenient only becauſe it ſuited his own intereſt: in his religion, he was a fierce and gloomy bigot; he was unſuſceptible of friendſhip, and deſtitute of parental tenderneſs.—Hyder, without the benefits of education, roſe himſelf, by the dint of his own abilities, from a private ſtation, to the throne of a powerful kingdom. Tippoo, though inſtructed from his earlieſt youth in the art of politics, and left by his father at the head of the beſt diſciplined army that any Indian prince had ever commanded, loſt that kingdom to his poſterity, and ſacrificed his army by the groſſeſt miſmanagement. Hyder had the addreſs to render the aſſiſtance of the French ſubſervient to his own purpoſes. Tippoo allowed himſelf to be duped by their intrigues, and to be made the mere inſtrument of their ambitious projects.

Nor did Tippoo differ leſs from his father in private than in public life. The father poſſeſſed the utmoſt frankneſs of manners, enlivened with humour and cheerfulneſs: the ſon was proud, diſtant, ſullen, and auſtere. The father deſpiſed the pageantry of eaſtern courts: the ſon maintained the pomp and haughtineſs of the moſt voluptuous deſpotiſm. The father was liberal and ſincere: the ſon was parſimonious and treacherous. In fine, Hyder poſſeſſed all thoſe qualities which ſeem requiſite for the ſplendid actions he performed, and who, if he had been an European inſtead of an Aſiatic Prince, would have been conſidered as one of the firſt politicians, as well as one of the greateſt heroes, of any age or nation; whereas Tippoo can only be ranked among the deſpots of India, as a crafty but impolitic prince, whoſe paſſions domineered over his judgment, who was ever ready to gratify his revenge at the expence of his intereſt, and who fell a ſacrifice to his own hypocriſy.——*ED.*

LIFE *of* BEHAUDER SHAH: *Literally tranſlated (phraſeology excepted) from the Perſian of* GHOLAUM HOSEYN KHAN.

[From GLADWIN's ASIATIC MISCELLANY, publiſhed at Calcutta.]

INTRODUCTION.

THE tranſlator has choſen the period of Behauder Shah's reign, from two motives. Firſt, becauſe the hiſtory, whence it has been extracted, began with it; and, ſecondly, becauſe the excellent memoir of Eradut Khan, lately tranſlated by Captain Jonathan Scott, treating of the ſame events, the two hiſtorians may, by a compariſon, reciprocally eſtabliſh the authenticity of their works. They will be found to corroborate each other in every relation;

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relation; the few differences noted, ſerving rather to confirm than otherwiſe, by manifeſting that they have not drawn their information from the ſame ſource.

The author of the hiſtory, from an extract of which the following tranſlation has been made, is now living in the province of Bahar. His father, Hiddayut Ally Khan, held the government of Bahar in the ſoubahſhip of Mohabut Jung, as the naib, or deputy of his nephew and ſon-in-law, Hybut Jung; and was afterwards ſouzdar, or military governor, of Sunput and Panniput, in the reign of Mahommed Shah. On the flight of the preſent king from Delhi, to avoid the perſecution of Ghazy-ud-deen Khan, he accompanied him as his meer buckſhy, or chief paymaſter; having obtained for his eldeſt ſon, Gholaum Hoſeyn, the poſt of meer moonſhee, or principal ſecretary; and for his ſecond ſon, Fekher-ud-Dowlah, that of dewan-e-tun, or overſeer of the houſehold. The neceſſities of the prince at length compelled him to relinquiſh his ſtation, and he retired to his jaghire eſtate in Bahar, where he died ſoon after the extirpation of Coſſim Ally Khan.

His ſon, Gholaum Hoſeyn Khan, afterwards acted as repreſentative of Coſſim Ally Khan in Calcutta, till his ſuſpected attachment to the Engliſh occaſioned his removal. He has ſince been engaged in various ſervices under our government, and experienced many marks of favour from General Goddard, whom he attended on ſeveral enterpriſes. The book compoſed by him is intitled "Seer Mutaquerin; or Manners of the Moderns," containing a ſuccinct hiſtory of Hinduſtan, from the year 1118 to the year 1795 of the Hejirah, or from the year 1707 to 1780, A. D. In a ſhort preface he ſays, "No one apparently having ſtood forth to write an account of the nobles of Hind ſince the death of Aurengzebe, I will briefly record what I know on the ſubject, or have heard from reſponſible eſteemed narrators, to the end that, if hereafter any intelligent hiſtorian ſhall be inclined to write the events of former times, the thread of ſucceſſive occurrences may not be entirely broken. Relying, therefore, on the divine aid, I proceed to the execution of my taſk, and will put down, in clear language, free from abſtruſeneſs, whatſoever I have heard related by perſons eſteemed worthy of credit. If any miſtakes occur, my apology is evident. Thoſe who have furniſhed the information muſt be anſwerable *."

It is poſſible that the public may hereafter receive a complete tranſlation of this work, from a perſon well verſed in the original language, now in India; in which caſe, the literary world will be gratified with a very excellent modern hiſtory of Hinduſtân, and remarks on the Engliſh government in particular, which are moſt remarkable, as proceeding from a native of this country.

REIGN OF BEHAUDER SHAH.

THE king, Aalumger, (alſo called Aurengzebe,) was intent on the reduction and arrangement of the provinces of Deccan, and not having accompliſhed this object to his ſatisfaction, had not yet returned to Delhi, the firſt of cities, and ſeat of his royal anceſtors, when in the year of the Hejirah 1118 †, in the 52d year of his reign, and

* This work has been tranſlated by MUSTAPHA, and printed at Calcutta, a few years ago. ED.

† A. D. 1707.

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91ſt of his life, he was very ſeverely attacked by illneſs and bodily infirmities, at Amednagur, to a degree that left no hopes of his recovery. Conſcious of this, to prevent a conteſt between his ſons after his departure, he appointed Kambukhſh, the younger, whom he loved affectionately, to the government of Bijapoor, and diſmiſſed him with every honour of royalty, under injunctions to make long marches, and loſe no time on the way. At the ſame time he deputed his ſecond ſurviving ſon, Aazum Shah, to the government of Malwa, but inſtructed him to move ſlowly, marching on one day only out of three, and then not more than ten miles; intending by this, that in caſe of accident to himſelf, the proximity of the prince, who united bravery with prudence, and was zealous in the queſt of fame, might prevent any diſturbance among the troops: at the ſame time averſe to his ſon's remaining with him, leſt, in his infirm ſtate, he ſhould experience the ſame conduct he had himſelf ſhewn to his father Shah Jehan *. Aazum Shah, in obedience to the king's command, proceeded towards Malwa, but had advanced a few leagues only on his way, when, on Friday the 28th of Zeecadeh, A. H. 1118 †, his royal ſire obeyed the mandate of the Almighty, and departed to the world of eternity.

Aazum Shah, who in a few hours received the intelligence, immediately returned with haſte, and arrived the next day at the palace ‡. Two days after he attended the corpſe of the deceaſed monarch towards Aurungabad, ſupporting it on his own ſhoulders for a few paces. After this the interval of a week elapſed before the 10th of the month Zeehijeh §, when Aazum Shah aſcended the throne of his anceſtors at Amednagur, and gave general encouragement to his people. The royal treaſures and effects alſo came into his poſſeſſion; and a public audience followed to the miniſters and nobility preſent, all of whom received favours according to their reſpective ranks. He continued Aſof-ud-Dowlah Aſud Khan Behauder in the office of vizier; and confirmed his ſon Zoolficar Khan Muſerut Jung, as commander in chief, with the ſame rank and authority before enjoyed by him.

When rumour had firſt made known the illneſs of Aalumgeer, every one prepared againſt the conſequences, and to the extent of his ability took precautions for future ſecurity. Sultaun Meazum, afterwards called Behauder Shah, the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of the deceaſed emperor, was at this time, with his two youngeſt ſons Khojiſtech Akhter Jehan Shah, and Ruffeea-ul-cuddur ‖, in the province of Cabul, on the borders of Perſia; while his eldeſt ſon, Mahommed Meâz-ud-deen Jehander Shah, governed the ſubah of Mooltan; and the ſecond, Azeem-u-Shan, the moſt virtuous of the four, whom his grandfather Aalumgeer diſtinguiſhed by particular marks of kindneſs, held the viceroyalty of Bengal. Mahommed Kambukhſh, the youngeſt of Aalumgeer's ſons, was, as has been before ſaid, in the government of Bijapoor, ſo that it ſeemed the late emperor had deſigned

* Aurengzebe ſeized the empire from his father, and confined him in the citadel at Agra for near eight years, when death relieved him.

† 21ſt February, A. D. 170.

‡ Eradut Khan makes Aazum Shah's return two days later.

§ A. D. 1707.

‖ Eradut Khan calls him Ruffeh Aoſhawn.

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signed a triple division of the empire between his three sons, allotting Hindustân to the first, the principalities of Deccan to the second, and Bijapoor to the third. But who is free from worldly avarice and ambition! Kambukhsh, on hearing the demise of his father, immediately meditated his own exaltation, and, with the aid of his mother, having found means to conciliate the subahdar of the province, he usurped the privileges of royalty, striking coins in his own name, and ordering it to be recited as the Kootbah*.

Sultaun Meazum, on receiving information of his father's severe illness, had left Cabul, with such troops and stores as were at hand, and directed his course towards Agra, which city intersects the road from Deccan. On the way he heard the news of the emperor's death; and on Tuesday the last day of Mohurrum, A. H. 1119†, he was proclaimed successor to the throne of Hindustân, with the title of Behauder Shah‡. It is said, that he then wrote to his brother Aazum Shah, offering to leave him in free possession of the extensive country of Deccan, provided he gave no molestation to himself in Hindustân, and strongly recommending his partition as conformable to the wishes of their common parent, as ensuring peace to their subjects, and as promising many essential advantages. But Aazum Shah, who regarded his brother as in every thing his inferior, answered this friendly proposal by a common proverb, purporting, that one climate cannot contain two kings; and rejected all thoughts of compromise.

Behauder Shah therefore proceeded to Lahore, where his son Meâz-uddeen joined him with troops and necessaries from Mooltan; and after an interchange of congratulations and caresses, they advanced together towards Agra, where also they found Azeem-u-Shan, who, on the news of Aalumgeer's illness, had quitted his place of residence in Bengal; and by the assistance of the dewan of that province, had brought with him a crore, and some lacks of rupees§, which he had collected to aid his father's pretensions. On his arrival at Agra, he had taken prisoner Mokhtar Khan, the subahdar of the province, a well-wisher to Aazum Shah, whose son, Beydar Bukht, had married his daughter, and having increased his treasures by seizures in the city, and its environs, had zealously applied himself to conciliate the minds of the several persons in power, as well as of the soldiery and the people in general. He had demanded the surrender of the citadel, but the governor returned an evasive answer, saying, that he should immediately give up his charge whenever it was decided which of the three brothers had a right to require it of him, but that while this was in suspense, it was incumbent on him to defend his trust to the utmost of his ability: wherefore the prince seeing no advantage to be derived from a siege, prudently employed himself in other matters more necessary, in expectation of his father's arrival. Their meeting was now crowned with every testimony of filial respect and parental affection, and Behauder Shah foresaw future success in his son's most seasonable supply, which enabled

* A form of prayer read in the grand mosque, offering supplications for the souls of departed patriarchs and prophets, the ancestors of the reigning family, the monarch on the throne, and the people at large.

† April 1707 A. D. ‡ The valiant king.

§ A million and some thousands of pounds.

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enabled him to pay up the arrears of his army, and alleviate the general diſtreſs which before prevailed from a ſcarcity of money.

In the mean time, Aazum Shah, after a ſhort ſtay at Amednagur in order to collect his forces, marched with a large army to diſpute the right of empire with his brother, and, on the road, being informed of his arrival at Agra, he hurried on more expeditiouſly than was prudent, by which means part of his troops and ſome of his artillery and ſtores, unable to keep up with him, were left ſo far behind as never afterwards to reach him.

On Sunday the 11th day of the firſt Rubbee, A. H. 1119, he arrived at the fort of Gualior, where he left his heavy baggage, and proceeded towards Agra. On the following Sunday, the 18th day of the above month, the two armies came in ſight of each other on the plains of Jajoo, in the vicinity of Akberabad. The advanced corps of Aazum Shah falling in with the tents of Behauder Shah, they burnt them in triumph, and put to flight the few guards who attended them. Azeem-u-Shan, who commanded the advanced corps on the other ſide, came forward a ſhort diſtance, but had not courage to attack, till ſupported by his father. Behauder Shah, who was diverting himſelf with hunting, and had no expectation of an engagement on this day, the moment he heard of what had happened, haſtened to his ſon's aſſiſtance, ſupported by all his followers. At this criſis a ſtrong wind, which blew directly in the face of Aazum Shah's army, increaſed to a moſt violent degree, and ſeemed a fatal omen of his approaching deſtiny. The diſpoſition of his troops was thus: his eldeſt ſon Behauder Bukht led the advanced corps, and the Prince Walajah commanded the right wing; but his youngeſt ſon Ally Tibbar, being of tender years, Aazum Shah took him on his own elephant. Aſof-ud-Dowlah, the vizier, had remained with the baggage at Gualior; but his ſon Zoolficar Khan, who in the time of Aalumgeer had held the poſt of commander in chief, with very extenſive authority, was among the followers of Aazum Shah, and attended him to the field of battle, where, conſidering the heat of the day, the extreme violence of the wind, and the want of a conſiderable number of troops and artillery left in the rear, he was induced, by his good wiſhes towards the prince, to recommend a procraſtination of hoſtilities till the next morning, when the men would be refreſhed, the abſentees collected, and the guns brought up. But Aazum Shah, proudly confident in his own valour, and truſting to the ſupport of old adherents, paid no regard to his advice, and returned him a petulant anſwer. This the high-minded ſagacious officer could not brook, and he replied, "Since the ſuggeſtions of your well-wiſher do not meet the ear of attention, permit me to take my leave and depart." The Shah rejoined in a tone of great indignation, and turning from him with contempt, Zoolficar Khan quitted the field, and joined his father at Gualior *.

Aazum Shah, perſiſting in his inflexible temerity, ruſhed on to the attack of his foe, and extended deſtruction. Many warriors on each ſide fell a ſacrifice, and gave proofs of

* According to Eradut Khan's memoir, Zoolficar Khan fled during the action at Gualior, on being hard preſſed by the enemy: but conſidering the general character of this officer, who afterwards became famous as Ameer-ul-omrah, the account he has given ſeems moſt probable.

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of genuine bravery; but the exceſſive duſt raiſed by the ſtrong wind, ſo obſcured the atmoſphere, that the blinded eyes of the contending parties, at a ſmall diſtance, could not diſtinguiſh friend from enemy. From ſome who were preſent on this day, I have heard that the hurricane which tore up the ſand moſt impetuouſly, was ſo exceedingly violent as totally to overcome many, and to render it difficult to ſend an arrow beyond a few paces. Yet under this diſadvantage, Aazum Shah, with his followers, maintained an obſtinate and fatal combat againſt their adverſaries, which to this hour is the frequent theme of admiration among the nations of Hinduſtân. Munnewur Khan Behauder, and Khan Aalum, the heads of two tribes of the Deccan, who were renowned for their valour and ſtrength, and are ſaid to compare the field of war to a banquet or marriage feaſt, clothed themſelves in coſtly habits, and, with 5000 followers dreſſed in golden turbans, waited on Aazum Shah, and ſaid to him, "If your majeſty "will order us to be furniſhed "with horſes, we will diſplay our "ſkill in manage, their quick evo-"lutions, the ſlaughter of our "enemies, and the willing hazard "of our lives in our maſter's ſer-"vice, in a manner that ſhall be "conſpicuous both to friends and "opponents." But Aazum Shah, prejudiced by calumny, ſuſpected the fidelity of theſe warriors, and rejecting their propoſal, appointed elephants for them from his own ſtores, as well as people to conduct them: on which, being without remedy, they exerted themſelves with their followers, and directed their efforts againſt the corps commanded by Azeem-u-Shan. This was ſupported by Hoſeyn Ally Khan, and others of the family of the Syed Mean, ſurnamed Abdooleh Khan, who oppoſed them with a ſtrong force, and occaſioned a ſtubborn conflict. The attendants on Khan Aalum were moſt of them killed or wounded, and Hoſeyn Ally Khan, with his relations and followers, fell mangled on the plain. At length Khan Aalum came to cloſe encounter with Azeem-u-Shan, and with his ſpear pierced the hinder part of the litter on his elephant. It failed, however, to do further injury; the prince, by a ſudden motion, avoided the weapon, and the brave warrior, overpowered by numbers, ſunk under their onſet, together with the few who accompanied him. At this juncture Beydar Bukht was killed, and a ſhort time after his brother Walajah drank the bitter potion of death, which being told to Aazum Shah, who tenderly loved his ſons, and eſpecially Beydar Bukht, he drew a deep ſigh and exclaimed, "Life and victory then are uſeleſs!" ſaying which, he puſhed forward his elephant among the thickeſt of the enemy, where ſpears fell around him like ſhowers, firm and undaunted himſelf, and heedful only to preſerve his child Ally Tibbar, whom he covered with his ſhield. At length, when about an hour and a half only of the day remained, when Turbeent Khan, Oolleh Khan, Mutleb Khan, Khan Aalum, and his brother Munnewur Khan, Rajah Ram Singh, Rajah Dilput, with other leaders and nobles, had fallen, a muſket ball ſtruck Aazum Shah, and at the ſame time put an end to his life and the battle. A man of illiberal mind, named Rooſtoom Dil Khan, cut off the head of the unfortunate prince, and with his ſurviving ſon, Ally Tibbar, preſented it before Behauder Shah. The victor, however, far from rejoicing at the ſight, ſhed tears of ſorrow on the occaſion, and

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ſhewed every mark of affectionate kindneſs to his brother's infant ſon, whom he ever after treated as a child of his own; and when his ſons once ventured to urge objections to him on this account, he rebuked them, ſaying, "If any were ſuſ-"pected of enmity to the ſtate, the "ſuſpicion would fall ſtronger on "you. He is more intereſted in "wiſhing my ſafety."

But to return—the conteſt being now decided in favour of Behauder Shah, the ſeveral nobles and officers, who had before attached themſelves to the fortunes of Aazum Shah, acknowledged his authority, and Aſof-ud-Dowlah, with his ſon Zoolficar Khan, waited on him immediately after his victory, having their hands tied together with handkerchiefs, in token of their ſubmiſſion. Behauder Shah received them with great kindneſs, and himſelf roſe to looſen the father's hands, directing the prince Meaz-ud-deen to ſet free the ſon: after which he diſſipated their apprehenſions by the moſt flattering marks of royal courteſy, and conferred on them, as a ſpecial favour, two of his own robes. The moſt honourable poſt of vakeel mootlue, or plenipotentiary, the higheſt office in the ſtate after the ſovereign, was given to Aſof-ud-Dowlah, with a munſub of nine thouſand, and a donation of two million daums*, together with the privilege of ſitting in the royal preſence, of having the nobut, and of bringing his palankeen to the door of the bathing apartments, whither only the falkees of the princes of the blood are allowed to come. At the ſame time Moneam Khan received the vizerut, accompanied by the ſubahdary of Agra; and his ſeat in the public aſſembly being fixed on the right hand of Aſof-ud-Dowlah, it was ordered he ſhould counterſign all papers having the latter ſignature.

Theſe arrangements being ſettled, the new monarch's attention was called towards Ambeyr and Joudhpoor. Jeyſingh, the zemindar of the former diſtrict, having attended Aazum Shah, whilſt his brother Bejy Singh attached himſelf to Behauder Shah, the victorious prince determined to reward the ſervices of Bejy Singh, and accordingly put him in poſſeſſion of the zemindary. At the ſame time Juſwunt Singh Rathore, the zemindar of Joudhpoor, having ſwerved from the way of obedience, he alſo was removed, and a more loyal ſubject appointed in his ſtead. Then taking with him Ajeet Singh and Jey Singh, he deputed Aſof-ud-Dowlah to the capital, to reſtore tranquillity and good order there; and after giving aſſurances to the nobles, and encouragement to the people in general, proceeded himſelf towards Deccan, where the conduct of his inconſiderate brother demanded his preſence.

Kambukhſh heard of the defeat of Aazum Shah with great vexation and regret; and conceiving it to be derogatory to make ſubmiſſions to the conqueror, or even to adopt a plan of concord with him, he made preparations for hoſtilities. Behauder Shah, who was merciful, and by nature averſe to perſecution, receiving intelligence of his conduct, endeavoured to diſſuade him from his litigious intentions, and urged every argument for a friendly pacification between them. But all his efforts had no avail, and produced indignant anſwers only in return: wherefore, being without remedy, he complied with the council of his adherents, and on the 17th of Shabaun, A. H. 1119†, he marched by the way of Tutteepoor Ajimeer, for Bijapoor, and on the 3d Zeecadeh of

* 50,000 rupees, or 5col.

† November 1707 A. D.

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of the following year,* he came up with his brother in the confines of Hyderabad. A ſmart action enſued, which proved fatal to many warriors on both ſides, but eſpecially to the followers of Kambukhſh, numbers of whom fell with him, and others eſcaped only by a precipitate flight. The prince himſelf diſplayed a ſpirit of valour ſuitable to his elevated rank, and yielded not till many and ſevere wounds deprived him of the power of further reſiſtance. He was then taken, with his ſons, and carried, when his hovering ſoul was juſt departing, into the preſence of the king. Behauder Shah being informed of his approach, ſent the prince Meâz-ud-deen to conduct him with all poſſible reſpect, and when they brought him into his pavilion, he deſcended as far as propriety would admit, and tenderly regretted the ſtate in which he beheld him, ſaying, it was contrary to his wiſhes. Kambukhſh was juſt able to make a ſuitable anſwer, and expired; leaving behind him ſeveral ſons, whom Behauder Shah took into his protection, and kindly educated, free from reſtraint, in the ſame manner with his other nephew Ally Tibbar, paying no regard to the remonſtrances of his own family.

It has already been mentioned, that Aſof-ud-Dowlah was appointed nominally to the firſt poſt in the adminiſtration, and Moneam Khan to the ſecond; but the latter was chiefly in the king's confidence, having long ſerved him with attachment and fidelity, antecedent to his exaltation. Zoolficar Khan alſo received the honourable title of Ameer-ul-omrha, with a ſuitable munſub, and he was now choſen to be the ſubah of all the royal dominions in Deccan. This government, however, he did not ſtay to ſuperintend himſelf, but left Daood Khan, a Patan of great renown for his bravery and liberality, with full powers to officiate as his deputy; and himſelf accompanied the king, who, having concluded his arrangements for the future quiet and good order of the country, returned towards Delhi.

After croſſing the Nerbudda, he determined to puniſh Ajeet Singh, and Jey Singh, the zemindars of Jordhpoor and Ambeyr, who, after accompanying him, as has been before related, had quitted him without permiſſion, and, returning to their own territories, had raiſed the ſtandard of rebellion, and put to death the officers left in charge of their dominions. At this criſis, however, intelligence from the weſtward brought alarming accounts of an inſurrection among the Seiks, and induced his Majeſty to conſent to a haſty pacification with the Rajepoot rajahs; who waited on him, and were diſmiſſed with apparent forgiveneſs to their reſpective governments.

The king then puſhed on with all poſſible expedition to extinguiſh the new rebellion, which had been fomented by Gooroo Goving, and increaſed by a victory gained over the fouzdar of Serhind, Vizier Khan, who was ſlain in the ſkirmiſh. The imperial army encamped at the foot of the hills, and Moneam Khan, with the prince Ruffeea-ul-cudder, received orders to beſiege the rebel's fortreſs on three different ſides, which they obeyed, but, intent on the ſiege, they omitted taking the neceſſary precautions againſt the eſcape of the beſieged, and the gooroo, finding that he would ſoon be overpowered, ſought his ſafety by flight. This diſappointment nipped the honours of Moneam Khan, who was reprehended by Behauder Shah, for not

* December 1708 A. D.

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not having taken measures to prevent it; and his death, which happened soon after, is by some attributed to the chagrin occasioned by this event. The only fault imputed to this noble, in the high office held by him, was an excessive lavishness of his patronage in the distribution of honorary posts and titles, intended to distinguish merit and high birth, but by him distributed so indiscriminately among all ranks of people, that the possession of them was no longer a mark of distinction. On his decease the post of naib vizier was given to Hiddayet Khan, son of Anayet Oolleh Khan.

Behauder Shah, after the defeat of the Seiks, advanced the royal standard to Lahore, and Roostoom Dil Khan was left in charge of the fortress; but his inconsiderate conduct in leaving his post without permission, soon afterwards occasioned his removal and ruin, and Mahommed Ameen Khan was appointed to succeed to his command, with instructions to use every endeavour for seizing the gooroo, who had been the original author of the commotion.

Behauder Shah was a man of great learning and general knowledge, but remarkable, beyond any of his royal ancestors, for his proficiency in the holy law, and the writings of the Prophet. These qualifications, added to a disposition for the company of learned men, made him exceedingly fond of disputation, and, being a sheea*, inspired a warm zeal for supporting and propagating the opinions of the followers of Ally. At Lahore, he convened all the doctors of the law, and argued with them on the doctrines of his sect, till many became converts; which success raised his zeal to enthusiasm, and he declared his intention of adding to the general prayer, a new sentence purporting, "Ally is the favourite of "God, and the heir of the Pro-"phet." This design, however, he was persuaded to lay aside, from the danger of attempting it among a people who were in general Soonees, and obstinately attached to their own tenets; and especially as his own sons, Azeem-u-Shan and Pehan Shah, would in this be his powerful and violent opponents. He once deputed a reader, with Azeem-u-Shan, to pronounce this sentence in the grand mosque, when the prince signified by signs, that he was not acting from his own inclination, but from ostensible respect to his father; and the unfortunate servant fell a sacrifice to the indignation of the people before he had an opportunity of reading the hateful words. The supposed authors of this violence were taken and thrown into confinement; but the attempt was not renewed; and though the king maintained to the last, a most active zeal for the propagation of the orthodox faith, it availed but little. Those of a different persuasion were vigilant in defeating his endeavours, and excited every species of art and influence to make them abortive among the people. Whatever might have been the effect, however, of continued encouragement from the source of wealth and honours, the hand of death soon put an end to the contest. Behauder Shah had not reigned above five complete years, when, in the 72d of his age, in the month Mohurrum, A. H. 1124 †, after a short sickness, he left this transitory world for the presence of his merciful Creator.

Life

* A student in divinity and science.

† A. D. 1712.

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LIFE *of* ASOF JAH; *ſhewing by what means he acquired the Territory in the* DECCAN, *which is now in the Poſſeſſion of his Son* NIZAUM-UL-MULK.

From a Biographical Work, written in the Perſian Language, and tranſlated by HENRY VANSITTART, *Eſq.*

[From GLADWIN'S ASIATIC MISCELLANY, publiſhed at Calcutta.]

ASOF JAH was deſcended from anceſtors who bore an eminent rank in the empire, at a time when it was in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate. Saud Ulla Khan, vizier to Shah Jehan, was his maternal, and Abid Khan, a grandee of Samarcand, his paternal grandfather. The latter arrived in Hinduſtân in the reign of Shah Jehan, and ſerved under the prince Aurengzebe, after whoſe acceſſion to the throne he was promoted to the rank of commander of 5000 horſe, and was twice appointed to the * ſidaret of Hinduſtân. On the 24th of the 1ſt Rubbee 1098†, he was killed by a cannon-ball at the ſiege of Golconda. His ſon Meer Shah-Aub-ed-deen, was one of the moſt eminent omrah in the court of Aurengzebe. He was promoted by degrees to the rank of commander of 7000 horſe, and obtained the title of Ghazee-ud-deen Khan Behauder Feroze Jung. As he greatly exerted himſelf in the reduction of Bijapoor, the emperor added the words ferzund arjimund, or *dear ſon*, to his former titles. In the reign of Shah Aalum, the ſon of Aurengzebe, he was appointed ſubahdar of Guzerat; in which government he died in the year 1122‡, leaving a ſon, by name Aſof Jah, who is the ſubject of this narrative.

Aſof Jah, whoſe original name was Meer Kammer-ud-deen, was born in the year 1082§. He was promoted in the reign of Aurengzebe to the rank of commander of 5000 horſe, and obtained the title of Cheen Kooley Khan. He was afterwards appointed ſubahdar of Bijapoor.

In the reign of Shah Aalum, he obtained the title of Khan Dowran Behauder, and ſubahdarry of Oude, which he afterwards reſigned in diſguſt, having been ill treated by the miniſters; and aſſuming the dreſs of a fakeer, ſettled in Delhi. In the reign of Jehandar Shah he quitted his retirements, and was reſtored to his former rank and titles. In the reign of Terokeſeer, he obtained the title of Nizaum-ul-Mulk Behauder Futteh Jung, alſo the rank of commander of 7000 horſe, and the ſubahdarry of the Deccan. However, as this government was in the poſſeſſion of Syed Hoſſein Ally Khan, a very powerful ameer, he waited upon the emperor, and requeſted to exchange it for the government of Mooradabad, that he might lead that life of retirement which he enjoyed in the reign of Shah Aalum.

In the reign of Ruffee-ud-Durjaut, he was appointed to the ſubahdarry of Malava. The animoſities which exiſted amongſt the omrah, induced him to form the deſign of poſſeſſing himſelf of the Deccan. He marched thither from Malava in the year 1132‖, and gained, without a battle, the fortreſs of Aſſeer from Taleb Khan, and

* The Sudder-us-Sudoor was one of the viziers, through whoſe office all charitable grants of land conferred by the emperor, paſſed.

† A. D. 1686. ‡ A. D. 1671. § A. D. 1681. ‖ A. D. 1723.

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and the city of Burhampore from Mahommed Khan the ſubahdar. On the 13th of Shabaun, in the ſame year, he obtained a victory at the village of Hoſſeinpoor, in ſircar Hundea, over Syed Dil Ameer Khan, who was ſent by the emperor to oppoſe him; after which he returned to Burhampore. On the 6th of Shawaul, in the ſame year, he defeated near Balapore, Syed Aalum Ally Khan, the nephew of Syed Hoſſein Ally Khan, who was naib of the Deccan.

After the deaths of the Syeds of *Barha, and of Yatimaud-ed-Dowlah Mahommed Ameer Khan (their ſucceſſor in the office of vizier to Mahommed Shah), Nizaum-ul-Mulk (by which the title Aſof Jah was now called,) left the Deccan, and paid a viſit to the emperor. On the 5th of the firſt Jemaudy, in the ſame year, he was inveſted with the office of vizier. Moyz-ud-Dowlah Heyder Kooley Khan the ſubahdar of Guzerat, having rebelled, Mahommed Shah gave the ſubahſhip of Guzerat and Malava to Nizaum, who arrived with expedition near Guzerat. Heyder Kooley Khan, finding himſelf unable to cope with him, affected madneſs, and Nizaum having appointed his uncle Ahmed Khan his deputy in the ſubahdarry of Guzerat, proceeded to Malava. He afterwards conſtituted Azeem Oullah, the ſon of his aunt, his deputy in this province; and in the firſt Jemaudy, of the ſame year, returned to Delhi. The omrah, who were diſpleaſed at his return to this city, alienated from him the mind of the emperor. In the year 1136 †, he was removed from the ſubahdarry of the Deccan, which was given to Mobarez Khan; Nizaum pretending that the climate of Mooradabad was more favourable to his health than Delhi, obtained this ſubahdarry. He travelled towards the province ſome days, and afterwards altered his route to the Deccan, where he expeditiouſly arrived. Mobarez Khan advanced to oppoſe him. A fierce battle was fought at Shekergeera on the 23d Mohurrum 1137, in which Mobarez Khan was killed, and the whole Deccan fell into the hands of Nizaum. The emperor, when he received intelligence of this event, removed Nizaum from the ſubahdarry of Guzerat, which he gave to Mobarez-ul-Mulk; and from the ſubahdarry of Malava, to which he appointed Girdur Behauder.

But the emperor's diſpleaſure was of ſhort duration, being ſoon ſucceeded by the revival of the ſame favourable ſentiments towards Nizaum which had before animated his breaſt. In the year 1138 ‡, he promoted him to the title of Aſof Jah; and in 1150 §, invited him, with much importunity, to Delhi. Aſof afterwards conſtituted his ſon Nizaum-ud-Dowlah, Naſir Jung, naib of the Deccan, and repaired to the preſence, where he arrived in the end of the firſt rnbby of the ſame year. After two months, the emperor ſent him to puniſh the Mahrattas, and appointed him to the ſubahdarries of Agra and Malava, by the removal of Jey Singh, and Bajee Row.

Nizaum, after his arrival at Agra, appointed Mohe-ed-deen Kooley Khan, a dependent of Saud-ulla

* The names of the Syeds of Barha are Hoſſein Ally Khan, and Abdullah Khan. They carried Terokeſeer from Patna, and placed him on the throne; but, on his quarrelling with them, they killed him, and raiſed to the throne firſt Ruffee-ud-Dirjaut, and afterwards Mahommed Shah, who put them to death. They were famous at this period for creating and dethroning kings, like the Earl of Warwick in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV.

† A. D. 1727. ‡ A.D. 1725. § A. D. 1737.

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ulla Khan his grandfather, his deputy in this province, and proceeded to Malava. He firſt attempted to croſs the Chumbul; but, being incommoded by the deep pits in the bank, as well as the robbers who infeſt that quarter, he croſſed the jumna near Agra, and marched to the weſtward. Paſſing by Etava and Muckundpore, he again croſſed the jumna near Calpee, and arrived in the Bundelcund country, where the Rajah joined him with a large army. At Bopaulpore, which is independent on Malava, he was met by Bajee Row, at the head of a conſiderable army. In the month of Ramazaun, in the ſame year, the flames of war and ſlaughter were kindled in the environs of this place. However, as a ſtrong report prevailed of the approach of Nadir Shah, Aſof made peace, and returned with expedition to Delhi. Nadir Shah, after his victory, treated him with more diſtinction than the other omrah; and Aſof ſucceeded to the title of Ameer-ul-omrah, or firſt of the nobles, which was vacated by Sumſaum-ed-deen Doraun, who was ſlain in the war againſt Nadir Shah.

Miſled by evil counſellors, the nabob Nizaum-ed-Dowlah, naib of the Deccan, now eſtabliſhed an independence, and Aſof took his leave of the emperor to puniſh his ſon. A battle was fought between them, near Aurungabad, on the 20th of the firſt Jamaudee, in the year 1154*; when Nizaum-ed-Dowlah, after he had received ſeveral wounds, fell into the hands of his father.

In the year 1156†, Aſof Jah formed a deſign of conquering the Carnatic. He took the fortreſs of Atrack Paupelee, and afterwards ſubdued Arcot. In 1157‡, he gained the fort of Baulkunda, which is dependent on Hyderabad, from Mookrim Jaun Dekhenee.

On the 4th of the ſecond Jemaudee, he died near Burhampore; and his body was removed from thence, and interred near the fort of Dowletabad, at the foot of the grave of Shah Burhaun-ed-deen Ghireib.—The ſame year was remarkable for the deaths of the emperor Mahommed Shah, and the vizier Yatimaud-ed-Dowlah Kammer-ed-deen Khan. Nizaum-ul-Mulk, the preſent ſubahdar of the Deccan, is the fourth ſon of Aſof Jah.

LIFE *of* AHMED SHAH, *King of the* ABDALLIES, *who are alſo called* DURANEES, *from a Cuſtom of wearing a Pearl in one of their Ears.*

From the ſame Perſian Book which furniſhed the Hiſtory of ASOF JAH, *and tranſlated by* HENRY VANSITTART, *Eſq.*

[From GLADWIN'S *Aſiatic Miſcellany*, publiſhed at Calcutta.]

The following account of the Life of Ahmed Shah, appears to be drawn up with great impartiality, and the ſtricteſt regard to truth. It is the only authentic hiſtory which has hitherto been written of the riſe of the Abdally family, and of the foundation of the modern kingdom of Candahar and Cabul, over which Zemaun Shah now reigns. Ahmed Shah was the founder of that family and of thoſe kingdoms; and the preſent Zemaun Shah is his lineal deſcendant.

Although the power of this prince has unqueſtionably been much exaggerated, it is nevertheleſs by no means to be deſpiſed, and ſhould always be watched with a jea-

 lous

* A. D. 1741. † A.D. 1743. ‡ A. D. 1744.

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lous vigilance by the Britiſh government. The kingdom of Candahar and Cabul are both extenſive and populous. They compriſe all the countries that are ſituated between the river Indus and the ſouthern extremities of the Caſpian Sea, and between the eaſtern confines of Perſia, and great Bucharia, or the country of the Uzbeck Tartars, beſides Lahore, and the celebrated province of Caſhmir. The exact population of Zemaun Shah's dominions, we have no means of aſcertaining: but it is an undoubted fact, that he can bring at leaſt 100,000 fighting men into the field; and it is no leſs true, that the natives of Candahar have always been among the hardieſt race of men in Aſia. Zemaun Shah, who is ſaid to be an enterpriſing and ambitious prince, would, therefore, be a formidable enemy to our Indian empire, if there was a Muſſulman government in Hinduſtan ſufficiently powerful to co-operate with him. But the fall of Tippoo, and the conſequent annihilation of our Mahommedan foes, muſt have put an end to any hopes he might have entertained of making a ſucceſsful irruption into Hinduſtan:—For it is hardly credible that he will ever attempt to attack the united forces of the Seiks, the Mahrattas, and the Engliſh. But, at the ſame time, we ought to conſider, that the petty wars which are inceſſantly carried on between the Seik chiefs, may, at an unlucky moment, diſable them from making a ſucceſsful reſiſtance to the king of Candahar, notwithſtanding the implacable enmity they bear towards him; that the crafty politics of the Mahrattas are not to be relied on—to ſay nothing of their internal commotions; and that, therefore, our only true ſecurity againſt the warriors of the north, muſt conſiſt in our own ſtrength, and in our conſtantly keeping an active and well-appointed army in the province of Oude.

AHMED SHAH DURANEE accompanied Nadir Shah in his expedition into Hinduſtan. He firſt ſerved him as an aſſaberdar (or mace-bearer), and was afterwards promoted to the rank of an officer in the cavalry. After the death of Nadir Shah *, he eſtabliſhed his ſovereignty in Candahar and Cabul, and cauſed money to be coined, and the koot-bah, or prayer, to be read in his name. He has viſited Hinduſtan ſeven times; the firſt time he came with Nadir Shah, in the year 1152 † of the Hejirah, and returned with him to Perſia.

The ſecond time he led an army into Hinduſtan from Candahar, in 1161 ‡. Shah Nawaus Khan, the ſon of Zekereea Khan, the governor of Lahore, not being ſtrong enough to oppoſe him, retreated, and, the Duranee having entered and plundered the city, marched towards Delhi. The emperor, Mahommed Shah, ſent againſt him his ſon Ahmed Shah, with Kammer-ed-deen Khan, the vizier Sufder Jung, and other eminent nobles. The prince occupied the paſs of Majeeburra; but the Duranee entered the country with 30,000 horſe, by the way of Lodiana, and plundered Serhind. The prince, when he received intelligence of this event, marched towards him; and the armies were engaged in a continued ſcene of fighting from the 15th to the 28th of the firſt Rubbee. On the 22d, Kammer-ed-deen Khan was killed by a cannon-ball, as he was repeating his prayers; which circumſtance ſo much alarmed rajah Iſſerree Singh, the ſon of Jey Singh Siwai, and the other rajahs of Ajimeer, that they returned to their own country with 12,000 horſe. But the war was ſo vigorouſly ſupported by the princes, the ſon of the vizier, and Sufder Jung, whoſe courage was raiſed by their misfortunes, that the Shah Duranee retreated. As well from reſpect to the memory of his father, who had ſacrificed

* Ahmed, a valiant officer, who had always been attached to Nadir, made a bold effort to revenge his death, and ruſhed at the head of his troops againſt the other chiefs; but was ſoon repulſed, and retreated in deſpair to Candahar.—*Life of Nadir Shah*, by Sir WILLIAM JONES.

† A. D. 1739. ‡ A. D. 1748.

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ſacrificed his life, as on account of his own perſonal exertions, Moyen-ul-Mulk, the eldeſt ſon of Kammer-ed-deen Khan, was appointed governor of Lahore; and about a month after this war, the emperor, Mahommed Shah, died. Shah Duranee's third viſit to Hinduſtan happened in 1162 *, when he advanced from Cabul to Lahore; and, after fighting ſome time with Moyen-ul-Mulk, made peace with him; and, having impoſed a tribute on him, after the example of Nadir Shah, returned to Cabul.

But the Shah appeared in Hinduſtan the fourth time in 1165 †, and advanced to Lahore, where Moyen-ul-Mulk ſuſtained a war againſt him four months. In conſequence of the miſconduct of Adeena Baig and Caora Mull, who were the managers of his affairs, he was then defeated, and preſented himſelf before the Shah, who appointed him governor of Lahore on the part of himſelf, and returned to Cabul. Moyen died, in 1167 ‡, by a fall from his horſe; and his ſon Meer Momin was appointed by the Shah his ſucceſſor in the government of Lahore. But the infancy of Momin threw the management of his affairs into the hands of his mother, whoſe government diſguſted the nobles. Momin, however, ſoon died, and was ſucceeded by Khaja Mooſau, the ſon-in-law of Moyen-ul-Mulk. As Bekharee Khan Rooſtum Jung, who poſſeſſed authority under Moyen-ul-Mulk, aſpired to the government, when the begum was apprized of his deſign, ſhe ſummoned him into her apartment, and ordered her ſlaves to beat him with ſlippers. She was at length overpowered by Khaja Abdulla Khan, the ſon of Abdooſſamed Khan, who ſeized the government, and confined her: but he was afterwards obliged to retire, on account of a mutiny amongſt the troops for their pay; and the power reverted to the begum.

The Shah Duranee entered Hinduſtan the fifth time in 1170 §. The cauſe of this ſtep was a diſturbance promoted by Ghaze-ed-deen Khan, who, in oppoſition to the Shah, took the government of Lahore from the begum, and gave it to Adeena Baig Khan. The Shah advanced from Candahar to Cabul, and from thence to Lahore.

Adeena Baig Khan, unable to encounter the Shah, concealed himſelf in the woods of Hanſey Hiſſar. The Shah purſued him to Sunput, which is ſituated at the diſtance of twenty coſs from Delhi. Ghaze-ed-deen Khan, being unprepared to ſupport any plan of hoſtility, reſolved to ſubmit; and accordingly waited upon the Shah, who, on Friday the 7th of the firſt Jemaudee, in the ſame year, entered Delhi, and had an interview with Aalumgeer the ſecond.

The city, however, eſcaped not his ravages; and many of the inhabitants killed themſelves by poiſon or the ſword. The Shah remained there a month; during which time he contracted a marriage between Timur Shah, his ſon, and the daughter of Aiz-ed-deen, the brother of Aalumgeer the ſecond. After the concluſion of the nuptials, he left Delhi, and marched againſt Sooraj Mull, the Jaut who had for ſome time diſturbed the ſubahs of Agra and Delhi. In three days he took Yelumgeer, a fort belonging to the Jaut, at the diſtance of fifteen coſs from Delhi, and put all the inhabitants to death. He proceeded from thence to Mutra, an ancient place of Hindu worſhip, and laid it waſte by fire and the ſword.

* A. D. 1749. † A. D. 1752. ‡ A. D. 1754. § A. D. 1757.

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The Jauts quitted the plains, and ſhut themſelves up in their forts. The Shah marched towards Agra, but was reſiſted by Mirza-ſeif-ulla, the commandant, who would not ſuffer any perſon to approach within the range of the fort. The Shah undertook the ſeizing of it, and employed Jehan Khan againſt the fortreſſes of the Jauts. Fortunately for Sooraj Mull, a peſtilential diſtemper prevailed in the Shah's army, which thinned it ſo much that all the endeavours of Jehan Khan were fruſtrated, and the Shah was obliged to retreat precipitately to his own country. When he arrived near Delhi, Aalumgeer, accompanied by Najeib Khan, had an interview with him near the reſervoir of Mukfoodabad.

At this time the Shah himſelf married a daughter of Mahommed Shah. He afterwards created Najeib Khan ameer-ul-omrah of Hinduſtan, and departed to Lahore. He gave the government of this province, Moultan and Tatta, to Timur Shah, and proceeded to Candahar by the way of Cabul.

The Shah viſited Hinduſtan the 6th time in 1173 *, for two reaſons: Firſt, he had left his ſon, Timur Shah, with Jehan Khan, in Lahore. The latter made peace with Adeena Baig Khan, who was conceaſed in a wood called Luckei Jungle, (which is in the country now poſſeſſed by Jey Singh,) and, from the conſideration of his local experience, appointed him to the charge of the Duab †; but Adeena Baig, afterwards diſtruſting Jehan Khan, diſobeyed a ſummons which he ſent him, and fled to the mountains. Jehan Khan then appointed Moraud Khan to the government of the Duab, and ſtationed with him Belend Khan, and Serferaz Khan. Adeena Baig prevailed upon the Seiks to join him, and attacked Moraud Khan. Belend Khan was killed; and Moraud Khan, and Serferaz Khan, retreated to Jehan Khan. The Seiks plundered all the Duab, and particularly Jalunder; and Adeena Baig invited the Mahrattas, who had arrived near Delhi, under Rogonaut Row and Shemſhire Behauder, brothers of Balajee Row, with Holker and other chiefs.—They were pleaſed with the opportunity, and directed their march towards Lahore. They fought with, and took priſoner, Abdooſſamad, fouzdar of Serhind, on the part of Shah Duranee; and proceeded from thence with expedition to Lahore. Jehan Khan, not deeming it prudent to riſk a battle with his ſmall force, retreated with Timur Shah to Cabul. The Mahrattas purſued him to the Jailum (one of the five rivers), and afterwards gave the government of Lahore to Adeena Baig, on the condition of his paying them a tribute of ſeventy-five lacks ‡ of rupees *per ann.* and returned to Delhi, in conſequence of the approach of the rainy ſeaſon. Rogonaut Row departed to the Deccan, leaving Junko, one of his officers, who turned his views to the conqueſt of Ajimeer. In Mohurrum, 1172 §, Adeena

* A. D. 1760.

† Any country ſituated between two rivers is called Duab, although we are beſt acquainted with the province of this name, which lies between the Jumna and the Ganges. The Panjab is a diſtrict which contains five rivers, and is bounded by the two outermoſt of them; but the ſpace between any two of theſe rivers is a Duab. Lahore is a table of the imperial revenues, and is deſcribed as conſiſting of five Duabs, viz. the four belonging to the Panjab, and one between the Behat and Sindeh, or Attock, called the province of Sindeh Sacur, which, in the opinion of ſome, belongs to Cabul, and not to Lahore.

‡ The revenue of Lahore, in the reign of Aurengzebe, was two crores, eleven lacks, two thouſand and fifty rupees.

§ A. D. 1739.

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Adeena Baig died. Junko gave the fouzdarry of Serhind to Siddeek Baig Khan, one of the ſervants of Adeena Baig, and ſettled the Duab on his widow: he alſo appointed Saba, a Mahratta, to the government of Lahore, and diſpatched him to his ſtation.

The Shah's ſecond reaſon for entering Hinduſtan was an invitation from the rajahs, who were alarmed at the increaſing power of the Mahrattas, as well as from Najeib Khan, to whom Dattajee Scindiah had been long troubleſome. They therefore ſought protection from the Shah.

The Shah advanced from Cabul, and, after ſome battles, defeated Saba, and forced him to retreat from Lahore to Delhi. In Suffer 1173, the Shah marched to Jummoo, a country dependent upon Lahore, where he collected a large tribute from the rajahs, and afterwards proceeded to Delhi.

A treaty of peace was, at this time, in agitation between Dattajee and Shujah-ed-Dowlah; but the former, when he heard the news of the Shah's arrival, broke off the negotiation, and advanced with 80,000 horſe to meet him. The Shah, conſidering himſelf expoſed to the diſgrace of having his ſupplies of grain cut off by the Mahrattas, croſſed the Jumna, and entered the Duab. The rivers Jumna and Ganges, iſſuing from the Comyoon mountains, incloſe this country, which begins at theſe mountains to the northward, and ends at the conflux of theſe rivers at Allahabad. The Shah was now joined by Soudoolla Khan, Najeib Khan, Ahmed Khan Bungeiſh, Hafiz Rahmet Khan, and Doondiah Khan, whoſe country lies in the beginning of the Duab. The Shah then marched to Delhi, and ordered his advanced troops to attack Dattajee. A battle was fought in Serhind, when the Mahrattas were defeated and purſued by the Shah. Dattajee kept up a ſkirmiſhing fight till he reached the plain of Baudlee, which is near Delhi, where, being ſurrounded by the Shah, he ſeparated his nephew, Junko, with a ſmall force, and, diſmounting the reſt of his army, gave battle, when he was defeated and killed, together with his adherents. This victory was obtained by the Shah in the ſecond Jemaudee of 1173, who marched fifteen coſs in purſuit of Junko on the day of the battle, and continued the ſame celerity in his motions until he arrived at Narnole. At this place he heard that Holker, who was at Jeyanagur when he received the news of Dattajee's death, proceeded to Sooraj Mull the Jaut, and ſolicited his aſſiſtance, who refuſed it, alleging that he was not able to appear in the field againſt the Shah. The Afghans of the Duab were now bringing grain and money for the ſupply of the Shah, but were attacked in the way, and plundered of the whole by Holker; to puniſh whom, the Shah ſent Shah Puſend Khan, and Shah Culender Khan Duranee, with 15,000 horſe. In one day and night they marched from Marnole to Delhi, which is ſeventy coſs, and, reſting the next day, ſet off at night, croſſed the Jumna, and arrived at Secundera before morning, where they attacked Holker, who eſcaped with only 300 men mounted on their bare horſes, and the reſt of the army were either killed or made priſoners. The Shah marched from Narnole to Delhi, and, as the rainy ſeaſon approached, cantoned his army on the other ſide of the Jumna.

When the news of the death of Dattajee, and the defeat of Holker, arrived in the Deccan, Seda Shoe, (called Bhow,) the couſin of Balajee, marched to take his revenge on the Shah, with ſelect troops and emi-

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nent leaders, and carried Europeans to ſerve his artillery. When he approached Delhi, Sooraj Mull the Jaut was perſuaded by Holker and Junks to pay him a viſit. Bhow advanced a coſs to meet him, when he repreſented that the depth of the water, from the rains, rendered it difficult to croſs the Jumna and attack the Shah, and adviſed him to take the city of Delhi. He followed this counſel, and arrived at Delhi early in the morning of Wedneſday the 9th Zehidge 1173. The army made an attempt on the Aſſud baſtion and Khizzeree gate, and ſome attacked the Delhi gate: But although Holker and Junks ſtood near the Khizzeree gate, and vigorouſly exerted themſelves to force it, yet it was ſo well ſtrengthened with brazen plates and grates of iron, that it reſiſted all their efforts: but the troops made a way over the Aſſud baſtion, and got into the palace; but many of them being killed by the fire of the Duranee Moguls, the reſt leaped down the wall (many of them breaking their limbs), and gave up their conqueſt. The Mahrattas turned the ſiege into a blockade, and ſtraitened the place for proviſions. Ibrahim Khan Gardee brought up the European artillery, and planted three pieces of cannon in the plain, which ſo ſeverely battered the Aſſud and Moſummon baſtions, and the king's palace, that the ſhot fell as thick as drops of rain in a ſhower. However, the buildings ſuſtained great damage, but the works received little injury. Every day a fire was kept up on both ſides with muſketry and cannon; till at laſt the commandant of the garriſon, by name Yakoob Ally Khan, brother of Shah Wullee Khan, conſidering the impoſſibility of his receiving aſſiſtance from the Shah, who was unable to croſs the Jumna, was induced to ſend overtures of capitulation, demanding no other conditions but liberty to go wherever he pleaſed with his family and property. Bhow was very happy to obtain the place, and readily conſented to the terms. Yakoob Ally Khan quitted the city with his family and effects, and croſſing the Jumna in a boat, repaired to the Shah.

On the 19th Zehidge 1173, Bhow became maſter of this famous city, and of the opulence, ſplendour, and even family of the emperors. But the bounds of his avarice were enlarged by the increaſe of his poſſeſſions. He ſhewed no reſpect, either for the ornaments of royalty, the utenſils of the temples, or the ſacred appurtenances of the tombs. He cut up the ſilver roof of the levee-room (dewan-khana), and coined it into rupees, and plundered the places of worſhip, and the ſepulchres of Nizaum-ed-deen Owlia, and the late emperor, Mahommed Shah.

He appointed Naroo Sunker Brahman commandant of the city, and furniſhed a garriſon for its defence; but at preſent cantoned his whole army in it, who experienced a ſcarcity of proviſions. At the cloſe of the rainy ſeaſon, on the 29th Suffer 1174, he placed Myrza Jaun Bukht, the ſon of Shah Aalum Ally Goher, on the throne, and ſecretly appointed Shujah-ed-Dowlah, vizier, with an intent to render him ſuſpected by the Shah: he afterwards left Naroo Sunker in Delhi, and moved his army to Gungepore. This country was in the poſſeſſion of Abdooſſamed Khan, Abdally; Kutub Khan, Rohilla; and Nejebut Khan, zemindar; and ſupplied the Shah's army with grain. On the 7th, the firſt of Rubbee 1174, the Mahrattas inveſted the fort of Gungepore; and as the capture of forts by European artillery is eaſy, it was ſoon taken. Abdooſſamed Khan and Kuttub Khan

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Khan were killed, and Gungepore was plundered.

The impatience of the Shah could brook no longer reſtraint. He ordered his army to paſs the Jumna, although it was not properly fordable; and on the 18th of the firſt Rubbee 1474, the warriors plunged their horſes into the water: ſome ſwam over, others found fords, and a few were drowned. Bhow was aſtoniſhed at their courage; and, moving from Gungepore with an intent to plunder Serhind, in two marches reached Paniput. Although he commanded 40,000 experienced horſe, and had European artillery, he was ſenſible of his inability to face the Shah in the field: he therefore fortified himſelf to the northward of Paniput, and, keeping his army together, remained upon the defenſive.

On the 21ſt of the ſame month, the Shah arrived near the fortification, and drew his ſword in the name of God. The time now paſſed in undeciſive ſkirmiſhes; but when the Shah perceived that the Mahrattas had no intention of quitting the fortification to give him battle, he ordered it to be attacked. The army was diſpoſed for this ſervice as follows: In front, Jehan Khan, Shah Puſend Khan, and Najeeb-ed-Dowlah; next to them, Shujah-ed-Dowlah, Ahmed Khan, Bongeiſh, Hafiz Rahmut Khan, Fyzeoola Khan; and, laſtly, the whole were ſupported by the Shah, with the vizier Shah Wullee Khan. The Mahrattas came out to the diſtance of a rocket's throw from the fortification, where they were drawn up in order of battle, and made a ſtand.

The action began at noon, and was maintained with much ſlaughter till about half an hour before ſunſet, when the Rohillas, who are brave to a proverb, and were about 10,000 in number, after giving the fire, entered the fortification ſword in hand.

Bulwunt Row, the brother-in-law and principal ſupport of Bhow, receiving a ſhot, fell from his horſe and died. The Rohillas gained a complete victory over the Mahrattas; but night dropped the curtain of darkneſs, and obliged them to quit the fortification and rejoin their own army.

Gobind Pundit, the collector of Etawa, who was arrived on the bank of the Jumna, oppoſite to Delhi, with 10,000 horſe, and a large ſupply of treaſure and grain, intended to plunder Meer-ut, the talook of Najeeb-ed-Dowlah, and afterwards to join the Mahratta army by way of the Duab; but his deſign was fruſtrated by the activity of the Shah, who ſent againſt him a detachment of 5000 horſe, under Attayee Khan Duranee, and the ſon of Abdooſ-ſamed Abdally. They arrived the ſecond day at Shagurra, and killed Naroo Sunker and many of his men. They afterwards put to death the Mahrattas whom they found at Ghazy-ed-deenagur; and then ſurpriſed Gobind Pundit at Jelaulabad, whom they killed, and plundered of money, effects and cattle, to a conſiderable amount; after which they carried the head of Gobind Pundit, and much treaſure, to the Shah.

The Mahrattas, after the late battle, were confined within their fortification; and their diſtreſſes, ariſing from ſtenches and ſcarcity of proviſions, increaſed every day. At length their ſufferings drove them to deſperation, and they preferred death in the field to the endurance of ſuch complicated miſery. On Wedneſday the 5th of the ſecond Jemaudee, they drew up their forces on the plain, placing the European artillery in front, and attacked the enemy.

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The Muſſulman troops, eager as hunters to ſeize their game, fell upon them, diſordered their ranks, and ſpread ſlaughter through their army. Biſwaus Row, a gallant ſoldier, periſhed in the prime of his youth: Bhow alſo met his fate; and Junko, and other innumerable chiefs, were levelled with the ground. Ibrahim Khan Gardee was taken priſoner, and, after being kept ſome time in confinement, was put to death; 22,000 male, and as many female ſlaves, fell into the hands of the victors: and the plunder, conſiſting of artillery, effects, cattle, treaſure and jewels, exceeds the power of computation. New dangers awaited thoſe who fled from the carnage in the field: they were plundered, or cut to pieces, by the inhabitants of the villages through which they paſſed. Shemſhere Behauder, the brother of Balajee, was killed in the way: and only two chiefs were ſaved; Holker, who, after a thouſand difficulties, arrived at Malava, and proceeded from thence to Poonah; and Balajee, who afterwards died of grief.

The Shah, after this victory, viſited Delhi, from whence, after a ſtay of a few days, he marched on the 16th Shabaun 1174, and leaving a governor in Lahore, returned to his own country.

The Shah viſited Hinduſtan the ſeventh time in 1175. The Mahrattas began to recover their ſtrength, and Sooraj Mull had taken the fort of Agra. The Seiks had killed the governor of Lahore, and had raiſed Jeſſa Singh, a man of their own nation, to the throne, and coined money in his name: they had alſo poſſeſſed themſelves of the city of Lahore, and circumjacent country; and were oppreſſing the inhabitants, particularly the Muſſulmen. The Shah therefore marched to Lahore, where he heard that an army of 200,000 Seiks was aſſembled in Serhind. He reached them by travelling 90 coſs in two days; and a battle was fought on the 11th Rujub 1175, when the Shah's army was victorious, killing 20,000 men, and finding a plunder which cannot be eſtimated. On the 7th Shaubaun, in the ſame year, the Shah entered Lahore, and ſettled the country.

He alſo ſent Moor-ed-deen Khan, the brother of Shah Wullee Khan, againſt Sookjewun, the governor of Caſhmir. This man, an inhabitant of Cabul, and of the Chetre caſt, was at firſt a mutſeddy (clerk) to Shah Wullee Khan, and was afterwards ſent by the Shah Duranee to receive ſome money from Moyen-ul-Mulk, the governor of Lahore. In 1167, the Shah diſpatched Abdoolla Khan to reduce Caſhmir, who conquered it from the governor, on the part of Aalumgeer the ſecond, and left in it an army of Afghans, and Khaja Khujuk, to whom he appointed Sookjewun dewan. Sookjewun killed the commander of the Afghans, and firſt confined Khaja Khujuk, and afterwards expelled him from Caſhmir: he then remitted ſome money to Delhi, and procured a firmaun for the government from Aalumgeer the Second, in whoſe name he coined money and read the prayer (kootbah). Noor-ed-deen now marched againſt him with an army of Duranees and Perſians, and was joined by ſome of the rajahs of the mountains. Sookjewun endeavoured to prevent their entrance by ſtrengthening the mountains; but, notwithſtanding all his exertions, the Duranees penetrated into the country, and took Caſhmir. Sookjewun fled, but his family was taken. The Shah, after the reduction of Caſhmir, appointed Noor-ed-deen governor, and in 1176 returned to Cabul.

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An Account of the LIFE *of the late Governor* HOLWELL.

JOHN ZEPHANIAH HOLWELL, was the ſon of Zephaniah Holwell, timber-merchant and citizen of London; and grandſon of John Holwell, well known in the learned world, by his publications on various branches of the mathematics and aſtronomy, between the years 1678, and 1685.

The father and grandfather of John Holwell both fell in ſupport of the royal cauſe, being engaged in Penruddock's loyal but ſhallow ſcheme of proclaiming Charles II. in the year 1655, in the weſt. Thus the ample patrimony of Holwell-Hall, in the county of Devon, which had been poſſeſſed by their anceſtors from time immemorial, was loſt to their deſcendants for ever.

On the reſtoration in the year 1660, the mathematician, John, preſented a memorial to the king, praying relief for himſelf and family, and reſtitution of his patrimony. He had a very ſtrong claim on the royal favour and juſtice; but all the ſatisfaction he obtained, after a long courſe of ſolicitation, was an appointment to the poſt of royal aſtronomer and ſurveyor of the crown lands, and the advancement of his wife to a place of ſome honour, but of little emolument, about the perſon of the queen. Some years after, he was appointed mathematical preceptor to the duke of Monmouth; which preferment, in the end, brought on the ruin of himſelf and family, as his enthuſiaſtic affection for that amiable youth ſeduced his judgment into the belief that he was the legitimate ſon of the king.

Had he confined his publications to the ſciences, it would have been a fortunate circumſtance for him; but, being a firm adherent to the church of England, and a ſtaunch enemy to popery, he employed his pen, while the bill of excluſion was depending, in favour of that meaſure. Though his writings were anonymous, the author could not conceal himſelf; and he was accordingly marked as an enemy to the ſucceſſion of the duke of York.

In 1683, he publiſhed a ſmall tract in Latin, intitled *Cataſtrophe Mundi*, and a tranſlation of it in the ſame year. This production gave ſuch offence to the duke of York, and the partizans of popery, that the printer was taken into cuſtody, and the author diſcovered. This work was a ſevere ſatire on the tenets and political principles of popery, as ſubverſive of the rights of mankind, and vaticinated its ſpeedy downfall. He was accordingly examined before the privy council, but defended himſelf with ſo much ſkill and eloquence that no criminal charge could be fixed upon him. However, in 1684, James the Second ſucceeded to the throne; and, as may well be ſuppoſed, neither the book nor its author were forgotten.

In the cloſe of the year 1685, the miniſtry of king James, not being able to make any legal attack on Mr. Holwell, and at the ſame time dreading the force of his pen againſt the meaſures then meditated for the re-eſtabliſhment of the catholic religion, and the power of the Pope in theſe realms, availed themſelves of the poſt he held under the crown, and ordered him to embark for America, to ſurvey and lay down a chart of the town of New-York: at the ſame time, they ſent ſecret orders to their agents there, to take ſome effectual means for preventing his return. Accordingly, he

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he had no ſooner completed the buſineſs of his miſſion in America, than he finiſhed the career of life: he died very ſuddenly; and his death was attributed, at the time, and on the ſpot, to the application of poiſon adminiſtered to him in a diſh of coffee. He left a widow, one ſon and a daughter; and his property, which was entirely perſonal, was equally divided between them.

His ſon was the father of John Zephaniah Holwell, the ſubject of this memoir, who was born in Dublin the 17th of September 1711, and was baptized at Saint Warbro's church, by the celebrated Mr. Sing, then rector of that pariſh. At the age of eight years he was placed at Mr. M'Kenzie's grammar-ſchool on Richmond-green, Surry, where he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf; and, at twelve, obtained the prize which was annually given there for claſſical learning. Curioſity may be gratified by the information, that the Reverend Mr. Seed, whoſe ſermons are ſo well known and ſo univerſally admired, was at this time an aſſiſtant at that ſchool.

But this career was ſoon cloſed, by the determination of his father to place him with a mercantile friend in Holland. He was accordingly removed to an academy at Iſelmond on the Meuſe, oppoſite Rotterdam, to qualify him for the occupations of the accounting-houſe. Here he learned the French and Dutch languages, and was inſtructed in book-keeping; and, from the readineſs of his capacity, was in a ſhort time declared to be duly qualified to begin his mercantile progreſs. His father accordingly went to Rotterdam, and ſettled him as clerk in the accounting-houſe of his friend Mynheer Lantwoord, a banker, and huſband of ſhips employed in the Greenland trade, on a ſtipulation that he was to be admitted as a partner at the expiration of five years. The unceaſing toil, however, of his new ſituation, ſoon affected his health, in ſuch a manner that he was neceſſarily ſent to Leyden to conſult the celebrated Boerhaave, with whom he remained ſix weeks, and by whoſe care he was qualified, in point of ſtrength and vigour, to return to the mercantile labours of Rotterdam. But an inclination to renew them had altogether forſaken him, while a reſolution never more to engage in them ſoon ſucceeded; and being tempted by a young friend, who was on his return to Ireland, to accompany him thither, he accepted the invitation, and quitted Holland for that country. From thence he was ſoon ſummoned to England by his father, who, finding his diſpoſitions averſe to trade, bound him apprentice to Mr. Forbes, a ſurgeon in the Park, Southwark. In 1729, he had the misfortune to loſe his father, who left behind him a ſlender proviſion for his widow and ſon; but the latter, with a generoſity and tenderneſs which accompanied him throughout life, gave up his portion to add to the comfortable maintenance of his mother; and purſued, with unremitted attention, his profeſſional improvement. Mr. Forbes, his maſter, did not long ſurvive; and young Holwell was then placed, by a friend of the family, under the care and inſtruction of Mr. Andrew Cooper, ſenior ſurgeon of Guy's hoſpital, to perfect him in the knowledge and practice of ſurgery. In this ſituation, he availed himſelf of the ſuperior opportunities it afforded to lay the foundation of that profeſſional eminence which he afterwards attained. On the death of his friend and protector, he quitted the hoſpital, and engaged himſelf as ſurgeon's mate on board the *Duke of Cumberland* Indiaman,

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Indiaman, which failed from Gravesend on the 2d February 1731-2, and proceeded to Bengal, where he was appointed surgeon of a frigate belonging to the Company, bound for the Gulph of Persia. In the course of this voyage, he acquired some knowledge of the Arabic tongue, and, on his return to Calcutta, employed his leisure hours in studying the Mooriſh and common Hinduee languages, and the Lingua Franca of the Portugueze. In January 1733-4, he made another voyage, as surgeon of the ship *Prince of Wales*, to Surat, &c.; and soon after his return to Bengal, he was appointed surgeon-major to the Patua party, usually consisting of about 400 European infantry, which annually left the presidency in the latter end of September, with the Company's trade, for their factory at Patua. His next voyage was in the ship *Prince of Orange*, to Mocha and Juda in the Arabian gulph. During his stay there, he so far perfected himself in the Arabic tongue, as, on his return to Calcutta, to speak it with tolerable fluency. After another visit to Patua as surgeon-major, he was anxious to quit this rambling life; and, by the interest of his friends, was appointed surgeon to the Company's factory at Dacca. During his residence there, he was indefatigable in improving himself in the Mooriſh and Hinduee tongues, the former of which is spoken at that place with much purity; and here he also commenced his researches into the Hindû theology.

At the close of the year 1736, he returned to Calcutta, and was elected an alderman in the mayor's court; and, in 1740, was appointed assistant surgeon to the hospital, which first gave him a solid establishment in the Company's service. In 1746, he succeeded to the place of principal physician and surgeon to the presidency; and, in the years 1747 and 1748, was successively elected mayor of the corporation.

In September 1749, his bad state of health rendered it necessary for him to return to England, where he arrived in the March following. During this voyage, he had leisure to arrange his materials on the theology and doctrines of the ancient and modern Brâhmans, and to digest a plan which he had formed for correcting abuses in the zemindar's court at Calcutta. The scheme of reform he proposed to the Court of Directors, who, in consequence of the advantages it promised to produce, appointed him perpetual zemindar, and twelfth or youngest in council at the board of Calcutta, but with an exception to any further advancement in it.

On his arrival at Calcutta, in August 1751, he immediately began his system of reform, which gave so much satisfaction to the Directors, that the exception against his rising in the council was removed, and four thousand rupees added to his salary. The nature and object of this reform is fully delineated in a volume intitled *India Tracts*, published by him some years after in London.

In 1756, he rose to be seventh in council; and in the month of June, in that year, Surajah Dowlah, nabob of Bengal, attacked Calcutta. The governor and seniors in council having deserted the place, the remaining members of the board, with the inhabitants and troops, elected Mr. Holwell governor and commander in chief of the fort and presidency; who, supported by a few gallant friends, and the remains of a feeble garrison, bravely held out the fort to the last extremity. But a noble defence could not preserve an untenable place, or affect

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an ungenerous enemy: the fatal catastrophe of the *Black Hole* followed; and Mr. Holwell was one of the twenty-three persons, out of one hundred and forty-six, who escaped suffocation in that night of horrors! On his delivery from this cruel situation, he was carried in irons to Muxadabad; but was released on the 31st of July following, by the interception of the begum, Surajah Dowlah's grandmother, who was influenced to this act of compassion by the reports of his upright and lenient conduct to the natives during the time he presided in the zemindar and cutcherry courts. He soon after joined the wretched remains of the colony at Fultah. In December following, the presidency was retaken by vice-admiral Watson and colonel Clive, and the governor and council re-established by them.

Mr. Holwell, being in a most deplorable state of health, obtained leave to take dispatches for the Company to England, and, for that purpose, embarked on board the *Syren* sloop, of no more than eighty tons burthen. In February 1757, after a most hazardous voyage of six months in that small vessel, (a very curious journal of which he has since published,) he arrived in England; and, in consideration of his meritorious services, eminent abilities, and distinguished integrity, was appointed, by a majority of fifteen against nine in the Court of Directors, to return to Bengal as successor to colonel Clive in that government: but this appointment he, with great modesty, declined in favour of Mr. Manningham; he was then named second in council, and successor to that gentleman.

In this situation he embarked on board the *Warren* Indiaman, in March 1758; but being detained by adverse winds till an election of fresh Direc- took place, they reversed, with what justice and liberality will be readily determined, the whole proceedings of the former court, and Mr. Holwell was returned to his previous situation as seventh in council. However, on his arrival in Bengal, he found himself, by the departure of some senior members of the council, fourth in rank; and, in 1759, from a similar removal, he became second; when colonel Clive resigned the government to him. We shall not enlarge on the conduct of his administration, which was most honourable; nor the benefits that the Company derived from it, which were many, as they are displayed at large, with equal truth and modesty, in the India Tracts which have been already mentioned.

At the close of the year 1760, he was superseded by Mr. Vansittart: in the February following he resigned all employment in the Company's service, and on the succeeding month embarked for England in a most wretched state of health, which required upwards of twelve months residence and care in this country to re-establish. Tired of the bustle of public life, he now made his election in favour of retirement and tranquillity, being possessed of an ample and independent fortune, acquired by those means which, being sanctioned by the purest integrity, were calculated to heighten his respectable enjoyment of it.

Governor Holwell did not receive those returns from the East-India Company to which it would appear he was entitled by his long and meritorious services. After abolishing six farms which disgraced their government, he raised the revenue of their zemindary to a clear advance of between eleven and twelve thousand pounds *per annum*, without the smallest degree of oppression to their tenants. He paid into the public

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public treasury twelve thousand five hundred pounds, which the most punctilious integrity alone could have prevented him from adding to his own private fortune. He also recovered, from frauds practised on the Company, an additional sum of between forty and fifty thousand pounds; and was chiefly instrumental in procuring the immense acquisition of the Pergunnahs, after he had been superseded in the government. Nor did he suffer any resentment against the interested cabals of the Directors to operate in checking the progress of his endeavours to promote the interests of the Company at large, in which he continued to employ his superior experience to the last moment of his residence in India. Nor should it be forgotten, that he was the first European who studied the Hindû antiquities; and although he was unavoidably led into many errors concerning them, from his being totally unacquainted with the Sanscrit language, he must be allowed the merit of having pointed out the path, which has finally conducted others, to those repositories of learning and science*.

In the year 1764, he published his India Tracts, containing, 1st, An Address to the Proprietors of East-India stock, setting forth the unavoidable necessity of, and real motives to, the revolution in Bengal in 1760; 2d, A refutation of a letter from certain gentlemen in the council at Bengal to the honourable the secret committee; 3d, Important facts regarding the East-India Company's affairs in Bengal, from the year 1752 to 1760, with copies of several very interesting letters; 4th, A narrative of the deplorable death of the English gentlemen who were suffocated in the black hole in Fort William, at Calcutta, June 1756; 5th, A defence of Mr. Vansittart's conduct.

It is well known, that, by the capture of Calcutta in 1756, Governor Holwell lost many curious Hindû manuscripts, and among them two copies of the Sastras, or book of divine authority, written in the common Hindûee language, for which the commissioners of restitution allowed him two thousand Madras rupees: he also lost a translation of a considerable part of that work, on which he had employed eighteen months. However, during his residence in Bengal, after he was removed from the government, he resumed his researches with some success; and having recovered some manuscripts by an unforeseen and extraordinary event, he was enabled, in August 1765, to publish the first part of his interesting Historical Events relative to the Provinces of Bengal, and the Empire of Hindustan. In November 1766, and August 1771, he published the second and third parts of the same work. To these he added an account of the manner of inoculating for the small-pox in India, with observations on the medical practice and mode of treating that disease in the East.

Such is the history of this amiable, excellent, and honourable man, who, after an active and useful course of thirty years, employed in various and important duties, was permitted, for a still longer period, to continue in the exercise of private virtue, and the enjoyment of dignified repose. His mind was stored with general knowledge; his understanding was at once sagacious and comprehensive; while his imagination gave a lively and pleasing colour to all

* Mr. WILKINS was the first European who acquired a knowledge of the Sanscrit language; and is consequently entitled to the high praise of having first opened the rich mine of Hindû literature.

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all he knew, and every thing he ſaid: A taſte for elegant literature, and the poſſeſſion of elegant accompliſhment, completed his intellectual qualifications. There was a ſuperior urbanity in his manners, which did not proceed more from the habits of his life than the benevolence of his heart: ſo that, while his demeanor aſſimilated him to the higheſt ſtation, it rendered him eminently pleaſing to every ſubordinate rank of ſocial life. In ſhort, nature had written Gentleman with ſo fair an hand in every lineament of his countenance, that it infuſed into all he did the graceful decorum of that character. His honour, riches could not corrupt; his temper, the world did not ſour; his benevolence, age had not contracted. At the advanced period of fourſcore and eight years, his nature was ſtill generous, humane and indulgent; while a lively ſpirit and incomparable pleaſantry, which ſerved to illuminate rather than invade the dignity of his age, continued to cheer himſelf, and delight all around him, to the cloſe of his venerable life.

Such was the character of Governor Holwell; and this faithful delineation of it, is a tribute which affection pays to friendſhip and to truth.

After a few hours indiſpoſition, on Monday the 5th of November 1798, he ſunk quietly and calmly into the repoſe of death.

Placidaque ibi demum morte quievit.

He was twice married; and of his family, three of his children alone ſurvived him—Lieutenant-colonel James Holwell, of Southborough, in the county of Kent; Mrs. Birch, the wife of William Birch, Eſq.; and Mrs. Swinney, relict of the late Dr. Swinney.

Some Extracts from the LIFE *of* HUGH BOYD.

By LAWRENCE DUNDAS CAMPBELL.

[From the firſt volume of Mr. BOYD's *Miſcellaneous Works*, publiſhed a few weeks ago.]

HUGH BOYD was the ſecond ſon of Alexander Macauley, Eſq. of the county of Antrim, in Ireland, who had long been the intimate friend of Dean Swift*. Mr. Macauley was bred to the law; and having very early diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the Iriſh bar, he was firſt appointed one of the king's counſel, and afterwards judge of the conſiſtory court of Dublin. At the time of his death, he had a ſeat in the Iriſh houſe of commons, and was through his whole life much eſteemed for his talents and virtues. He married Miſs Boyd, the daughter of Hugh Boyd, Eſq. of Ballycaſtle, in the ſame county—a gentleman of plentiful fortune and great reſpectability. By this lady, Mr. Macauley had two ſons and two daughters. Hugh, the youngeſt of his ſons, and the ſubject of this narrative, was born at Ballycaſtle, in the county of Antrim,

* Swift appointed Mr. Macauley one of the executors of his will, in which he ſpeaks of him in the following terms: "*Item*: I bequeath to Alexander Macauley, Eſq. the gold box in which the freedom of the city of Dublin was preſented to me; as a teſtimony of the eſteem and love I have for him, on account of his great learning, fine natural parts, unaffected piety and benevolence, and his truly honourable zeal in defence of the legal rights of the clergy, in oppoſition to all their unprovoked oppreſſors."—*See* Swift's Will, *in the 12th vol. of his Works.*

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Antrim, the family ſeat of his maternal grandfather, in the month of October 1746, where he continued during his infancy.

The circumſtances of his being named after his grandfather, of his living under his care until he was four years old, and of his ſhewing, even at that age, ſtrong indications of talents, endeared him to the old gentleman, who beheld the dawn of his genius with mingled emotions of pleaſure and pride, and who uſed frequently to ſay, "Hugh will become a great man!"

There are two anecdotes related of Mr. Boyd while he was a boy, which deſerve to be mentioned, as they ſeem to juſtify the opinion his grandfather entertained of him, and as they mark the firſt growth of that ſpirit and thoſe ſentiments which animated and diſtinguiſhed him through life.

Mr. Boyd had an inſatiable thirſt for information, from his earlieſt infancy; and as ſoon as he was taught to read, which was at five years old, he became fond of books, and uſed to read all he could lay his hands on. He was ſcarce ſix years old, when, reading Vertot's Hiſtory of the Revolutions of Sweden, one evening, in a retired corner of the drawing-room, he ſuddenly exclaimed, "I ſhall never forgive Guſtavus!" The vivacity with which he expreſſed his diſapprobation, attracted the notice, and excited the laughter and admiration of the company, one of whom aſked him, how the Swede had offended him?—"He has taken the crown," anſwered Hugh; "I hope, Sir," anſwered his friend (who was an old ſoldier), "you do not diſlike kings?" "Not always," replied the boy; "but I thought Guſtavus had conquered for the *people*; inſtead of which, I now find it was for *himſelf*."

Soon after this occurrence, another little incident took place, which, however trivial it may ſeem to the generality of my readers, merits attention, as being highly characteriſtic of Mr. Boyd; and as ſerving to ſhew, that the playfulneſs and humour with which, during his whole life, he uſed to aſſuage anger, and parry an attack, and which muſt be ſtill freſh in the recollection of all who knew him, was a natural felicity of diſpoſition, rather than an acquired politeneſs. He had been one day playing marbles, and, eager at his ſport, did not obſerve the approach of the dinner-hour, and had neglected to waſh his hands. On being called into the parlour, he was going to place himſelf at table, when his mother, obſerving his brown knuckles, ordered him to retire, for he had dirty hands. "It is only a little duſt, madam, (ſaid Hugh,) for my father and I have always clean hands, uncontaminated by *baſe bribes*." He was, of courſe, permitted to ſit down; and obtained, in the approving ſmiles of his parents, an earneſt of the future meed of his large honour,—the applauſe of the wiſe and virtuous.

He began to pun while he was yet in his childhood; and he often punned ſo aptly, that he both ſurpriſed and amuſed his friends. This propenſity ſtuck to him through life.

He has himſelf told me of his early predilection for literature and politics;—that he had made but little progreſs at ſchool, when he felt the inſpiration of fancy; which he did not indulge, like the common run of ſprightly boys, by making Latin verſes to his maſter, but by writing political letters, and ſending them to his father.

"Not to name," ſays Dr. Johnſon, "the ſchool or the maſters of men illuſtrious for literature, is a kind

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kind of hiſtorical fraud, by which honeſt fame is injuriouſly diminiſhed." I am therefore happy in being able to trace Mr. Boyd through the proceſs of his education. After being inſtructed in the firſt rudiments of knowledge by his father, whoſe ample acquirements and mild authority ſo well fitted him for the taſk, he was ſent to the well-known and reſpectable ſchool of Mr. Ball in Dublin. At this ſchool he firſt became acquainted with the celebrated Mr. Henry Grattan, who, though two years older, purſued his ſtudies in the ſame claſs, where their early admiration of each other's talents gave birth to that friendſhip which ever afterwards ſubſiſted between them. It is worthy of being remarked, as an honour to the excellent tuition of Mr. Ball, that the preſent lord Chancellor of Ireland, the late Mr. Forbes, together with many other gentlemen eminent for their literary acquirements, were alſo educated under his auſpicious care.

At this ſchool Mr. Boyd made great proficiency in his ſtudies: and his aſtoniſhing memory, no leſs than his prompt diſcernment and fine taſte, excited the admiration of all who knew him. Yet the praiſes which were laviſhed upon him did not infuſe into his diſpoſition any thing of that vanity or petulance which eſtranges a boy from the love of his ſchool-fellows: his unaſſuming manner, together with his gentle but manly and ardent ſpirit, made him alike the favourite of his companions and his maſter.

So early as the age of fourteen, he was placed at the Trinity College, Dublin, and was entered a gentleman commoner of that ſeminary at the November term in 1760.--About this time he became known to the late Mr. Flood, who was then the greateſt ornament of the Iriſh houſe of commons, and whoſe eloquence firſt produced in Mr. Boyd's mind that deſire of attending parliamentary debates which ſo much diſtinguiſhed his future life. The attention with which he uſed to liſten to Mr. Flood's private converſation, and the accurate reports which he uſed to make of his public ſpeeches, induced that accompliſhed man to cheriſh thoſe riſing talents, which, in their maturity, he continued to befriend.

At college, he was as much remarked for his facility of acquiring, as for his power of retaining knowledge. Without ſeeming to attend to any thing but the pleaſures of ſociety, he made very conſiderable advances in literature and ſcience; and in claſſical learning he was equalled by few, and ſurpaſſed by none of his fellow-ſtudents. He poſſeſſed, indeed, many peculiar advantages in the courſe of his ſtudies. His father, who was himſelf a man of great information, attended to the cultivation of his ſon's mind with the utmoſt care, and ſpared no expence whatever in his education; for he appointed, as his tutors, firſt Mr. Marten, and then Mr. Kearney, both men of literary eminence at that time in Dublin, and of great reſpectability in private life. Mr. Marten uſed to characterize his pupil by ſaying, "that he united the meekneſs of the lamb with the ſpirit of the lion."

In 1765, he took his degree of Maſter of Arts; and his grandfather, Boyd, whoſe affection for him grew with his years, wiſhed him to enter into the church: but the death of that virtuous and venerable man, which happened the ſame year, induced him to turn his thoughts to a profeſſion more congenial to the native vivacity of his mind: he accordingly fixed on the army; but his father being deſirous he

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he ſhould go into the infantry, and he preferring the cavalry, ſome delay in conſequence took place; and before the matter was decided, Mr. Macauley died, in 1766, of an illneſs of only a few days; and no WILL being found among his papers, Mr. Boyd was left totally unprovided for, the whole of the family eſtate being ſettled by right of inheritance on the eldeſt ſon.

As this ſudden and unexpected loſs daſhed his hopes of riſing in the army, he relinquiſhed his deſign of purſuing that line of life; and his attachment to literature and politics led him to chooſe the law, as the profeſſion with which, above all others, his favourite ſtudies were the moſt intimately connected, and in which, therefore, he could attend to them without neglecting his duty.

With theſe views, he left his native country a few months after the death of his father, and came to London in ſearch of fortune and fame. In hopes of procuring the patronage of the late Marquis, then Earl of Hertford, to whom his father had rendered many important and acknowledged ſervices, he called at his lordſhip's houſe ſhortly after his arrival; but that noble Lord was poſſeſſed of ſuch peculiar *delicacy* of *feeling* and *ſentiment*, that he ſhrunk from an interview with the ſon of his deceaſed friend, who frequently waited on him without once gaining admittance to his preſence. The *worthy* Earl's behaviour, however, appeared no way ſurpriſing to Mr. Boyd, whoſe early acquaintance with the world had enabled him to form a competent judgment of the motives and actions of men: he was little diſcouraged, therefore, by this circumſtance; and the reſpectability of his family, together with the elegance of his deportment, as well as the inſinuating politeneſs of his addreſs, ſoon procured him an introduction into the gay circles of faſhionable life. Nor was he long unnoticed in the literary ſphere: he became acquainted with Dr. Goldſmith, Dr. Armſtrong, and David Garrick, who had then reached the ſummit of their fame, and with whom he ever afterwards continued in habits of intimacy. About this time he alſo became acquainted with the celebrated Mrs. Macauley, to whoſe huſband he was related. Charmed with his wit and talents, ſhe frequently invited him to her houſe; and there he had conſtant opportunities of mixing in the converſation of the moſt diſtinguiſhed geniuſes of the age. In faſhionable ſociety he was firſt noticed by Lord Effingham, Lord Verney, and Sir Francis Delaval, and afterwards by the old Duke of Ancaſter, and the Earl of Aſhburnham. His great ſkill at the game of cheſs, added to his other acquirements, made the two laſt-mentioned noblemen court his company with the utmoſt ſolicitude; and through them he was elected a member of the well-known cheſs-club, to which they belonged, and of which he ſoon became the next beſt player to Count Bruhl, the Saxon Envoy.

Yet this mode of life did not ſeduce him from his books; he cultivated politics and polite literature with the utmoſt aſſiduity; and if he beſtowed not an equal attention on the ſeverer ſtudies of the law, it is to be attributed partly to the livelineſs of his fancy, and partly to the neceſſity he was under of providing for the day that was paſſing over him, rather than to any want of application.

The inborn generoſity of his mind, together with his exquiſite ſenſibility, prompted him to acts of benevolence, which his ſcanty and precarious income was ill-ſuited to

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ſupply; and before he had been a year in London, he was involved in pecuniary entanglements, from which, alas! he was never at any period of his life to be entirely releaſed. The perplexed ſtate of his mind, however, ſoured not the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, nor clouded his wonted gaiety: all his ſorrows were locked faſt in his breaſt; and no one could diſcover, either by his countenance or his manners, that he laboured under the ſmalleſt uneaſineſs.

This happy ſuavity of temper, joined to his dignified urbanity and chaſtened humour, rendered him an univerſal favourite among the fair ſex. Nor was he unmindful of their admiration. He paid his addreſſes to Miſs Morphy, a young lady altogether worthy of his noble mind; and, after an acquaintance of one year and ſome weeks, he married her in December 1767. By this marriage his circumſtances were made ſomewhat eaſier, as Miſs Morphy poſſeſſed a handſome competency, and as her good ſenſe and many amiable qualities often availed to moderate, if not to reſtrain, thoſe extravagances to which he was unfortunately ſo prone.

Through his marriage he became known to the three Meſſrs. Neſbet, who were Mrs. Boyd's guardians, and to their nephew, the preſent Mr. John Neſbet, member for Gatton, as well as to the late Mr. Robert Cooper Lee. To the two laſt mentioned gentlemen, Mr. Boyd was under the greateſt obligations; and the active friendſhip which they on all occaſions manifeſted for him, deſerves the higheſt praiſe.

About this period he alſo fell into the acquaintance of the late Mr. John Stuart, of Hampſtead—a gentleman who poſſeſſed a mind congenial to his own, whoſe ardent and diſintereſted friendſhip knew no bounds but virtue and honour, and whoſe affection for him continued to glow with undiminiſhed warmth to the laſt moment of his life. Perhaps there never was a friendſhip more durable and ſincere than that which ſubſiſted between theſe two accompliſhed men.

In the ſummer of 1768, Mr. Boyd went to Ireland for a few months, on ſome private buſineſs. During his ſtay in Dublin, he was conſtantly in the company of Mr. Flood, who, on that, as on every other occaſion, ſhewed him the greateſt poſſible attention, and who thought ſo highly of his abilities, that he every where talked of him as a prodigy of genius.

At this period, political parties ran very high in Ireland: and the newſpapers were filled with controverſies, in which men of the firſt talents in the kingdom were engaged. One evening, while Mr. Flood ſat at his own table, after dinner, entertaining a large company, *of which Mr. Boyd was one*, he received an anonymous note, incloſing a letter on the ſtate of parties, ſigned *Sindercombe*. The note contained a requeſt that Mr. Flood would peruſe the incloſed letter, and that, if it met his approbation, he would get it publiſhed. Mr. Flood read it to the company, who declared, with one burſt of applauſe, that it ſhould be ſent immediately to the printer. It conſequently appeared in a morning paper *, and produced a very ſtrong ſenſation on the

* Notwithſtanding my moſt diligent inquiries, I have not been able to find the particular paper in which this letter appeared; and I have conſequently ſpoken of its merits from the opinions of others.

Thoſe who were not particularly converſant with our hiſtory during the Commonwealth, were at a loss to diſcover what the author alluded to, by adopting the ſignature of

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the public mind, as well from the clear and forcible reaſoning it contained, as from the uncommon beauty and energy of its ſtyle.—Every endeavour was made, without effect, to diſcover the author. That Flood ſuſpected Mr. Boyd, is extremely probable; but I know not that he ever hinted ſuch a ſuſpicion to any one. Mrs. Boyd always thought that Sindercombe was her huſband's production, from ſeveral circumſtances which no one elſe poſſeſſed the means of obſerving; and many years afterwards, ſhe was ſatisfied that her conjecture was founded in fact—though Mr. Boyd himſelf never either acknowledged or denied that he was the author. This, doubtleſs, was his firſt attempt at preſerving that ſecrecy in his political writings in which he was always ſo ſucceſsful, as well as his firſt eſſay in that ſpecies of literary compoſition in which he afterwards ſo much excelled.

A few days ſubſequent to the publication of Sindercombe, Mr. Boyd returned to London; and in the autumn of 1768, he took a houſe in Great Marlborough-ſtreet, in which he lived for ſome years in a very genteel ſtyle, though he never had yet been ſet free from the pecuniary incumbrances with which, ſince the death of his father, he had been conſtantly haraſſed. About this time, however, he received ſome ſmall addition to his income, by the death of his couſin Adam Boyd. His grandfather Boyd, had in his will, bequeathed to him, failing of his couſin, a freehold eſtate in the county of Antrim, on the condition, enjoined in the ſtricteſt manner, of changing his name from Macauley to Boyd. In conformity, therefore, with the will of his grandfather, he now adopted the name of Boyd, and became poſſeſſed of this eſtate, the groſs rental of which amounted to 600l. *per ann.*; but the ſeveral annuities with which it was burthened, together with the litigations to which ſome of them gave riſe, reduced that ſum to a mere trifle; and the eſtate being entailed to the heirs-male of his body, he could neither ſell any part of it, nor even grant a ſingle ſecurity upon it, in order to liquidate thoſe debts that were in the firſt inſtance contracted by the unfortunate neceſſities and peculiar hardſhips of his early youth.

Yet theſe were matters which gave him hardly any concern: he was ever more anxious about the affairs of his friends than his own; and he has frequently plunged himſelf into difficulties, to ſave the credit, or to relieve the diſtreſs, of the man he loved. A mind ſo conſtituted, was not to be ruffled by ordinary adverſities; and, bleſſed beyond moſt men in the matrimonial connexion he had formed, he enjoyed the utmoſt ſerenity amidſt the ſtorms of life, and the greateſt content and happineſs, notwithſtanding the vexations and embarraſſments by which he was ſurrounded.

of *Sindercombe*; and Boyd uſed to ſhew great anxiety to explain it to them, whenever the ſubject was talked of. *Sindercombe* was a perſon who had undertaken to murder Oliver Cromwell, but who was prevented from executing his purpoſe by ſeveral unaccountable accidents. At laſt Cromwell diſcovered him; and he was tried, convicted, and condemned: but the voice of the people was raiſed ſo high in his favour, that the *Protector* deemed it prudent to diſpatch him privately; and he was found dead in his bed on the morning which had been appointed for his execution. Cromwell artfully gave it out that *Sindercombe* had poiſoned himſelf, leſt the people ſhould take the alarm: but it appears evident, from the concurrent teſtimony of the moſt reſpectable writers of that time, that Cromwell had given *Barkſtead* poſitive orders to ſmother him in bed. Hume treats this ſubject rather more lightly than it deſerves, and gives credit to the ſtory of the poiſon.

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It was this tranquil and eaſy temper, no leſs than his ſanguine conſtitution, that enabled him to call into action all the ſpirit and vigour of his mind, whenever he thought proper to exert them: and at the ſame time to beſtow the moſt watchful attention, and pertinacious diligence, on whatever buſineſs he was induced to undertake. But his early attachment to politics became every day more ſtrong; and neither the hope of emolument, nor the earneſt entreaties of his friends, could incite him to purſue the law profeſſionally, though he had attained conſiderable knowledge both of its principles and practice. He therefore dedicated his whole time to politics and literature; and, towards the latter end of the year 1768, he commenced a correſpondence with the daily paper intitled the *Public Advertiſer*, at that time conducted by Mr. Henry Sampſon Woodfall, which he kept up with the greateſt caution, and the moſt impenetrable ſecrecy, for three years and ſome months. The nature and purport of this correſpondence he never diſcloſed to any one of his friends, not even to Mrs. Boyd; and he died in poſſeſſion of his ſecret. Mrs. Boyd, however, has long been convinced, from a variety of ſtrong concurring circumſtances, that this ſecret was nothing leſs than his being the writer of thoſe celebrated letters which appeared in the *Public Advertiſer* under the ſignature of JUNIUS, during the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and in January 1772.

This being a matter, not only of great importance to Mr. Boyd as a writer, but alſo of no ſmall curioſity in the hiſtory of Engliſh literature, I have thought it incumbent on me to fathom it with the utmoſt attention, to inveſtigate every channel of intelligence connected with it, and, finally, to aſcertain whether the ſuppoſition, that he was the author of the Letters of JUNIUS, be founded in truth. The ſum of my inquiries impreſſes me with the firmeſt conviction that Mr. Boyd was, in reality, the writer of thoſe letters; for, although there be no direct poſitive proof, yet are the internal as well as circumſtantial evidence ſo ſtrong, that no candid man of taſte or judgment will deny me the concluſion I have drawn.

This ſubject has already been noticed by Mr. Almon, in his *Biographical, Literary and Political Anecdotes*; and it has been ſlightly touched upon in the Preface to a former edition of Mr. Boyd's Life. Since the publication of theſe works, Mr. George Chalmers has informed the public, that "he has collected documents which completely ſatisfy him that Mr. Boyd was the author of JUNIUS;" and this declaration of Mr. Chalmers gave riſe to a controverſy in the newſpapers which has attracted ſome attention.

[Mr. CAMPBELL here enters into a long inveſtigation of this curious ſubject, the reſult of which amounts to a complete proof of the fact that Mr. HUGH BOYD was the real author of the celebrated Letters of JUNIUS.]

In the ſummer of 1771, Mr. Boyd took a houſe at Kenton-green, near Harrow. At this place he reſided for upwards of five years, both with a view to avoid the expences of a town life, and to be near the ſons of a deceaſed ſiſter, who were, during that period, at Harrow ſchool. For theſe youths he ſhewed all the tenderneſs, anxiety and provident care of a father: he never miſſed an opportunity of having them at his table, when he had company calculated either to improve their minds, or to afford them innocent amuſement; and he was particularly attentive in preventing them from coming to his houſe when

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when he had parties with him, who were either too jovial in their pleasures, or too free in their converſation,—forgetting not the admonition of Juvenal,

Nil dictu fœdum, viſuque hæc limina tangat,
Intra quæ puer eſt.————
Maxima debetur puero reverentia.——

Some months after the Letters of JUNIUS were publiſhed collectively, Boyd met Sir William Draper at the tennis-court, where their acquaintance was originally formed in the year 1769, and where (being both great tennis-players) they uſed often to meet. The converſation turning upon Junius, Sir William obſerved, "that though Junius had treated him with extreme ſeverity, he now looked upon him as a very honeſt fellow; that he freely forgave him for the bitterneſs of his cenſures; and that there was no man with whom he would more gladly drink a bottle of old Burgundy*." Boyd took no notice of the obſervation; but, after playing at tennis till a late hour, he propoſed to Sir William, that they ſhould dine together at a favourite tavern. The knight readily conſented to the propoſal; and he enjoyed his Burgundy, while Boyd had the inward ſatisfaction of doing juſtice to his candour, as well as to his wiſhes.

Mr. Boyd at this time uſed to be much in the ſociety of Armſtrong and Goldſmith, eſpecially with the latter, whoſe ill ſtate of health had induced him to take a country lodging at the Hide, on the Edgeware-road, about three miles diſtant from Kenton-green. Goldſmith often walked acroſs the fields to Mr. Boyd's, and would paſs ſeveral days with him. Their converſation, as may be readily expected, was always on literary and critical topics; and Goldſmith uſed to inform Boyd of the different works he had in contemplation, and to relate to him all that paſſed at the celebrated literary club in Gerrard-ſtreet. On theſe occaſions, Boyd obſerved, "that his friend Goldſmith never committed any of thoſe abſurdities, nor betrayed any of that idle and clumſy affectation of wit, which too frequently rendered him the ſport of Richard Burke, Garrick, and the other wicked wags at the club†." Goldſmith uſed to criticiſe Pope's epiſtolary ſtyle: and, once that he dined at Boyd's, he condemned it in ſevere terms, and gave a ſpecimen of what a familiar letter ſhould be.

A few months before Goldſmith's death, Boyd having heard from Richard Burke, that *Little Noll*, as they uſed to call him, had been ſeverely attacked at the club, and that he meditated a poetical reply, immediately went to him, in order to diſſuade him from an attempt in which he conceived there was little chance of his ſucceeding. He found him buſily employed in giving the laſt poliſh to ſome parts of his well-known and admirable poem of *Retaliation*, which the Doctor read to him in great triumph, requeſting his opinion as to its merits. Boyd told him that he thought the aggreſſors extremely reprehenſible, and that they were entitled to no quarter; but fearful leſt the ſeverity with which he had drawn the characters of the Burkes, would not only put an end to the friendſhip which ſubſiſted

* This was Sir William's favourite wine. The *bewitching ſmiles of Burgundy* had an irreſiſtible influence on his heart.

† Goldſmith had no talent for repartee; yet he could not diveſt himſelf of that ridiculous notion, too prevalent in the learned world—that when a man of genius is in company, it is neceſſary he ſhould be a wit.

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fisted between them and Goldsmith, but likewise disturb the harmony which prevailed in the club, induced him to soften several expressions, and entirely to cast anew the character of William Burke. As Goldsmith had an high opinion of Boyd's critical taste, he was much pleased with the emendations he had suggested; and he begged of him to call again in a few days, when the poem should be completed, that he might submit the remainder of it to his perusal, and that they might read the whole of it over attentively together. But Goldsmith did not live to carry his plan into execution.

He died, unexpectedly, of a nervous fever; and when his friend Boyd, who had not heard even of his illness, called on him at the appointed time, a singular circumstance occurred: He inquired of the maid-servant, who opened the door at Goldsmith's lodgings, whether the Doctor was at home? she answered, yes. He asked, if he might see him? and she made the same reply: upon which he ran up stairs, when, on entering his apartment, he was shocked beyond description at seeing poor Goldsmith extended in his coffin!

This event took place in March 1774. In the course of this year, Boyd paid greater attention than he had yet done to the study of the law; and, though he disliked the practice of that profession, his pecuniary necessities, together with the advices of his friends, seemed for a while to prevail over his natural inclination. Nevertheless, he did not withdraw himself either from the literary or fashionable circles with which he had been accustomed to associate, and his ardour for politics still continued unabated. He constantly attended the houses of parliament, but merely for his own gratification and amusement; and the day after an important debate, he used to write down, entirely from memory, the speeches of those great men whose political opinions accorded with his own, and whose eloquence he most admired. Some of those speeches he occasionally published; and the extraordinary accuracy with which they were reported, astonished all who had heard them. There was, in particular, one speech of Lord Camden's in the house of lords, on the dispute with the American colonies, of which, when it was published, Mr. Burke, who had heard it, declared in Boyd's presence, that not only the sentiments, but the expressions, were so exact in every part, that his lordship must have written it himself. He was afterwards informed that Boyd had reported it.

Mr. Boyd was such an enthusiast in politics, that he actually sacrificed both his private pleasures, and personal convenience, in attending the proceedings in parliament. At a particular time, when the orders of the house of commons were extremely strict in excluding all strangers, except Irish members *, he attempted to gain admittance, by passing for one; but the door-keeper knew him too well to be deceived by the stratagem, and refused to let him enter the house. Boyd, as it was his custom, endeavoured to soften

* Before the year 1770, strangers were seldom or ever admitted into the gallery of the house of commons; and no regular accounts of the proceedings in parliament were suffered to be printed in the newspapers until the year following, when a circumstance occurred that induced parliament to comply with the wishes of the people, by allowing their debates to be published in the daily papers. The printer of the *London Evening Post*, having been ordered to attend at the bar of the house of commons, for a breach of privilege in having printed a report of their proceedings, he positively

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ſoften the man into compliance, when George Dempſter (then one of the directors of the Eaſt-India Company), happening to paſs at the time, and overhearing what was ſaid, rebuked the door-keeper, and aſked Boyd his name. Having gone too far to recede, he replied, "*Wilſon, member for Antrim*;" which name Mr. Dempſter gave to the ſpeaker, and then uſhered Boyd up to the gallery, where he, of courſe, remained unmoleſted. The next morning he went to breakfaſt at Mr. Lauchlin Maclean's, where he had hardly ſat down when Mr. Dempſter was announced; and, fearful of being diſcovered, he thought it prudent to make a precipitate retreat, to the no ſmall ſurpriſe of Maclean, who knew nothing of the circumſtance that had taken place the preceding evening. Boyd and Dempſter afterwards became acquainted.

Yet he was not ſo much occupied with politics, as to neglect the elegant purſuits of polite literature, or the tender duties of private friendſhip. He had formed an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Hartſon, (author of the tragedy of the *Counteſs of Saliſbury*, a piece which ſtill holds its place on the ſtage;) a young man of fine parts, great accompliſhments, and amiable manners; and who, before the age of thirty, had made the tour of Europe three times. Being of a conſumptive habit, and at this time in extreme ill health, Mr. Boyd invited him to his houſe at Kenton-green, that he might have the benefit of change of air: but his malady was too far advanced to admit of any cure; and neither the power of medicine, nor the ſoothing, but cheerful friendſhip of Boyd, could afford him any effectual relief. After living many weeks at Kenton-green, Mr. Hartſon returned to town, and died in a few days, without leaving any other effects than a few manuſcript poems and plays, to Griffin the bookſeller, whom he had appointed his executor, and to whom he had probably been indebted. Boyd, knowing Hartſon's diſtreſſed circumſtances, called on Griffin the moment he heard of his death, and generouſly offered his ſervices. Griffin begged he would order and manage the funeral, which he did: and for which Griffin afterwards refuſed to pay; ſcandalouſly, if not falſely, pleading in excuſe, that the manuſcripts were of no value. Boyd's friendſhip for the deceaſed would have amply compenſated in his mind for the loſs he had thus ſuſtained, if his own wants had not been already ſo numerous, and at the ſame time ſo rapidly increaſing: For this was not the only inſtance in which he met with ſtill heavier loſſes, through his ardent and unbounded generoſity, through his love of literature, and his admiration of genius: and once or twice, indeed, by allowing

poſitively refuſed to obey their ſummons; upon which they ſent a meſſenger to take him into cuſtody: but the printer, foreſeeing what would happen, applied to Mr. Wilkes, then an alderman of London, to afford him his protection, in caſe the meſſenger ſhould attempt to take him by force. As it was expected, the meſſenger inſiſted on taking the printer into cuſtody: the printer charged him with an aſſault, and a conſtable inſtantly appeared, who took the meſſenger to the Manſion-houſe, before the Lord Mayor (Croſby), Alderman Oliver, and Mr. Wilkes, who would have committed him without heſitation, had he not been bailed by the deputy ſerjeant at arms. The houſe of commons, in conſequence of this, ſent the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver to the Tower, not chooſing to touch Mr. Wilkes; but, finding the ſpirit of the people riſe high againſt their proceedings, they deemed it prudent to releaſe the Lord Mayor and Oliver, to give up the conteſt, and in future to ſuffer their debates to be publiſhed. *See a particular account of this affair in Mr. Almon's Biographical, Literary, and Political Anecdotes.*

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artful, ready, and false friends, to take advantage of the extends and moderation of his temper, he reduced himself to the greatest distress, in order to relieve them from that doom, the utmost rigours of which their base and shameless ingratitude subsequently proved them to have deserved. On all those occasions, however, he had many real friends, whose prompt and active kindness soon extricated him from his difficulties.

With his friend, Mr. Stuart of Hampstead, he used, at this period, very constantly to associate; and at his cheerful and hospitable table he enjoyed the society of his old friends, Lauchlin Maclean, and the excellent Dr. Armstrong, together with many other gentlemen distinguished for their genius and learning. These literary parties, after passing some days at Hampstead, would often, at the suggestion of Armstrong, remove their sittings to the Devil-tavern in Fleet-street; a house much noted as the resort of the wits of those days, where they concluded their classic revels with the same spirit and harmony with which they had commenced them.

Mr. Stuart told me, that Armstrong and Boyd used to have long critical discussions about the style of Junius, which the Doctor always censured, as being too affected and sententious, and which Boyd invariably, but calmly, defended, as being the best adapted to the subject to which it was applied. Yet I have often heard him express his high opinion of Armstrong's exact critical discrimination and fine taste: though, on political subjects, he said, they never agreed, as the Doctor was a staunch Tory; but, he used to add, he was a *liberal Tory*.

It was his practice, however, to avoid politics as much as possible in private company: and he was always particularly [illegible] of public [illegible] Chatham, [illegible] veneration [illegible] could not [illegible] when he [illegible] lower them.

In January [illegible] the first of these [illegible] Chatham's [illegible] his works. [illegible] it on the [illegible] Lord Dartmouth's [illegible] address to his Majesty [illegible] ing him to open a way [illegible] settlement of the [illegible] rica." Of this [illegible] derful powers of [illegible] gether with his having [illegible] roused his mind to [illegible] "peculiar energy of [illegible] ment," enabled him [illegible] most perfect recollection [illegible] Temple, and many others [illegible] it, used to say that Mr. Boyd [illegible] was *verbatim* as it was [illegible] it is, if possible, still more [illegible] dinary, that after eighteen [illegible] had elapsed, I have heard him [illegible] peat the greatest part of [illegible] Boyd's mode of writing [illegible] speeches from memory, was [illegible] ther peculiar, and therefore desirable [illegible] to be recorded: he never took [illegible] notes of the speeches he had [illegible] but after attending a long debate [illegible] parliament, he would sup at a [illegible] vern with some friends, return home [illegible] at two or three in the morning, go [illegible] to bed directly, rise about seven [illegible] and write down such speeches as he [illegible] had most admired in the course [illegible] the debate, without once looking [illegible] at any of the newspaper reports to [illegible] facilitate his recollection. This is [illegible] an absolute fact, which many of his [illegible] friends have often witnessed.

It may, perhaps, be asked, how a [illegible] man of such uncommon abilities never got any public employment in [illegible] this country? and how he came to [illegible] he

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be overlooked by his friends in high life? But thoſe who beſt know the road to preferment, will eaſily reſolve theſe queſtions, when they are informed that there was nothing he ſo much diſliked as ſoliciting favours from the great, and that there was nothing ſo repugnant to his feelings as the idea of being politically connected with men whom he deſpiſed: and every man of the world knows full well, by what ſlow degrees unaſſuming genius or indigent virtue obtain the patronage of the powerful and the rich.

Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obſtat
Res anguſta domi.—

Yet, though Boyd was ſo little anxious—it may be, ſo blameably careleſs, about the advancement of his own private fortune, he was indefatigably zealous in promoting the views of his friends, and the intereſts of his country: no man ever loved the one with more ſincerity, or the other with greater ardour. Nor, in attending to theſe home-felt concerns, did he overlook the leſſer duties of humanity. Every action of his life beſpoke the benevolence of his mind: poverty never came to his houſe unaided, virtue unhonoured, nor vice unreproved. The following anecdote will place, in a conſpicuous point of view, the mild courage, the manly tenderneſs, and the dignified liberality, that marked his character. He was walking alone one day acroſs Kilburn-fields, on his way from Kenton-green to Hampſtead, when he was ſtopped by a footpad with a crape over his face. The manner in which the footpad accoſted him, induced Boyd to ſuppoſe it his firſt offence; and inſtead of being diſconcerted or alarmed at the piſtol which he had preſented at his breaſt, he harangued him in gentle but ſtrong terms on the impropriety of his conduct, till the man, ſenſibly touched with his language, withdrew the piſtol. Boyd then gave him his money, but endeavoured to diſſuade the man from taking his watch, as it was a preſent from a particular friend, which would be of little value to him, and by which he would run the riſk of being detected. The footpad, however, pleaded the extreme poverty of his family; and Boyd at laſt gave him the watch, together with a ſolemn injunction regarding his future conduct. On giving notice, ſome days afterwards, at Fielding's office, he found the man was a new offender, as he had conjectured; notwithſtanding which, he ſoon forgot the advice that he had given him, committed other robberies, and was at laſt taken up, tried, and condemned, as Mr. Boyd had foretold, by the evidence of the pawnbroker with whom he had pawned the watch. The dread of approaching death at laſt ſoftened the unhappy culprit into repentance and contrition, and called forcibly into his recollection Mr. Boyd's injunction, which he had diſregarded; but, having ſtill ſome hopes in that tenderneſs which had been before expreſſed for him, he ſent his wife to Mr. Boyd, who fell on her knees, begging him to ſave her huſband, as he had been a man of good character, whom nothing but the miſeries of his family could have tempted to go on the highway, and who ſincerely intended, when he had procured a ſum of money ſufficient to relieve him from his miſfortunes, to return to his buſineſs of carpenter in Woolwich-yard, whither ſhe referred Mr. Boyd for a character of her huſband, and whither he immediately went. The character he got of the man was excellent; and he brought away a petition in his favour, ſigned by the curate, and ſome of the principal

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cipal workmen in the yard. Two friends of Mr. Boyd's, Mr. Glenny and Mr. John Bowman, joined him in his exertions to save this unfortunate man, and were no less assiduous about the matter than himself. Boyd wrote to Sir John Day, who sent him a letter to Sir George Wombell, from whom he procured an introductory letter to Lord Sandwich. He lost not a moment in calling on his lordship; but finding he had gone to Woolwich, Boyd pursued him thither, was desired to call the next day in town, which he did, when his lordship received him with great politeness, promised to intercede for the desired pardon, and accordingly obtained it. Boyd then, accompanied by his friend Mr. Glenny, visited the man in Newgate-cells, who manifested great sorrow for his crime, and abundant gratitude towards his benefactor. Boyd returned from the cell, deeply impressed with the horror of the scene he had witnessed. The footpad, however, was pardoned, but not reclaimed. In the course of a few years, he betook himself to his former practices; was first condemned to the hulks for burglary, and at last hanged for having been concerned in robbing the dock-yard at Portsmouth; affording a striking example of the inefficacy of clemency towards the prevention of crimes in those who have once been initiated in the practices of vice, and of the difficulty of bringing back to the ways of honesty he who has once been immured in the cells of Newgate.

Shortly after this event, an affair happened, which for a while greatly interested the public mind, and which gave Mr. Boyd another opportunity of exercising his humanity. In the month of June 1775, the famous trial of the two brothers, Robert and Daniel Perreau, for forgery, commenced at the Sessions-house in the Old Bailey.—They were indicted for being concerned in forging several bonds and notes in the name of Mr. Adair the agent. It were tedious to enter into the particulars of this curious case, which will be found very fully detailed in *Dodsley's Annual Register, Vol.* XX. It is sufficient to state here, that Mrs. Rudd, the mistress of Daniel Perreau, a woman of exquisite charms, but of great art and wickedness, was, by her own confession, the person who forged the bonds; but the jury, being fully satisfied of the Perreaus being privy to the forgery, or that they at least had connived at it, brought in their verdict, "Guilty of publishing and uttering the bond, knowing it to be forged."—Though these unfortunate young men were found guilty, they were not mentioned in any report to his Majesty till the month of December following, probably because some doubts had arisen on the legality of trying Mrs. Rudd, who claimed the privilege of having become king's evidence, notwithstanding her not having been called upon at the trial. This question involved points of so much importance, that it was deemed requisite to take the opinion of the twelve judges upon it, who, after some deliberation, determined that Mrs. Rudd was not entitled to the advantages of king's evidence. She was accordingly tried, and, for want of sufficient evidence, acquitted. Her trial lasted from nine in the morning till near eight in the evening; and when the jury brought in their verdict of *Not guilty*, the audience testified their approbation by the loudest applauses that were ever known in a court of justice;—excited, I should imagine, rather from a sympathy with the sufferings of penitent beauty, than from a conviction of her innocence; for it is a fact,

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a fact, that many circumstances of unheard-of deception came to light after her acquittal. These circumstances induced Mr. Boyd, as well as many others who had attended the trials, to believe the Perreaus were innocent; and their dignified firmness, and pious resignation, had so great an effect on Boyd, that he warmly interested himself in their favour. A most moving petition was presented to her Majesty, in favour of Robert Perreau, by his wife and three children, in deep mourning; and another in his favour likewise, by seventy-eight capital bankers and merchants in the city of London. Respecting these petitions, the privy council were divided in opinion; and Lord Suffolk was said to be in favour of the petitioners. To the noble lord, therefore, Mr. Boyd addressed several letters on this afflicting subject, which appeared in the *Public Advertiser*, which was written with his usual force and elegance, and which were much noticed and admired at the time. Yet, notwithstanding all that was urged in extenuation of the misconduct, if not in proof of the absolute innocence of the unhappy culprits, they were included in the next report to his Majesty, and ordered for execution on Wednesday the 27th of January 1776. They accordingly suffered death at Tyburn on that day, with calm and manly fortitude, and after the most solemn affirmations contained in two papers which each delivered to the ordinary, that they were entirely innocent of the crime for which they died. Mr. Boyd's regret and disappointment at this melancholy catastrophe, seemed proportioned to the strenuous zeal with which he had endeavoured to avert it.

In the course of the year 1775, he had visited Cambridge, where he had an opportunity of enlarging his acquaintance with men of science and literature; and where he received from St. John's college the degree in *A. M. ad eundem*, as being a Master of Arts of Trinity college, Dublin. He here became acquainted with the present Marquis of Abercorn, with whom he afterwards lived on terms of great intimacy.

In January 1776, he was called to the bar, where, however, he never practised, as well for the causes which I have before explained, as on account of the many extrinsic difficulties which were thrown in his way. But politics still continued to occupy a great part of his attention.

He went to Ireland in the spring of 1776, for the express purpose of attending the general election, as well as giving his vote in the county of Antrim to his friend Mr. Wilson, and of managing the canvass on his side. Previous to the election, he published the letters of the *Freeholder* *, which had such an astonishing influence on the electors of Antrim, that he found little difficulty in carrying the cause of his friend, notwithstanding the *weighty* and *sterling* arguments of the opposite party.

Mr. Wilson, and the present Lord Henry Seymour Conway, were chosen for the county; and Mr. Skeffington was thrown out. The contest was conducted with peculiar discretion; and it was remarked at the time, that it was the only county election in that part of Ireland which had ever been concluded without a duel; and which was attributed to the mild and polished manners of Lord H. S. (then Mr.) Conway, and of Mr. Boyd, who, after

* See these letters in Vol. I. of Mr. Boyd's *Miscellaneous Works*, published for Messrs. Cadell and Davies, 1800.

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after oppoſing each other the whole day with the utmoſt ardour and animation, would retire from the conteſt in perfect good fellowſhip.

On Mr. Boyd's return to London, he found parties in parliament running high, and the politicians without doors in a ferment, reſpecting the memorable declaration, by the repreſentatives of the United States of America, in general congreſs aſſembled, wherein they aſſigned their reaſons for withdrawing their allegiance to his Majeſty. He loſt no time in ſending a few letters to the *Public Advertiſer* on that important ſubject, which, however, he wrote with little care, owing to the multiplicity of private affairs in which he was then engaged. He alſo drew up a ſpirited manifeſto in the name of General Waſhington, which was inſerted in the *Public Advertiſer*, which attracted a vaſt deal of attention, and which was for ſome time believed to be genuine. Thoſe who are converſant in the party politics of that time, will remember this manifeſto, as well as the credit which, for a while, it obtained with the public.

In the beginning of 1777, he gave up his country reſidence at Kenton-green, and took a houſe in Norfolk-ſtreet, in the Strand. And about this time, at the particular deſire of his friends Mr. Lauchlin Maclean * and Mr. Stuart, he wrote one or two letters relative to the diſpute between the Eaſt-India Company and Mahommed Ally Khan, the nabob of Arcot, which appeared in the *Public Advertiſer*. Theſe letters are written in a plain, eaſy ſtyle; ſetting forth, in a perſpicuous and forcible manner, the claims of his highneſs the Nabob; but occaſionally throwing ſarcaſtic reflections on the conduct of ſome gentlemen then at Madras, who had borne a conſiderable ſhare in the buſineſs alluded to, as well as of the odium which was attached to it. He likewiſe wrote a pamphlet, explanatory of the conduct of the Nabob, both as it regarded the depoſition of the Rajah of Tanjore, and the impriſonment of Lord Pigot †, governor of Madras; ſhewing his highneſs's right of ſovereignty over the former, whom he conſidered as his vaſſal, and exonerating him from the charge of having been concerned in the hoſtile proceedings of the council at Madras againſt the latter.

Soon after this, Mr. Maclean went to India, for the purpoſe of accommodating matters between the Company and the Nabob, and of bringing his highneſs's debts into a train of liquidation. Before his departure, he made ſome arrangements with Boyd, in reſpect to the means of ſupporting the Nabob's cauſe in this country, and of keeping alive the public intereſt concerning it; and he found himſelf under ſo many obligations to Boyd, that he faithfully promiſed he would, upon his return from India, aſſiſt in clearing him from all his pecuniary difficulties. This promiſe did great honour to Maclean's heart, and I doubt not he would gladly have fulfilled

* Mr. Maclean was the Nabob's accredited agent in England.

† On the 24th of Auguſt 1776, Lord Pigot was arreſted, with circumſtances of peculiar violence, by order of Meſſrs. George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, and George Mackay, then members of the council at Madras, and confined under a military force in his own government; in which degrading ſituation he died, after a rigorous impriſonment of nine months, and a ſhort time before the order of the Court of Directors for his releaſe arrived at the preſidency. *See the particulars of this extraordinary tranſaction, impartially, though not fully, nor altogether accurately detailed, in Dodſley's Annual Regiſter, Vol. XX; and an authentic account of Lord Pigot's death, in Vol. XXI. of the ſame Work.*

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filled it; but he never again saw him. The ship on which he had embarked at Madras for England, was never heard of after she left the Cape of Good Hope, and must consequently have foundered at sea.

The attention which Boyd thus paid to Indian politics, did not, however, occupy any great part of his time; for he neglected not his usual amusements. As he now resided in town, he constantly frequented the chess-club, and during this year associated very much with his old friends, the Duke of Ancaster, the Earl of Ashburnham, and Count Bruhl.

At this period, too, he was more in the society of the Burkes than he had hitherto been; as he was not only much at their own houses, but also met them at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, to whose literary parties he was often invited, and by whom, as I have before stated, he was greatly admired. At Sir Joshua's he once or twice met Johnson; and notwithstanding the Doctor's toryism, and his severe attack on Junius, no man held his genius and virtues in greater reverence than Boyd; which circumstance, in my mind, sufficiently accounts for the silence of Junius respecting Johnson's animadversions on his writings.

Boyd's fine taste in painting peculiarly recommended him to the notice of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who used to have frequent conversations with him on the subject, and who used to ask his opinion on the pieces on which his own masterly pencil was employed: and his discriminating judgment in this delightful art, the following anecdote will serve to shew: He went once with a party to Audley-end, the seat of Sir John Griffin, to see a collection of very fine paintings, and particularly some figures of Venus in different attitudes, by an eminent artist. On viewing the first, he observed, "that there was an extraordinary degree of animation in the countenance," adding, "that the Venus's of fancy generally wanted that quality." On examining the other figures of the goddess, he made the same remark; when the conductor told him, with a smile, "You are very right, Sir,—the dairy-maid, a beautiful young woman, sat for all these pictures." The painter fell in love with his Venus, and carried her off with him.

Nor was Mr. Boyd's taste in literary composition less exquisite than in painting. At the memorable trial of the unhappy Dodd, he was so much struck with the eloquence of his defence, and so much persuaded that it must have been written by Johnson, that, when he returned home, he committed it to paper. A few days afterwards it was published, with a notification of its being the composition of Dr. Johnson: and when the original was compared with Boyd's report from memory, they were found to be, word for word, the same. A more convincing proof of an acute discernment, a refined taste, and a most tenacious memory, will not, I believe, be found in the whole range of biographical history.

He was extremely fond, as I have shewn, of being present at all interesting trials; but he never allowed that amusement to interfere with his attendance in the houses of parliament; for the love of politics still swayed his mind.

On November the 20th, 1777, he attended the debate in the house of lords at the opening of the session; and when he went home, he wrote down Lord Chatham's celebrated speech on that occasion, together with the noble Earl's reply to Lord Suffolk, which, however, he did not publish till the year 1779.

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He was alſo below the bar of the houſe of lords, on that memorable day, in 1778, when the wiſeſt ſtateſman, and perhaps the moſt accompliſhed orator, either of ancient or modern times, made his dying exertions in ſupport of the freedom, the honour and the glory of his country, and whoſe voice was no more heard in the ſenate houſe.—*Illud immortalitate dignum ingenium, illa humanitas, illa virtus craſſi morte extincta ſubita eſt, vix diebus decem poſt eum diem, qui hoc et ſuperiore libro continetur. Illa tanquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox, et oratio, quam quaſi expectantes, poſt ejus interitum, veniebamus in curiam, ut veſtigium illud ipſum, in quo ille poſtremum inſtetiſſet, contueremur**.

When Lord Chatham fainted, the houſe was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion. Aſſiſtance was called for from behind the bar; and Mr. Boyd immediately offered his ſervices, which, however, were not afterwards required. The noble Earl was conveyed to his ſeat at Hayes in Kent, and expired on the 11th of May.

In 1779, Mr. Boyd publiſhed his *Genuine Abſtracts of the* (aforeſaid) *Speeches of the Earl of Chatham*, with a preface and notes. They were printed in the form of an octavo pamphlet for J. Dodſley. Before the pamphlet was put to preſs, he apologized to his old acquaintance, Mr. Almon, for not giving it to him;—ſaying, "that as he (Mr. Almon) had been perſonally known to Lord Chatham, the publication by him might ſeem to inſinuate it was with the concurrence of his lordſhip's friends; which not being the fact, his delicacy would not permit to be inferred."

The ſame year he was recommended by Mr. Stuart and Mr. James Macpherſon†, to the five depoſers‡ of Lord Pigot, not only to plead their cauſe in Weſtminſter-hall, but alſo to write a pamphlet to endeavour to efface the odium which had been thrown upon their characters. But Mr. Dunning being their leading counſel, they thought it unneceſſary to employ any one elſe; and, owing to a particular circumſtance, which it is not material to relate, Boyd declined writing the pamphlet.

But he had now a proſpect of procuring a ſituation, which would have opened the road to his ambition, and for which his great abilities were peculiarly well ſuited. Governor Paterſon and Mr. Flood uſed their utmoſt intereſt to get him appointed under-ſecretary of ſtate, in Lord George Germaine's department; and, for that purpoſe, he was recommended in the ſtrongeſt terms to his lordſhip by a friend who had great influence with him. Nevertheleſs, all the efforts that were made in his favour proved unſucceſsful, owing

* *Cic. de Orat. lib. iii. ſ.* 1.

† The Tranſlator of the celebrated Poems of Oſſian, and at this time Agent to the Nabob of Arcot.

‡ On the 16th of April 1779, Admiral Pigot, brother to the unfortunate nobleman in queſtion, moved in the houſe of commons, an addreſs to his Majeſty, praying, "that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions to his attorney-general to proſecute the five depoſers of Lord Pigot," whoſe names have been already mentioned. Mr. Stratton, the principal perſon concerned in that affair, being a member of the houſe, and preſent in his place on the occaſion, entered into a long vindication of his own and of his colleagues conduct; which, however, did not ſatisfy the houſe; and the Admiral's motion was carried without a diviſion. Mr. Stratton and his friends were accordingly proſecuted. The trial came on in the Court of King's-Bench, before Lord Mansfield, on the 20th of December 1779, at nine in the morning, when the jury returned their verdict *guilty*: they were, however, ſentenced to pay only a trifling fine.

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owing to ſome *hidden cauſe**, which, as I know not the exact truth, I ſhall not attempt to develope. The failure of this buſineſs gave infinitely more concern to his friends than to himſelf; for as his political ſentiments differed widely from thoſe of the adminiſtration, it was with the greateſt difficulty Mr. Flood perſuaded him to agree to the application being made; but the deplorable condition of his affairs, and the hopes of ſerving his family, at laſt induced him to yield to his friend's entreaties.

After this affair dropped, he ſent ſeveral letters to the *Public Advertiſer*, ſigned *Democraticus*, ſome of which I have inſerted in this collection of his writings†.

In the winter of 1779, and the ſpring of 1780, he wrote the letters of the *Whig*, which he addreſſed to the people of England, and which, as has been ſtated, appeared in Mr. Almon's morning paper intitled *The London Courant*. Theſe were his laſt political productions which merit any attention; but he afterwards publiſhed, in the ſame paper, a few letters, ſigned *Kitty Backpinch*, in ridicule of the Scotch, which, although they would be unintereſting now, furniſhed a vaſt deal of amuſement at the time.

Having, by ſome accident, ſnapt the *muſculus plantaris* of his leg, he was deſired by his friend John Hunter to recline daily on a ſopha; and although he was in extreme pain, it was in this ſituation that he wrote thoſe humorous letters. After his recovery, he dined at Mr. Lee's, where there was a hoſt of cotchmen at table. The converſation turned upon *Kitty Backpinch*'s epiſtles, which occaſioned much laughing and many pleaſantries. Several conjectures were made about the author; but the ſuſpicion never fell upon Boyd, who profeſſed himſelf equally anxious with the reſt of the company to diſcover the wicked wit that had taken ſo many liberties with his friends.

He ſtill continued to be a conſtant attendant in the houſes of parliament. In the gallery of the houſe of commons he often ſat near Mr. Pitt, the preſent chancellor of the exchequer, before that right hon. gentleman became a member of the houſe. They at laſt got well acquainted; and once, after a long debate on the affairs of Ireland, they retired together to a late dinner, and over their wine jointly committed to paper the ſubſtance of the debate, and tranſmitted it to Ireland. When the bill was called for, Boyd chanced not to have caſh enough about him to pay his ſhare; and Mr. Pitt lent him a few ſhillings to make up the deficiency.

Of theſe favourite amuſements, however, he was now obliged to take leave. The exigencies of his ſituation engroſſed all his attention; and the experience of the inconveniences he ſuffered for them, determined him to attach himſelf to ſome fixed purſuit, whereby he might be enabled to repair his fortune. With this view, he got his intimate friend, Mr. Lawrence Sullivan, to recommend him to Lord Macartney; and on his lordſhip's nomination to the government of Madras, he appointed him his ſecond ſecretary.

With this appointment he left England (though with much reluctance), embarked for India with Lord Macartney's ſuite, and arrived at Madras in the autumn of the year 1781.

After

* This cauſe, I ſtrongly ſuſpect, will be explained when Mr. Chalmers publiſhes documents in proof of Mr. Boyd having written the Letters of Junius.

† See Vol. 1. of Mr. Boyd's *Miſcellaneous Works*.

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After his arrival at that settlement, he devoted his leisure hours very sedulously to the study of eastern politics, in which he was not long in attaining a considerable knowledge.

An opportunity soon occurred to call that knowledge into action. A powerful confederacy was at this time formed against the British possessions in India, which aimed at nothing less than their total destruction, and which the active genius of a Hastings, and the dauntless heroism of a Coote, perhaps could have alone subdued.

Thus situated, a plan was proposed, and speedily adopted, by the government of Madras, of forming an alliance with a people, with whose manners and country we were very slightly acquainted; but from whom much assistance might be derived, in reducing the power of a great commercial rival, with whom we were then at war.

The Dutch had long remained in undisturbed possession of the trade of the island of Ceylon; but the time was now arrived when they had to encounter in an enemy an intelligent and adventurous rival, and when all that energy was required to be called forth, which, in their better days, repelled the arms of Spanish tyranny.

After the reduction of Negapatam, and the fall of the other Dutch settlements on the coast of Coromandel, an expedition was planned and executed against Trincomallée, in Ceylon, under the direction of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes.

Mr. Boyd accompanied this expedition, being deputed, by the governor in council of Madras, on a special mission to the King of Candy. He embarked on board the Admiral's ship, the *Superb*, and was on shore at the storming of Trincomallée, a few days subsequent to which he set out on his embassy to Candy.

A particular account of this mission will be found in Mr. Boyd's journal*, which is now printed for the first time, and inserted in the second volume of his works†, together with a preface that comprises an *Historical Account of Ceylon*, and that points out the importance of Mr. Boyd's embassy, as well as the ability with which it was conducted.

The object of this embassy was to conclude a treaty of alliance between the Government of Madras and the King of Candy, by which the latter was to be required, not only to supply the British troops in Ceylon, with the essential article of provisions, but also to send a powerful army to co-operate with the English in the reduction of Columbo. The King of Candy, after much persuasion, agreed to supply the English with provisions; but he positively refused to take any part in the

* This journal was written by Mr. Boyd during his embassy, and the copy of it which is now published, together with the letters contained in the appendix to the embassy, were transmitted by him to Mrs. Boyd, when he was a prisoner in the Isle of Bourbon, and have by her been carefully preserved since that time. The account I gave of this embassy in a former edition of Mr. Boyd's life, is in some parts inaccurate, owing to my not having, when I wrote that account, any other information concerning it, than what I had collected from some casual conversations with Mr. Boyd on the subject. One or two of those inaccuracies it may be necessary to point out. It stated that Mr. Boyd had only an escort of an havildar and twelve sepoys, and that he was only twelve days on his journey from Trincomallée to Candy; whereas it appears, from his own account, that he had a whole company of sepoys, commanded by a British officer, and that he was exactly one month between Trincomallée and Candy.

† See this journal in our Miscellaneous Department. Ed.

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the war againſt the Dutch, or to conclude a treaty of alliance, except with an ambaſſador commiſſioned by the king of England himſelf. It was in vain that Mr. Boyd repreſented to his Highneſs, that the Governor of Madras was the repreſentative of the King of England in India, that he conſequently had full powers to negotiate with foreign ſtates, and that he had in fact concluded treaties with many other princes in Hinduſtan. The Candian monarch remained inflexible, and Mr. Boyd was at laſt obliged to depart from his court, without having obtained the moſt material purpoſe of his miſſion.

On his return to Trincomallée, he hired a ſmall veſſel to carry him to Madras with all poſſible expedition; the frigate that had been appointed by the admiral to carry him thither, having put to ſea. This proved an unlucky circumſtance to Mr. Boyd; for the day after his departure from Trincomallée, he fell in with the French fleet, commanded by Monſ. de Suffrein, was made priſoner, and ſent on board La Fine frigate. The captain of this ſhip was a polite companionable man, and ſhewed him great reſpect and kindneſs. Such manners, under misfortune, are peculiarly conciliating.

The morning after his capture, the lively Frenchman told him, with a ſmile, that the Engliſh fleet was in ſight, and that their ſituations might probably be ſoon reverſed. "*Les armes ſont journalieres,*" ſaid he, with much vivacity, and giving him his hand—"*a quelque "choſe malheur eſt bon mon ami!*" —but fortune was unkind to his priſoner.

The fleets engaged, and the action, as is well known, laſted till night. La Fine, by ſome miſmanagement, got into the Engliſh line, and fell ſo cloſe on board the Iſis, a fifty gun ſhip, that the French commander thought it folly to attempt getting off, and hailed that he had ſtruck; upon which ſeveral Engliſh priſoners went on board the Iſis, but Mr. Boyd, being rather indiſpoſed, declined quitting the Frenchman till the morning; in the mean time, however, a freſh breeze ſprang up, and before the Iſis, in her diſabled condition, could take poſſeſſion of her prize, the frigate took the advantage, and got clear off. Mr. Boyd remonſtrated againſt this proceeding of the French captain in terms ſo pointed and ſtrong that he was ordered into cloſe confinement. The next day the French captain releaſed him, apologized for the manner in which he had treated him, and endeavoured to extenuate the impropriety of his conduct towards the Iſis.

When La Fine arrived at the iſland of Mauritius, Mr. Boyd was made a cloſe priſoner, and was kept there ſeveral months. He was afterwards ſent to the Iſle of Bourbon, (for what reaſon he never could learn,) where he lived at the governor's table, and was treated with the utmoſt kindneſs and liberality.

Captivated with that generoſity and politeneſs for which the people of this iſland are peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, he felt not the inconveniences, much leſs the hardſhips, of impriſonment. Such ſocieties he was born to animate, felicitate, and delight: in them he gave grace to learning, cheerfulneſs to wiſdom, and elegance to wit.

But the liberality of the governor put a period to the pleaſures which he enjoyed in this beautiful iſland: he offered Mr. Boyd his parole, which reſpect for his ſituation obliged him, however reluctantly, to accept.

On his return to Madras he ſolicited Lord Macartney for an appointment,

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pointment, by which he could advance his fortune; but his lordſhip having none at his immediate diſpoſal, Mr. Boyd went for a few months to Calcutta, where he lived on terms of intimacy with Sir John Macpherſon, then governor of Bengal, and where his talents, wit, and humour, together with the ſuperlative ſprightlineſs of his convivial qualities, will be long remembered with pleaſure.

His ſtay at Calcutta was ſhorter than he intended. Being appointed maſter-attendant at Madras, he was recalled to that preſidency.******

******During the Myſore war, which terminated in 1792, he conducted a paper, intitled, *The Madras Courier*: It was very juſtly admired for preciſion in detail, and taſte and judgment in ſelection.******.

******His plan for "*The Indian Obſerver*," was made known to the public ſome time in Auguſt 1793, and ſoon obtained a very liberal encouragement.

The novelty of the attempt in that country excited univerſal curioſity, which it was known the great talents of the conductor were well qualified to gratify. In the courſe of a month the ſubſcription amounted to four hundred names.

The work was now to commence, but Mr. Boyd very properly judging it would give greater ſatisfaction by appearing through the channel of a weekly paper, in which the politician and merchant, if they reliſhed not the literary treat, might reſort to more homely repaſts, propoſed this mode to his friends, by whom it was highly approved.

This paper he intitled *The Hircarrah*, the firſt number of which appeared on the 9th of September 1793, and which, before the publication of the ſecond, procured nearly one hundred additional ſubſcribers.******

******In February 1794, Mr. Boyd adverti ſed propoſals for publiſhing by ſubſcription his *Embaſſy to Candy*, with particulars of that country, and of the iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon, in two volumes 8vo. The ſubſcription did not increaſe ſo rapidly as might have been expected. It was certainly a work from which the world would have derived much entertainment and information. The tardineſs of the public damped the ardour with which he had embraced the project; and he delayed taking up his pen till a ſufficient ſum was ſubſcribed to bear the charges of the preſs. But in September following, urged by ſome friends, he reſolved to begin, and partly on that account cloſed the *Obſerver* with a poſtſcript, in which there is a conditional promiſe to renew the eſſays at a future period, and to print, in a collective form, thoſe that had appeared.

He now undertook the work with zeal, and confidently hoped to finiſh it within ſix months; but this hope was never realized. He was ſeized with a fever, which carried him to his grave.

The thread of this narrative has now brought me to an awful, afflicting, and intereſting ſcene, of which, though I was myſelf a melancholy ſpectator, I would much rather decline the deſcription; but reverence for truth, and juſtice to the memory of my departed friend, oblige me to diſcloſe it.******

***Bleſſed with a vigorous conſtitution and an even flow of ſpirits, he paſſed through a chequered and buſtling life without having, till now, been confined with any ſerious illneſs. The fever, therefore, which, from its beginning, preyed upon his vitals, he felt with an anguiſh, imbittered by reflection on the embarraſſment of his affairs, and exaſperated by the calls of diſappointed creditors. Yet his mind, ſuperior

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superior to misfortune, disdained the language of sorrow; and his heart, warmed by the recollection of benevolent actions, solaced itself in the exercise of religious duties.

Some days previous to his death, during a paroxysm of his fever, I was called to take my last farewell—to tear myself from that bosom in which my affections had so long reposed! My friend was extended on his bed, his once expressive visage pale and emaciated, his eyes hollow and languid, and his voice feeble and low. He stretched out his hand to receive me, and only whispered he was ill; but the big tear that rolled down his still animating countenance, was more intelligible than all the figures of language.

This is a scene in which friendship discovers every secret goodness, and at the same time finds palliations for every fault; in which power loses all its influence, and rivalship all its envy; in which dissipation and folly tremble, and vice and impiety stand appalled. "Whoever would know how much piety and virtue surpass all external good, might here have seen them weighed against each other; where all that gives motion to the active, and elevation to the eminent—all that sparkles in the eye of hope, or pants in the bosom of suspicion, at once become dust in the balance, without weight and without regard." But it did not fall to my lot to attend him in his last hour. His life was prolonged for a few days more, and he expired in the arms of a virtuous and enlightened friend, whom he had always regarded with tenderness, and whose abilities he had always admired. With this friend I was sitting in the sick room, (the last time I ever sat in it,) when suddenly raising himself in his bed, he called us near him, and with a tremulous voice, though with a composure and clearness seldom attainable in such situations, spoke the following lines:

In life's gay flow, when all obey
The sprightly notes of pleasure's call;
Can then the faithful mirror say,
I shew a just original?

In scenes of pow'r, of pomp and place,
Where proud ambition's vot'ries bow;
Can there the mirror's shining face,
Of life a true resemblance shew?

No! 'tis not where ambition's hand
Sweeps o'er the polish roughly warm;
Nor where keen pleasure's sighs demand
Her flatt'ring images to form.

'Tis there, where with reflection's aid,
And purified by pain,
Man contemplates his sickly bed——
The mirror then shines plain!

He would have proceeded, but his feelings were unable to bear those reflections which he had already conjured up. He burst into a flood of tears, and reclined again on his pillow.

As his fate approached, he told the friend to whom I have above alluded, that some *friends* had abandoned him: yet, though he felt this defection with the keenest regret, no expression of resentment, no emotion of anger, not even a look of unkindness, sullied the purity of his dying sentiments; but in forgiving his enemies, and in offering up his prayers to the Almighty, for his kindred, his friends, his country, and all mankind, with entire resignation, and the most perfect calmness, he breathed his last! Thus ended the life of this great and extraordinary man, at once remarkable for the most brilliant talents and the most exalted virtues—for the misfortunes which obscured the one, and for the follies which surrounded the other.

His death happened on the 19th of October 1794, in the forty-eighth year of his age: and he was interred the day following in the New Burying-ground at Madras.

Among the number who mourn the loss of Mr. Boyd, are his

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widow; a ſon and daughter, who by all accounts ſhew that the genius of their father ſurvives; his brother, Alexander Macaulay, Eſq. who lives on the family-eſtate in the county of Antrim, and who is married to a ſiſter of the preſent Lord Viſcount Gosford; and his ſiſter, Mrs. Godley, a lady of great accompliſhments, and many virtues.

The perſon of Mr. Boyd was tall and graceful, formed with the moſt exact ſymmetry; his mien noble and elevated; his countenance animated and commanding, and his deportment exceedingly elegant.

He poſſeſſed great ſtrength and agility of body, and was particularly fond of all athletic exerciſes, in many of which he excelled.

In the hours of mirth and conviviality he was too deſirous of diſplaying his ſuperiority in trifles; and uſed at times to relax his dignity, and ſhew his ſkill at a trick. But in thoſe practices he was guided much by his company; for it was one of his maxims, "That a man ſhould always endeavour to adapt his converſation and manners to the prevailing taſte of his company, provided the doing ſo did not violate the rules of morality or decorum."

In ſocial life, he poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, thoſe qualities which give confidence to fellowſhip, and zeal to benevolence; which give incitement to charity, and activity to friendſhip. His manners were ſo captivating, that they at once intereſted every affection of the heart. His pleaſantry and humour extorted ſmiles from the inflexible miſanthrope, and infuſed cheerfulneſs into the breaſts of the diſconſolate. The perſuaſive mildneſs of his language conciliated the boiſterous, and ſubdued the rude. But in the practice of theſe virtues he was not unaccompanied by the neighbouring paſſions. Regular men were diſpleaſed with his deviation from order, and prudent men were offended with his total neglect of economy. His boundleſs profuſion was generally condemned, and his munificence often got the name of injuſtice.

Yet if his generoſity gave that in charity, which juſtice demanded as a right, the undeſerving at leaſt never ſhared in the donation: for wiſdom, which ſeemed to have forſaken him in the common affairs of life, directed his mind in its more exalted operations, and always guided him in his charitable diſtributions. Though from diſtreſs, in whatever form it appeared, he never could withhold immediate relief, yet to vice or idleneſs he never deliberately gave encouragement. Under his roof, where every man who wanted a home found a ready admittance, hoſpitality was by conſequence ſometimes miſapplied; which, although his penetration ſoon perceived, his exceſſive delicacy and politeneſs would not allow him to remedy. Let not, therefore, thoſe immenſe ſums of money which he laviſhed away be entirely placed to the account of his own extravagance; for they were at times augmented by the folly or ſordidneſs of others, and, in a few inſtances, by thoſe vultures of office, who prey on the unſuſpecting candour and generoſity of their maſter's diſpoſition.

In his friendly attachments he was leſs frequently miſtaken; for he founded them on the broad baſis of diſintereſted principle. Difference of ſentiment, diſtruſt, and jealouſy, the moſt formidable enemies to friendſhip, found no place in his breaſt: there all was equable, ſmooth, and gentle.

The warmth of affection which he bore his friends, ſeemed at times

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to border on prejudice; and he was too apt to hide their blemiſhes, by magnifying their perfections: yet, if his applauſes were ſometimes unqualified, his cenſures were always ſparing. Of him it may be ſaid, in the words of that great ſtateſman and orator, whoſe eloquence and patriotiſm have been ſo long the pride of his country, and the admiration of Europe—"that his enmities were placable—his friendſhips eternal!" *

In private company Mr. Boyd never indulged in perſonal ridicule. Scandal he deſpiſed with becoming dignity: he always endeavoured to ſtifle every petty whiſper of malevolence; and in his converſation he was ſo particularly cautious and correct, that I do not remember ever to have heard him inſinuate, much leſs openly expreſs, any thing injurious to a private character.

Entering early into life, with a mind diſcurſive and powerful, and a judgment penetrating, definite, and clear, he attained a very extenſive and accurate knowledge of mankind; which important advantage, aided by a vivid imagination, embelliſhed with all the graces of learning, gave him a pre-eminence in familiar converſation, that cannot eaſily be equalled, and has been ſeldom ſurpaſſed.

He could accommodate himſelf to every company and to every mind, and poſſeſſed the rare quality of diffuſing pleaſure wherever he appeared. In mixed ſociety, the quickneſs of his apprehenſion allowed nothing to eſcape his notice: his mind was always preſent, and his whole powers ready at every call. He could vary his ſubjects with the utmoſt promptitude, and examine each with equal preciſion: with the ſerious he could be moral; with the ſtudious he could be learned; with the polite he could be elegant; with the gay he could be witty; with the frolickſome he could be humorous; and with the unlettered he could be plain.

At his convivial board his wit ſparkled with every glaſs, and his jocularity flowed as plentifully as his wine: but it was the charms of the one, rather than the excellence of the other, that allured his gueſts, and detained them till a late hour; for even his meals were a feaſt for the underſtanding †.

On theſe occaſions he at times became a keen polemick, and engaged warmly in literary and political diſputes: but his argumentative powers were not commenſurate with his other qualifications. His imagination was greater than his judgment; and his reaſoning, therefore, though dextrous and ſpecious, had little ſolidity or depth. His hearers, however, were always delighted, if not always convinced.

In the warmth of diſputation, he occaſionally ſhewed ſome ſlight degree of arrogance. To maintain a favourite poſition, he would pour forth a torrent of learning, and dare the confutation of his antagoniſt: and in ſcrutinizing public characters he was, perhaps, too much influenced by his private feelings. Yet in the heat of diſcuſſion, he was always agreeable: he never ſoiled his lips with the breath of animoſity, far leſs with the meanneſs of perſonal alluſion. The ſuavity of his manners he preſerved inviolate. In his converſation there was no violence, no harſhneſs, no aſperity; nothing loud, nor coarſe, nor rude; all was mild, and eaſy, and elegant.

* "*Amicitiæ ſempiternæ, inimicitiæ placabiles.*"

† *Ut voluptates quoque ſtudiis condiantur.* PLINY.

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When argument at any time ran high, or tended to produce any ſerious diſcord, he would ingeniouſly change the converſation by a humorous ſally; and if any angry diſputant ſhould not yet be diſpoſed to yield, he would, with admirable quickneſs, turn his ſyllogiſms into an epigram, and tell him with an irreſiſtible pleaſantry, "Now my "friend, do indulge us with an "armiſtice." In turning thoſe epigrams, he was often particularly happy; and although he was too fond of interlarding them with puns, which, like other puns, were frequently inſipid, yet they ſeldom failed to excite applauſe, and promote cheerfulneſs.

In female ſociety, he preſerved his merriment with delicacy, and his wit with gracefulneſs, without loſing its point. Of the *belle aſſemblée* he was an ardent admirer, and he joined the ſprightly circle with frequent delight; but the licentiouſneſs of the drawing-room he unreſervedly condemned. That reſtleſs propenſity to game—that *Cacoëthes aleatarium*, which renders morbid every generous principle in youth, and pollutes the hoary honours of age; which diſgraces the faireſt forms, and corrupts the pureſt hearts—found an enemy in Boyd, who, though goaded by a wild extravagance, had never been driven into its ſnares. He admoniſhed its deluded votaries, not leſs by precept * than example.

Of his intellectual elements, his imagination was the moſt powerful and active. His genius, bold, aſpiring, and adventurous, formed conceptions beyond the bounds of ſublunary nature; and his judgment was only not vigorous when it endeavoured to reſtrain his fancy. His mind, in all its operations, was aſſiſted by a curioſity perpetually awake, and a comprehenſive capacity of obſervation; by an intuitive perception, a tenacious memory, and an underſtanding that could aſſociate the remote and the familiar, the beautiful and the grand.

But the diſtinguiſhing qualities of his mind were memory, clearneſs, and perſpicuity. What he had once heard, or read, he never forgot. He could repeat all the paſſages that he moſt admired, and theſe were of courſe very numerous, in the writings of Demoſthenes and Cicero, of Thucydides and Tacitus, of Bacon, Machiavel, and Monteſquieu. In poetry, his favourite authors were Homer and Milton; and he could repeat ſeveral books of the Iliad, and of Paradiſe Loſt, from the beginning to the end. The ſpeeches that he had heard in Parliament, or in the courts of law, he always remembered, not only in ſubſtance, but in the very form and phraſe in which they were ſpoken. And even in familiar converſation, whatever intereſted his mind, never again eſcaped it.

The ſtrength of his memory, and the clearneſs of his underſtanding, were ſuch, that he could make arithmetical calculations of conſiderable length and intricacy entirely in his mind: without taking down a ſingle unit, he could in a ſhort ſpace of time multiply nine given figures, by other nine, and give the product; and in the ſame manner he could, in the courſe of an hour, reſolve any queſtion in the Rule of Three, or in Vulgar Fractions. In playing at his favourite game of cheſs, he would walk about the

* Whoever wiſhes to know his deteſtation of this vice, will find the ſubject treated in a very maſterly and elegant manner, in the ninth number of the Indian Obſerver, vol. ii. page 152, of Mr. Boyd's Miſcellaneous Works.

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the room, and, while he was converſing with ſeeming attention on other ſubjects, dictate the moves to another perſon, from being told the ſituation of his adverſary's pieces, and the moves he had made, without once looking at the board himſelf.

Yet, notwithſtanding theſe uncommon inſtances of a piercing and vigorous intellect, notwithſtanding the logical preciſion and arrangement of his thoughts, he poſſeſſed not that ſtrong reflecting faculty by which the human mind is enabled to inveſtigate the whole proceſs of its own operations, to follow up the chain of abſtract reaſoning, and to explore the ſources of metaphyſical truths. But his mind had an extenſive graſp. He contemplated the univerſe with the poetic eye of philoſophy, and embraced at once all the various organizations, not only of the moral, but the material world.

His learning, like his genius, was more ſplendid than profound. He feaſted on all the fruits, but had not thoroughly cultivated the ſoil of the literary garden. He had made a general ſurvey of every region of human knowledge; but his particular reſearches were confined to claſſical learning, morals, and politics.

With the belles lettres, and with the literary and civil hiſtories of every age and nation, he was familiarly acquainted. He read the claſſics, both of ancient and modern Europe, in their original dreſs. In the Latin and French languages he was eminently ſkilful; and his knowledge of the Greek was ſo conſiderable, that one would have imagined he had been all his life a recluſe ſcholar, rather than a man of the world. Endowed with a taſte by nature moſt exquiſitely delicate, and refined by the elegancies of the Attic ſchool, he was nice in polite criticiſm, without being faſtidious; and ſevere in philology, without being pedantic.

Of the ſtage he was an enthuſiaſtic admirer, and on dramatic poetry, as well as on dramatic repreſentations, a critic of great acumen, judgment, and taſte. On this ſubject, his opinions were not formed from the poliſhed models of the Grecian, ſtill leſs from the forced correctneſs of the Pariſian ſtage; they were drawn from the originals of nature, as repreſented in the diverſified ſcenery of the immortal genius of Britain.

With talents ſo poliſhed, wit ſo refined, learning ſo amplified, and taſte ſo chaſtened, had Mr. Boyd applied himſelf to the cultivation of dramatic poetry, he would doubtleſs have added ornaments to the Engliſh ſtage, which, with its declining elegance and morality, could have alone decayed.****

[Mr. CAMPBELL then proceeds to give an account of Mr. Boyd's miſcellaneous writings; and to refute an abſurd charge brought againſt his political principles by Mr. George Chalmers; but as it would be foreign to our purpoſe to take any notice of this, we ſhall conclude our extracts from Mr. Boyd's Life in the words of his biographer.]

Such is the life and character of Hugh Boyd, delineated, I hope, with the integrity of truth, though, it may be, I have at times imperceptibly leaned to the ſide of friendſhip. If, for this, I ſhould be condemned by the auſterity of juſtice, I have yet an appeal to benevolence, from whom I ſhall expect a milder ſentence. But let not even juſtice too raſhly frown; for mature reflection may ſoften her decree.

In eſtimating the qualities of Boyd, much candour and conſideration is required. It is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh his foibles from thoſe of others. Moſt men only ſhew to

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the world their fair ſides, conceal-ing, under a dazzling varniſh, in-numerable faults; whereas his frail-ties, however great, appeared open as day—while ſome of the nobleſt virtues, like diamonds in the mine, were impervious to the ſight of the ſuperficial obſerver. If there are thoſe who ſhould tax the juſtneſs of this obſervation, and who to his imperfections ſhould give a harſher name, let them reflect on the frail-ties incident to nature, and the mutability of their own condition: let them learn, in the ſublime lan-guage of Shakeſpeare, the duty of fellowſhip, and the amiableneſs of candour.

——— How would you be
If He who is the top of judgment ſhould
But judge you as you are? Oh! think on that,
And mercy will then breathe within your lips,
Like man new made.

If, in tracing the wanderings of a friend's life, I have been led into greater length than I foreſaw, I re-queſt my readers to examine their own hearts; and if there they find no apology for that fondneſs which deludes reaſon, and, "bathes the "ſpirits in delight," in contemplat-ing the genius and virtues of a de-parted friend, even the eloquent ſen-ſibility of a Jaffier may plead in vain. The firſt duty of a biogra-pher is to lay open the lights and ſhades of his hero's character, and, by the ſtrong effect of finiſhed co-louring, to encourage the modeſty of virtuous indigence, and repreſs the inſolence of proſperous vice. How well I have performed this duty, it remains for the Public to determine. I ſhall wait their deci-ſion with anxiety, but not without confidence: for, having contributed my mite to the cauſe of friendſhip, virtue, and truth, I ſhall at leaſt be entitled to the praiſe of having en-deavoured well.

Sketch of the LIFE *and* CHARACTER *of Sir* WILLIAM JONES.

THE name of Sir WILLIAM JONES ſtands ſo high in the ranks of literature, as well as in the eſtimation of mankind, that it would require not only to have been well ac-quainted with the great original, but to poſſeſs a very bold and maſterly pencil, to draw a full and faithful picture of his life. That ſuch a picture will ſoon be pre-ſented to the Public, we have every reaſon to believe; and did we not conceive it to be an indiſpenſible part of our duty to give ſome deſcription in our firſt volume, of the greateſt luminary that ever ſhone on Aſiatic ſcience, we ſhould have poſt-poned our account until we could have rendered it more complete and valuable, by extracts from the work alluded to. But, ſituated as we are, it ſeems proper to inſert the following ſketch, which we truſt will prove acceptable to our readers.

SIR WILLIAM JONES was born in A. D. 1746, at his father's re-ſidence in Wales. He was ſon to the celebrated mathematician, Wil-liam Jones, who was both the diſ-ciple and friend of Newton, under whoſe patronage he taught mathe-matics in London, and had the ho-nour of inſtructing the late Earl of Hardwicke in that ſcience. Mr. Jones publiſhed ſeveral tracts on analytical ſubjects, for which he had high and merited encomiums beſtowed on him by the Royal Society, at that period ſo illuſtrious for their talents. This eminent ma-thematician had in contemplation a work of the firſt magnitude and uti-lity, which had long been a *deſide-ratum* in literature, and the com-pletion

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pletion of which would have required all the attention that his comprehenſive mind and vaſt knowledge in philoſophy was capable of applying to it; for it was nothing leſs than a Synopſis of the mathematical and philoſophical works of Newton, of whom it has been eloquently ſaid, "That his name is "not ſo much that of a man as of "philoſophy itſelf." Unfortunately, however, for the advancement of ſcience, a fatal illneſs carried him to his grave, ſhortly after he had put the firſt ſheet of his work to the preſs; and his friend the Earl of Macclesfield, to whom he had bequeathed the MS. and whom he had particularly inſtructed to publiſh it, by a ſhameful breach of truſt, lent it to an inſignificant geometrician, from whoſe hands it was never redeemed.

Under the guidance and tuition of ſuch a parent, Sir William Jones's mind was early formed to regular habits of thinking; and from him he ſoon caught the generous enthuſiaſm of literary fame. After having been inſtructed by his father in the rudiments of claſſical learning, he was placed at Harrow ſchool, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf no leſs by his wonderful facility in acquiring the learned languages, than by his fine taſte in Latin poetry. At Harrow he firſt became acquainted with the celebrated Doctor Parr, who was one of his ſchool-fellows, and with whom he cultivated a friendſhip, that continued, without interruption or abatement, to the laſt hour of his life.

In 1768, he was removed from Harrow to Univerſity College, Oxford, of which he was ſoon made a Fellow; and where he was equally diſtinguiſhed for the prematurity of his mind, and an unexampled diligence in his ſtudies. His diligence was indeed ſo unremitting, and his memory ſo retentive, that before he attained the age of twenty-two, he had not only maſtered the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, but had alſo made great proficiency in the Arabic and Perſian idioms. Neither had his ſearching and curious mind neglected to cultivate the poliſhed languages of modern Europe: and of the French his knowledge was ſo perfect, that at the age of twenty-four, while he was yet a recluſe ſtudent in Oxford, he tranſlated the Hiſtory of Nadir Shah from the Perſian into French, not only with a grammatical correctneſs, but with a purity and elegance of diction that obtained him the applauſe of the moſt diſtinguiſhed critics of France. The Perſian original of this work was ſent to England by the king of Denmark, accompanied with a requeſt from his Daniſh Majeſty, that ſome of the learned orientaliſts of Oxford would undertake to give a French verſion of it. The difficulty of the taſk deterred many from attempting it; and if Mr. Jones's anxiety for the literary honour of his country had not prevailed over his native modeſty, the Perſian manuſcript would in all probability have been returned to Denmark untranſlated: but his genius, learning, and induſtry, raiſed the one, and reſcued the other from oblivion.

He was now familiar with the French language, and could write it with an eaſe and fluency, that encouraged him to addreſs a ſpirited letter to Anquetil du Perron, containing ſevere but juſt ſtrictures on that gentleman's tranſlation of the books falſely* attributed to Zoroaſter,

* Theſe books were fabricated in France by ſome ingenious writers, and were long believed to be genuine by the learned ſocieties of that country; but at Oxford the impoſture was ſoon detected.

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ter, together with some remarks on his illiberal treatment of the orientalists of the University of Oxford.

About this time, he published his Commentaries on Asiatic Poetry, which he had written a few years before, but which he had delayed giving to the world, until a more enlarged acquaintance with oriental literature had fully confirmed him in his opinions on the subject.

He had determined on attaching himself to the profession of the law, at the age of twenty-two; and although his studies, both in general jurisprudence and in the common law of England, had been pursued with the most indefatigable diligence, he neglected not, at the same time, to give his attention to the physical sciences, and to carry on, with amazing rapidity, his researches in the literature of Asia. Between the years 1776 and 1784, he published an ingenious and learned essay on the Law of Bailments; a translation of the speeches of Isæus, with a prefatory discourse and a commentary equally admirable for classical elegance and critical discrimination; a grammar of the Persian language, which cannot be sufficiently praised; and a volume of poems dedicated to the countess of Spencer, chiefly consisting of translations from the Arabic, Persian and Turkish poets, and including a complete version of the Moallakat, or the seven celebrated Arabic poems that are suspended in the temple of Mecca. Besides these well known performances, he wrote several short tracts on various subjects; for his prolific pen was never a moment idle. Among his lighter productions, his character of the celebrated Mr. John Dunning, Lord Ashburton, and his poem of Caissa * merit our peculiar praise: the former is drawn with the fervour of a friend and the correctness of a scholar, and it is as much adorned with beautiful and appropriate colouring, as it is dignified by the sobriety of truth, and chastened with the delicacies of taste; the letter is by far the most highly finished, spirited, and pleasing of all his poetical compositions.

The reputation of his genius and great learning had now spread abroad, and his acquaintance was sought after by people of the first eminence in the republic of letters. He consequently soon became known to Doctor Johnson and Sir Joshua Reynolds, who introduced him to the celebrated Literary Club, of which he was admitted a member.

Some time, we believe, in 1782†, he made the tour of France, after which he resided for a few months in Paris, where he was introduced at court. The French monarch was much pleased with his conversation, and made many inquiries respecting some of the provinces he had travelled through: to all of which he answered him, in the particular dialect of each province. After Sir William withdrew, the king turned about to one of his courtiers, saying, "He is a most extraordinary man! He understands the language of my people better than I do myself!"—"Yes, please your majesty, replied the courtier, he is indeed a more extraordinary man than you are aware of, for he understands almost every language in the world—*but his own.*"—"*Mon dieu!*" exclaimed the king,—"then of what country

* Caissa is a poem on the game of chess, written after the manner, though not an exact imitation, of the Scacchia Ludus of Vida.

† We are not informed as to the year in which Sir William Jones travelled through France.

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ountry is he!"—"He is, pleaſe our majeſty, *a Welſhman.*"

In April 1783, Sir William Jones narried Miſs Shipley, daughter of he late Biſhop of St. Aſaph, and iſter to the preſent Reverend W. D. Shipley, dean of that dioceſe.

The year following, the dean of St. Aſaph was proſecuted for pubiſhing a pamphlet, intitled, *The Principles of Government, in a dialogue between a gentleman and a farmer**. This tract was written by his brother-in-law, Sir William, who was throughout his whole life a firm but moderate ſupporter of the political principles of Locke and Sidney.

Upwards of a year before this trial took place, Sir William Jones had been appointed one of the judges of the ſupreme court of judicature at Calcutta, and had embarked for India on board the *Crocodile* frigate in the ſummer of 1783.

In the courſe of his voyage thither, the ſhip touched at Madeira, the rugged iſlands of Cape de Verd, and afterwards at Hinzuan or Johanna, a beautiful little iſland ſituated at the north end of the ſtraits of Moſambique, and about one hundred miles diſtant from the coaſt of Madagaſcar. This iſland has been governed for theſe two centuries by a colony of Arabs; and here, therefore, Sir William, for the firſt time in his life, had an opportunity of converſing familiarly in Arabic, which he did with great eaſe, to the no ſmall aſtoniſhment of the Mahommedan chiefs of Hinzuan, of whom and of their iſland he has given a very pleaſing account in a paper which he preſented to the Aſiatic Society, and which is publiſhed in the ſecond volume of the Reſearches.

He arrived at Calcutta about the beginning of October; and, after having taken his ſeat on the bench of the ſupreme court, according to the uſual forms, he loſt no time in making public his plan for inſtituting a ſociety at Calcutta for the purpoſe of inquiring into the hiſtory, arts, ſciences, and literature of Aſia. The idea of this plan, he himſelf informs us, in his preliminary diſcourſe to the ſociety, he firſt conceived at ſea; and it was certainly a conception altogether worthy of his comprehenſive genius. The plan was embraced with eagerneſs by thoſe gentlemen in Calcutta who were beſt qualified to eſtimate its advantages, and to contribute to its ſupport; and being patronized by Mr. Haſtings, then governor-general, with that liberality, with which he was wont to foſter every literary undertaking, the ſociety was ſoon founded. The preſident's chair was firſt offered to Mr. Haſtings; but, on his declining it, Sir William Jones was elected perpetual preſident; and he delivered his preliminary diſcourſe in February 1784.

He was now enabled to give full ſcope to the excurſions of his mind, and to gratify every wiſh of his heart. The wide and fruitful region of Aſiatic learning was open before him, and the high and independent ſituation which he filled, gave him a commanding proſpect of it; whilſt he practiſed thoſe laws which it was the pride of his life to cheriſh and revere, and adminiſtered to his fellow creatures the pure maxims of juſtice and truth.

He

* This trial came on at the aſſize at Shrewſbury, before Mr. Juſtice Buller, on the 5th of Auguſt 1784; when, after ſome of the moſt ingenious and eloquent pleading, on the part of the Hon. T. Erſkine, perhaps ever heard in a court of juſtice, the jury brought in their verdict, *Guilty of publiſhing*; but whether a libel, or not, they did not find.

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He had long ardently desired to study the Sanscrit language; and this desire was considerably increased by the great progress which he found Mr. Wilkins had made in that antient idiom, and still more by that gentleman's elegant translation of the Bhâvat-Geetâ*. He therefore commenced his studies in the Sanscrit without delay, and in the course of three years made himself so completely master of it, that the most enlightened professors of the doctrines of Brahma "confessed," says Lord Teignmouth, in his discourse on the death of his friend, "with pride, delight, and surprise, that his knowledge of their sacred dialect was most critically correct and profound. And the Pandits who were in the habit of attending him, when I saw them after his death, at a public durbar, could neither suppress their tears for his loss, nor find words to express their admiration at the wonderful progress which he had made in their sciences."

The pertinacious and unwearied diligence with which he applied to his studies, deserves to be recorded. He made a regular distribution and allotment of his time. He rose at day break, and studied till breakfast time; after which, during terms, he attended his duty in the supreme court, from whence he returned home at three o'clock, and studied till four; he then went to dinner, where he generally had a select party of friends assembled, whom he entertained with the utmost gaiety till seven; when he returned to his literary labours, and did not again quit them till mid-night. This was his constant habit, from which he seldom or never deviated. No man enjoyed more than he did the delights of friendly intercourse, and the festive pleasures of society; but all his pleasures were subservient to the paramount gratification he derived from the successful pursuit of the great end he had in view, that of serving his country, and instructing mankind; for what Johnson says of Pope may with strict truth be applied to him, "that he was one of those few whose labour is their pleasure.

Notwithstanding the great attention which his professional duties, and the preparation for his many valuable discourses to the Asiatic Society required, he found time to write and publish some works no less curious than important, between the years 1788 and 1793. These were, an English version of the Arabic text of the Sirajiyyah, or Mahommedan law of inheritance, with a commentary; the institutes of Menu, literally translated from the Sanscrit, with a learned preface, illustrative both of the antiquity and value of the work; and an elegant translation of the drama of Sacontala, from the same language. The first of these performances he printed at his own expence, and sold for the benefit of insolvent debtors; an action so disinterested, that it will serve to do away a very erroneous notion entertained by some people, that Sir William Jones was selfish and penurious.

But the most useful work in which he was ever engaged, and upon which, therefore, he was the most intent, he did not live to complete. This was a copious Digest of Hindu and Mahommedan law, compiled from Sanscrit and Arabic originals, a plan of which he had presented to Government, who had given it their most liberal patronage, and strennous support.

* Mr. Wilkins translated the Bhâvat Geetâ in India, but did not publish it till after his return to England in 1785, when it was printed for C. Nourse in the Strand.

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port*. The Pandits employed in the undertaking had concluded their part of it, and the Moluvees had nearly finished the portion which it was their business to supply, when the hand of death arrested the progress of the work, and deprived society of a Jones.

In April 1794, he was attacked with a bilious complaint, which, after a few weeks, proved so obstinate that it baffled the utmost skill of his physicians; and on Sunday morning, the 27th of the same month, he died, agreeably to the uniform tenor of his life, a PATRIOT, a PHILOSOPHER, and a CHRISTIAN.

He was buried the day following, with all the respect belonging to his rank; and, what is more valuable, with all the honours due to his virtue.

No monument has yet been erected to his memory; but we understand that a cenotaph suitable to the high merits of his character, with a Latin inscription, written by one of the first scholars of the age, is now preparing, and will be placed in St. Paul's.

The following EPITAPH, however, which he wrote on himself, and which is as just as it is terse and classical, will doubtless be acceptable to the public:

Here was deposited,
The mortal part of a Man
Who feared God, but not death;
And maintained independence,
But sought not riches:
Who thought
None below him but the base and unjust,
None above him but the wise and virtuous.
Who loved
His parents, kindred, friends, country,
With an ardour
Which was the chief source of
All his pleasures and all his pains;
And who, having devoted
His life to their service,
And to
The improvement of his mind,
Resigned it calmly,
Giving glory to his Creator;
Wishing peace on earth,
And with
Good-will to all creatures,
On the ——— day of ———
In the year of our blessed Redeemer,
M.DCC———

Sir William Jones was of a genteel and graceful person, and of a countenance open, manly, vivacious and serene. His deportment was dignified, yet easy; his address courteous, yet plain; and his manners polished, yet familiar: so that, upon a first acquaintance, he not only excited the admiration, but secured the esteem of the person he conversed with.

In the society of his friends, if his conversation did not sparkle with wit, it was, at least, illumined with cheerfulness; and though he seldom said any thing striking or forcible, he always illustrated, in the most pleasing manner, every topic that was discussed, and conveyed instruction with great modesty and elegance.

But this placidity and gentleness did not proceed from a constitutional tameness and languor, to which those qualities are sometimes with truth attributed; they sprang from the union of that temperance and liberality which a virtuous habit had reared in his mind, and which, therefore, had become a part of his nature. Nor was he wanting in any of the other qualities which belong to these great virtues: he was sedate, moderate, and cautious; but at the same time animated, aspiring, and generous: he possessed a proud honour, an inflexible firmness, and

* Fortunately for the interests of British India, as well as for the happiness of the native inhabitants of that country, abilities have since been found adequate to the high task of executing the most material part of this great undertaking. The genius, learning, and assiduity of Mr. Colebrooke, have enabled him to give a complete version of the Hindu Digest, which has been printed at the Honourable Company's press in Calcutta, and which, we hope, will soon be published in this country.

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the designs of Hyder Ally, and his son Tippoo Sultaun, then ravaging the Carnatic. Captain Montagu was in every engagement; and, in services where so much real military merit was displayed, it is no common praise to say he was always peculiarly distinguished. This celebrated campaign being concluded, he obtained the rank of major, and, in 1784, was again sent to the coast. At the siege of Cuddalore he was appointed to command the artillery attached to one of the wings of the army, and there manifested his superior judgment, by taking post on an eminence, which produced the greatest advantages, as it was honourably acknowledged by a French officer of rank, who was stationed to oppose him. On his return to Bengal, he was employed, on occasions of less importance, against the country powers at variance with our ally the Vizier of Oude, until the memorable expedition of the Marquis Cornwallis to Seringapatam. On this important service, major Montagu, as appears in the general orders, was selected to attack the stupendous fortresses of Nunder-droog and Ramah-droog; the previous capture of which places were necessary to the further progress of the British army and the capital.

The chief engineer having reported Nunder-droog to be a fortress of uncommon strength, his lordship ordered Major Montagu to proceed with his best train of artillery from Bangalore, to join the army encamped about half-way to the place of attack. The expedition with which he performed that duty, excited the astonishment, as it called forth the applause, of Lord Cornwallis; and though he was the youngest artillery officer with the army, he was entrusted with the conduct of the artillery employed in the reduction of that important fortress. His skill, courage and talents were crowned with complete success; and the thanks of the commander in chief expressed, in the strongest terms, the sense he entertained of his eminent services. The manner also in which he was entrusted with the command of the artillery employed against Severndroog, manifests the great confidence which the Marquis Cornwallis possessed in his military enthusiasm and professional abilities.*

In the year 1794, Major Montagu was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel; and was third on

* The following conversation took place between the deputy adjutant-general and Major Montagu, as the latter passed head-quarters on his march: "Lord Cornwallis has it in contemplation to give Colonel Smith the command of the artillery to be employed against Severn-droog, and he wishes to know if that circumstance will be any impediment to your exertions?" The major replied, 'That he did not expect to take the command: that his only wish was to be employed; and that his lordship might rely on his utmost exertions for the public service under Colonel Smith.' The deputy adjutant-general did not think that answer sufficiently explicit; and said, "Lord Cornwallis wished to know, whether Major Montagu could act with more effect when independent of Colonel Smith, than when under his command?" The major answered, 'that he could certainly carry a plan of his own into execution in the same time that it would require to suggest and explain it to another.' The deputy adjutant-general, therefore, concluding that Major Montagu's real opinion was, that he should prefer to conduct the business by himself, informed him, that his lordship was disposed to give Colonel Smith an opportunity of knocking down the walls of the place where he had been so long confined in a former war; but as it might be attended with some risque to the service, he was at length determined to appoint Major Montagu to command and conduct the artillery against that important place, as the capture of it was absolutely necessary to the further progress of the campaign.

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on the liſt of the artillery officers, when he was choſen to direct the artillery attached to the Bengal army, commanded by General Popham, and which was deſtined to join General Harris, commander in chief in the late glorious enterprize againſt Seringapatam, where this gallant and diſtinguiſhed officer found his honourable grave.

If it is true, as has been aſſerted, that the commander of the artillery, Colonel Smith, a brave and deſerving officer, had, from a long ſucceſſion of illneſs, become too infirm to be continually in the trenches, the executive duty muſt neceſſarily have devolved on Lieut.-Colonel Montagu, who was next in command. But, be that as it may, it is certain that, three days previous to the capture of Seringapatam, a cannon ball ſhattered his arm, while he was in the trenches, in ſuch a manner as to require an immediate amputation; and it was taken off within an inch from the ſhoulder. In this ſtate, however, ſuch was his zealous, active and unconquerable ſpirit, he inſiſted on being carried into the trenches, where he continued, to the laſt, to encourage, by his preſence, the troops who adored him. During three or four days it was hoped and believed that he was in a fair way of recovery; but having, by the ſame ſhot, received a contuſion in his cheſt, it turned to a mortification, and carried him off on the eighth day after he had received his wound.

Thus fell Lieutenant Colonel Edward Montagu, in the forty-fifth year of his age, lamented as he was beloved by the whole army; leaving a widow and three orphans, the youngeſt of whom was born about a fortnight before his glorious but lamentable death. He ſerved the honourable Eaſt India Company with zeal, fidelity, and ſuperior military talents, during an honourable courſe of twenty-nine years; had been in more engagements than uſually happens even to an active ſoldier, and had been noticed with the moſt flattering diſtinction by every commanding officer under whom he had ſerved. On this laſt melancholy occaſion, his being only mentioned in the general liſt of the killed and wounded, without a ſingle word of regret or of eulogium, cauſes the mingled emotions of grief and aſtoniſhment in the minds of his afflicted family and friends.

In private life he was not leſs diſtinguiſhed than in his public ſervices. He was benevolent and generous, poſſeſſing, at the ſame time, the moſt frank and candid diſpoſition. He was an affectionate huſband, a tender father, and a dutiful ſon. He loved his country with a patriotic ardor; and he died in the conteſt to extend its dominion and its glory.

He will long live in the remembrance of all who knew him; and it remains for the nation whom he ſerved ſo well, and for whom he died too ſoon, to tranſmit his name to the times that are to come.

Authentic Anecdotes of the MILITARY LIFE *of Major General* HARTLEY.

In 1764, Major General Hartley entered into the ſervice of the honourable the Eaſt India Company, on the Bombay eſtabliſhment. The ſame year he embarked on board the company's ſhip the Aſia, for Bom-

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bay, where he arrived the 5th of December following.

Shortly after his arrival, he had an opportunity of displaying those military talents which were subsequently to become so serviceable to his country. In January 1765 he was ordered on a detachment, which was sent under the command of Major Gowan, against the forts of Malwan and Raree, on the Malabar coast; and Ensign Hartley's conduct, at the storming of the latter place, was such as obtained him the thanks of his commander.

In January 1768, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant; and Major Gowan, then commander in chief at Bombay, forgetting not his gallant behaviour at the reduction of Raree, appointed him one of his aides-du-camp; and in October 1770, he was appointed aid-du-camp to Mr. Hodges, at that time Governor of Bombay.

The death of Governor Hodges, in 1771, did not deprive him of the advantages of the situation which he held in his excellency's suite; for Mr. Hornby, who succeeded to the government, being duly sensible of his merits, appointed him to his staff, with which Lieutenant Hartley continued, until he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel.

In November 1772, Lieutenant Hartley was selected by General Wedderburne to accompany him on the expedition against Broach, and at the same time appointed him to the command of a Company of Europeans, specially chosen for that service. On their arrival in the river Nerbuddah, near Broach, General Wedderburne, confiding in Lieutenant Hartley's skill and abilities, trusted to him the important duty of disembarking the troops. The zeal with which he executed that duty, was amply rewarded in the success which crowned his exertions; but his joy on the occasion was damped by the loss of his gallant friend General Wedderburne, who was killed reconnoitring previous to the assault.

In July 1774, he was appointed to the brevet rank of captain, to prevent his being superseded by King's officers of that rank, who were that year expected at Bombay. In the following month, the fourth battalion of sepoys became vacant; and although Captain Hartley was not, by seniority, entitled to the command of a battalion, the government unanimously appointed him to that command.

In the beginning of the year 1775, Captain Hartley was ordered to march from Broach, with his own battalion and some other troops, into the Guzerat country, in order to co-operate with the detachment under Colonel Keating, in the support of Ragabah, the Mahratta chief, at that period grievously oppressed by the supreme government of Poonah, whose unprincipled ambition and rapacity we conceived it to be our policy to check. On the junction of the two detachments, Colonel Keating appointed Captain Hartely to act as quartermaster to the army; and the manner in which it was conducted and supplied during that severe and arduous campaign, which lasted upwards of fourteen months, reflected equal credit on the commander and quartermaster.

In November 1778, Captain Hartley was appointed quartermaster-general to the expedition at that time fitting out against the Mahrattas under the command of Generals Carnac and Egerton; but, in the progress of this expedition, Captain Hartley judging that he might be more useful at the head of his battalion than in his staff appointment, he generously resigned the latter,

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latter, with all the emoluments appertaining to it, to ſhare the danger and glory of the former. The event atteſted the advantage which the army gained by this choice of his ſervice; and, on the death of Captain Stuart, who commanded the corps of grenadiers, Captain Hartley was appointed to ſucceed to that command.

The judicious and gallant conduct which Captain Hartley diſplayed after his appointment to that corps, and during the whole of that unfortunate ſervice, were ſtrongly marked, not only in the various attacks of the enemy's army, in the advance of the Engliſh troops towards Poonah, which was the object of the expedition, but, in a moſt ſingular and gallant manner, in their retreat from Telligaum: for the generals in the field having found that the whole force of the Mahratta empire were combined and aſſembled to oppoſe their further advance, judged it neceſſary to order the army, which did not exceed 3,000 fighting men, to retreat; as the Mahratta army, encamped about two miles in front, exceeded 80,000, the greateſt part of which were cavalry. In this retreat Captain Hartley, with his corps of grenadiers, formed the rear-guard of the Engliſh army; and the able diſpoſitions which he made, not only baffled the ſkill, but repelled the repeated charges of the enemy's numerous cavalry. This ſevere and unequal conflict, in which Captain Hartley was twice wounded, commenced in the evening of the 11th January 1779, and was ſuſtained, without intermiſſion, till four o'clock in the afternoon of the following day; when the retreat of the army, together with the ſtores, proviſions, and baggage, were completely ſecured

On Captain Hartley's return to Bombay, the governor and council promoted him to the rank of lieutenant colonel, and appointed him to the command of the European infantry on that eſtabliſhment; the motives for which will appear in the following paragraph in the Company's records:

Extract from the Proceedings of the Select Committee.

"Bombay Caſtle, Feb. 1, 1779.

"At a ſelect committee, preſent, the hon. W. Hornby, Eſq. preſident and governor, the worſhipful John Carnac, Eſq. Daniel Draper, Eſq.

"The great importance, in our preſent critical ſituation, of having an officer at the head of our infantry on whoſe conduct we may ſafely rely, and the juſtice we owe to the ſervice of diſtinguiſhing thoſe who eminently ſignalized themſelves on the late unfortunate expedition, unite in pointing out Captain James Hartley, who, in both conſiderations, is entitled to our firſt notice in the arrangement now indiſpenſably neceſſary to be made amongſt the field-officers.

"In looking over our whole military liſt, no officer appears ſo fit as Captain Hartley. His behaviour, in a courſe of fourteen years ſervice, has been unexceptionable; and to his conduct and intrepidity we are principally indebted for the preſervation of our whole army in the action of the 12th ult. His merit as an officer, in the late ſervice, is particularly acknowledged in the general orders given out by Lieutenant Colonel Cockburn and Colonel Egerton, immediately after the action, as entered hereafter: to which General Carnac adds his teſtimony, in a manner much to Captain Hartley's honour.

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"In theſe circumſtances, and prompted by our deſire to reward ſuch diſtinguiſhed merit, we unanimouſly reſolve to appoint Captain James Hartley, Lieutenant Colonel of infantry; and ſtrongly ſolicit the Company to confirm this appointment; truſting that the uncommonneſs of the ſtep, and the reluctance we muſt naturally feel to all ſuperceſſion, will be conviction to them of the grounds and neceſſity for the meaſure."

The court of directors, on the receipt of the above reſolution, wrote to their government of Bombay, paragraph 85: "As a particular mark of our approbation of the gallant conduct of Lieutenant Colonel Hartley during the late expedition againſt the Mahrattas, we reſolve that he be preſented with a ſword of the value of one hundred guineas, which ſhall be ſent by the firſt opportunity."

In December 1779, General Goddard took the field againſt the Mahrattas, on the ſide of Bengal, with a powerful army; and Lieutenant Colonel Hartley was appointed by the government of Bombay to the command of a detachment of four companies of European infantry, one hundred artillery, and two battalions of ſepoys, to co-operate with the General, when he ſhould arrive in the Guzerat country.

On the 11th of February 1780, at the ſiege of Ahmadabad (the capital of that country), Lieutenant Colonel Hartley commanded the trenches, and on the 15th ſtormed the town at the head of his grenadiers; and his intrepid and gallant conduct in entering the breach, was no leſs glorious than his humane and judicious behaviour after he had effected the conqueſt of that place, by which he maintained order and diſcipline in his troops, gave inſtant protection to the vanquiſhed, and reſtored that rich and populous city to its accuſtomed tranquillity.

Extract of a Letter from General Goddard to the Select Committee, giving an account of the capture of Ahmadabad, dated 15th February 1780.

"I committed the conduct of the attack to Lieutenant Colonel Hartley, and am happy at an opportunity of teſtifying the high ſenſe I have of his merit and gallantry as an officer, and from the whole of his behaviour on this occaſion; and what makes the enterprize particularly fortunate, conſidering the deſperate reſiſtance of the enemy, and the difficulties we had to encounter, is the little loſs on our ſide with which it was achieved. This circumſtance I conceive as a bleſſing, on which I beg leave to congratulate you; and alſo on the honour which the Britiſh arms have acquired by the moderation and mercy that ſo ſtrikingly marked their conduct after getting poſſeſſion of the place; for not above two of the inhabitants were wounded, which might have been the effect of accident entirely; and many who were in arms, upon ſubmitting themſelves up, had their lives ſpared."

The detachment, which, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Hartley, had thus bravely acted in the Guzerat, was ordered by the Governor in Council to the Preſidency; and on its arrival at Bombay, the 17th of May 1780, without even permitting the troops to land, he was ordered to proceed directly to the fort of Callian in the Conkan, which was then beſieged by the Mahratta army. Lieutenant Colonel Hartley arrived there on the 21ſt; and on the 22d, in

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in the morning, marched out, attacked the enemy, and raiſed the ſiege; and in the courſe of that and the following month, he purſued and drove them acroſs the ghauts. His force, in this expedition, did not exceed fifteen hundred men; that of the enemy amounted to at leaſt as many thouſands.

On the 1ſt of Auguſt 1780, Lieutenant Colonel Hartley received the following letter from the ſelect committee at Bombay:

"Bombay Caſtle, Auguſt 1, 1780.

"SIR,

"The ſelect committee, having fixed upon you for the command of an army which they have determined to ſend into the Conkan as early in the enſuing ſeaſon as the weather will poſſibly permit, have directed me to make this early communication to you of your appointment to this command, and of their views in forming this army, which are, to protect the harveſt, and ſecure the poſſeſſion of the country before the enemy can begin their operations, and, by that means, to obtain plentiful ſubſiſtence for our troops during the campaign, to guard the paſſes from the Deccan into the Conkan, and otherwiſe to cover the country till General Goddard's arrival, and then to cover the ſiege of Baſſein.

"The detail of the force to be put under your command will ſoon be ſettled; and the preſent intimation is given you, that you may, before the ſeaſon for action opens, acquire the moſt accurate knowledge you can of the country which is to become the ſcene of operation, and provide for the ſeveral arrangements neceſſary for the execution of the Committee's plan."

In conſequence of the above letter, he proceeded, on the 10th of Auguſt, into the Conkan, with the officers of his ſtaff and a ſmall detachment of troops, to reconnoitre the country. On the opening of the ſeaſon in October, Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley having aſſembled his army, compoſed of about three thouſand men, undertook the objects of his commiſſion; all of which he completely accompliſhed in the courſe of this campaign, againſt an army of twenty thouſand Mahrattas. The ſiege of Baſſein was covered, and the farmers protected in the collection of their harveſt, by which not only the army was ſupplied, but a conſiderable quantity of grain was tranſported to Bombay and Salſette, where it was much wanted. After the ſurrender of Baſſein, Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley formed a junction with the Bengal army under the command of General Goddard.

In December 1781, he proceeded over land to England, by way of the Great Deſart, and arrived in London in September 1782.

Soon after his arrival he received the thanks of the honourable court of directors for his meritorious ſervices; and as a teſtimony of the high opinion they entertained of his military character, they requeſted their chairman, Sir Henry Fletcher, to preſent him with a ſword of one hundred guineas value, which had been voted by the following reſolutions, which were paſſed on the 10th of April 1780:

"Reſolved, that Lieutenant-Colonel James Hartley be preſented with a ſword of one hundred guineas value, as a mark of the court's approbation of the very ſingular ſervice rendered by him to the company, on the late expedition from Bombay againſt the Mahrattas."

In the year 1787, it was reſolved upon by government to ſend four of his Majeſty's regiments to India; and the board of control, to whom

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Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley's claim of rank was well known, united with the court of directors in recommending him to his Majesty, who was in consequence graciously pleased to appoint him lieutenant-colonel of the 75th regiment; which rank at that time took precedence of the oldest lieutenant-colonel in the company's service. Being then under the apprehension of an immediate rupture with Tippoo Sultaun, Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley's services were called for in a manner not a little flattering to his feelings; in consequence of which he proceeded to India with the least possible delay, charged with the secret dispatches of government. He accordingly went thither over land, taking his former route through the Great Desart, and arrived at Bombay the 7th April 1788.

On the 6th of September following, General Meadows, who had been appointed governor of Bombay, arrived there; and the 9th of that month he appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley quartermaster-general to the forces under that presidency, and a member of their military board.

In April 1790, a war with Tippoo becoming still more probable, he was selected by Sir Robert Abercrombie, then governor and commander in chief at Bombay, to command a strong detachment destined for the support of our ally, the king of Travencore, whose country had been invaded by Tippoo. This armament sailed from Bombay the 15th of April 1790, and on the 24th of April landed at Ryacottah, an island near Cochin.

He had not been long in Travencore before he received instructions to correspond with General Meadows, who then commanded the grand army in the Carnatic, as well as to observe the motions of Tippoo's army, at that time encamped in the vicinity of the Travencore lines. The rainy season, however, being expected to set in, Tippoo was compelled to break up his encampment, and retreat to Coimbatoor.

The grand army under the command of General Meadows advanced from Tritchinopoly towards Coimbatoor in the latter end of May, whence the General wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley to invest the fortress of Palghautcherry as soon as the season would permit. Anxious to fulfil this order, he waited not for the breaking up of the monsoons, which, this year, was unusually tardy, and moved on with the utmost celerity towards Palghautcherry; but when he had arrived within forty miles of that place, he received intelligence of its having already surrendered to Colonel Stuart. He nevertheless continued his march thither, and arrived with his detachment on the 1st of October, at a juncture so critical as to afford them an opportunity of shewing that his fertility in resource kept pace with the ardour and promptitude of his exertions. General Meadows having pushed forward in pursuit of Tippoo, with that spirit of enterprize for which he is peculiarly distinguished, looked anxiously for Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley's arrival at Palghautcherry, as it was from thence he expected his chief supply of provisions: nor was the General disappointed in his expectations. Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley furnished the grand army with every necessary, and moreover sent a detachment to raise the siege of the fort of Coimbatoor, then blockaded by a part of Tippoo's army; and the sense entertained by General Meadows of these services, is best expressed in the following extracts from

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from his letters of inſtruction to Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley.

"*Camp, Coimbatoor*, 31*ſt Aug.* 1790.

"Should Palghautcherry be taken before you arrive, you will find orders to follow me. It is impoſſible I can do without your detachment; and, poſſibly with it, it will require all our exertions to obtain the end propoſed."

"*Sept.* 30*th*, 1790.

"Whenever you join us, you will command your own people, who will be called the *Corps de Reſerve*, and in which I ſhould have great dependence."

The required collections of grain were made with the ſtricteſt punctuality and the moſt complete ſucceſs. On his leaving Palghautcherry, he executed General Meadows' orders, by keeping open the communication with Cochin and the Paniany river; and laſtly, by the battle of Tervananghurry on the 10th, and the capture of Ferukabad on the 12th of December 1790, which compelled Tippoo's troops to retire from the countries of the Zamorin and king of Cochin. Theſe objects were accompliſhed againſt an army of Tippoo's, commanded by Huſſein Ally Khan, conſiſting of 9000 diſciplined men, and 4000 Moplas: Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley's little army amounted only to 1800 King's and Company's troops, with 500 auxiliaries belonging to the king of Travencore.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley loſt no time in addreſſing letters to Lord Cornwallis and General Meadows, ſtating the particulars of theſe deciſive and important achievements; to which, on the 2d of January 1791, he obtained the following replies:

"I had the pleaſure of receiving your letter, dated the 12th of December, giving me an account of the great and important advantages you have gained, and which do ſo much honour to yourſelf, and to the officers and ſoldiers under your command.

(Signed) CORNWALLIS."

Extract from General Meadows' letter, dated 25th Dec. 1790.

"I am juſt favoured with your's of the 10th and 12th inſtant. I hate! I envy! and I admire you! for the brilliant advantage you have gained over the enemy!"

And the general concludes a ſubſequent letter by ſaying, "Moſt ardently wiſhing you a continuation of ſucceſs, if ſucceſs ſo brilliant can poſſibly continue.

(Signed) WM. MEADOWS."

The battle of Tervananghurry, and the ſurrender of Ferukabad, were the firſt ſucceſsful engagements of this war; and they claim our admiration, no leſs for the ſignal bravery diſplayed by the Britiſh troops and their commanders, than on account of the important conſequences which reſulted from them, as they not only defeated Tippoo's views on the weſtern ſide of India, but opened to the main army an abundant ſource of grain and proviſions.

This ſucceſs of Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley was alſo conſidered by the inhabitants of that extenſive and fruitful country, as a joyful victory to them; for by it they were delivered from the galling tyranny of Tippoo, which they had long borne in patient miſery, without even the hope of relief. On his arrival, therefore, at Ferukabad, he was received by the inhabitants of that city * as their deliverer, rather than their conqueror. They erected tri-

* Ferukabad is a new city on the coaſt of Malabar, which Tippoo intended to have made the capital of his dominions on that ſide of the peninſula.

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umphal arches, formed of green boughs, and decorated with garlands of flowers*, under which they proceeded with him through the principal ſtreets to the Durbar, where Tippoo's troops, to the number of 1500, laid down their arms. The inhabitants, of all religions, were protected in their perſons: it was only public property which was confiſcated and ſecured for the India Company and the captors. The natives celebrated this event in their religious ceremonies; and the Biſhop of Viripoly ordered *Te Deum* to be ſung throughout his whole diſtrict.

In January 1791, Lieutenant Colonel Hartley's detachment joined General Abercrombie at Cananore, and from thence proceeded on their march to Seringapatam, Lieutenant Colonel Hartley commanding the advanced guard of the army. But the attack on that capital having been poſtponed, by Lord Cornwallis, till the following ſeaſon, General Abercrombie returned to Cananore.

In December 1791, he again proceeded up the ghauts; and on the 15th of January 1792, they arrived at the point of deſtination from which it was intended they ſhould co-operate with the main army. On the 18th, Lieutenant Colonel Hartley, with his advanced guard, was ordered to croſs the Cavery, and take up a ſtrong poſition cloſe to Seringapatam. On the 22d, Tippoo made a *ſortie*, with a view to diſlodge him; but he was repulſed with conſiderable loſs, and driven back to his capital.

After the peace with Tippoo, it was thought neceſſary to ſtation a conſiderable force in the ceded provinces on the weſtern ſide of the peninſula. Lieut. Colonel Hartley having commanded, during the war, in thoſe provinces, with ſo much reputation and ſucceſs, and having obtained the confidence and eſteem of the inhabitants, was placed by Lord Cornwallis in the command of a conſiderable force appointed for their ſafeguard.

In June 1793, upon intelligence being received of the war with France, Lieutenant Colonel Hartley was ordered by the Government of Bombay to take poſſeſſion of the French ſettlement of Mahé, on the coaſt of Malabar. He accordingly marched againſt it with a ſufficient force, and the place ſurrendered to him by capitulation on the 18th of July 1793.

In March 1794, Lieutenant Colonel Hartley was promoted to the rank of colonel in the army; and in 1795 arrived in England.

Upon the eſtabliſhment of the new regulations for the Honourable Company's army in 1796, his Majeſty reſerved to himſelf the appointment of five general officers on the ſtaff in India: and when the promotion of colonels to the rank of majors-general in his Majeſty's army took place (May 3, 1796), his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to bring down that promotion to Colonel Hartley inclusive. At the ſame time, the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, who from his knowledge of General Hartley's character and ſervices, had long patronized him, now gave him an additional teſtimony of his eſteem, by ſoliciting his royal highneſs the Duke of York to recommend General Hartley to his Majeſty, as a general officer highly deſerving of being put on the ſtaff in India.

In conſequence of theſe recommendations,

* Such are the cuſtomary honours which theſe people pay to diſtinguiſhed warriors. ED.

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mendations, his Majesty appointed him to that station; and he was soon after nominated by the honourable the Court of Directors to succeed General Stuart in the command of the Bombay army.

In January 1797, Major General Hartley embarked at Portsmouth on board the East India Company's ship the Sir Edward Hughes, and arrived at Bombay in July following. In consequence of a difference which had at that time arisen between the Government of Bombay and the Cotiote Rajah, Mr. Duncan, the governor of that presidency, and General Stuart, had gone from thence in April for the Malabar coast, and had left orders for General Hartley also to proceed there by the first opportunity after his arrival, in order to take the command of the army in the southern provinces.

In conformity with this order, he left Bombay as early as the season would permit, and arrived at Tellicherry in September, when Governor Duncan appointed him second in the commission for executing the office of supervisor and chief judge and magistrate in Malabar. This civil appointment, in addition to his military command, was given him with a view of enabling him the more effectually to tranquillize the provinces; a duty which his abilities, local knowledge and experience, so eminently qualified him to perform.

This distinguished and meritorious officer was one of the generals on the staff at the late glorious conquest at Seringapatam; and we cannot more properly close these anecdotes of his military life, than with the following high and honourable testimonies of his recent services:

"*Fort St. George, Feb.* 24, 1799.

"SIR,

"The reports which have reached me through General Harris, and various other quarters, of the very forward state of the preparations and supplies of provision, and other articles necessary for the operations of the army on the coast of Malabar, induce me to embrace the earliest opportunity of expressing to you my approbation of the alacrity, zeal, and ability, which you have manifested in the conduct of the important command which you have lately delivered over to General Stuart. It is due to your exertions to acknowledge, that if the expedition now undertaken should prove successful, you will be entitled to a considerable share of the gratitude of my government, and of your country, for the early dispatch of a material branch of the service. I am anxious to apprize you of my sentiments on a subject which has afforded me so much satisfaction. But I shall take the first occasion to record my tribute of applause to your merits, not only in my orders to the Government of Bombay, but in my dispatches to the Court of Directors.*

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"MORNINGTON.

"*To Major General Hartley.*"

*** Since writing the above, we have received the unwelcome intelligence of the death of this brave officer, which was communicated to the Court of Directors in a letter from Governor Duncan, dated the 16th October 1799, in the following terms:

"It is with particular concern that I announce to your Honourable Court, the death of Major General James Hartley, of his Majesty's service,

* See also General Stuart's letter, together with the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, inserted in the State Paper department.

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ſervice, and of his ſtaff at this preſidency, which happened at Cannanore, on the 4th inſt. after a ſhort but painful illneſs. This diſtinguiſhed officer, who ſtood appointed to ſucceed Lieutenant General Stuart, was, at the time of his demiſe, in the immediate command of the troops in the provinces of Malabar and Canara, and alſo a member of the commiſſion at Calicut."

Major General Hartley was born A. D. 1745, near Malton, in Yorkſhire: his father, who was one of the ſons of the Rev. Mr. Hartley, vicar of Armly, in Yorkſhire, died while he was yet in his infancy; and he was educated under the care of his mother, and the direction of his uncle, the learned Dr. Hartley of Bath, author of the celebrated philoſophical work, intitled "*Obſervations on Man.*" He went to India, as we have already related, at an early age, and, during a long courſe of honourable ſervice, obtained thoſe merited encomiums above mentioned. And being chiefly engaged in active life, he never formed a matrimonial connection.

His ſtature was of the middle ſize; and his countenance placid and ſedate, blended with an acute intelligence, and an incomparable cheerfulneſs: his perſon was well formed, his deportment graceful; and his figure and features, combined with the urbanity of his manners and the ſuavity of his diſpoſition, not only gained the reſpect, but ſecured the regard of all who knew him. As an officer, he was univerſally beloved by the ſoldiers under his command; and the native troops in India imagined they ſaw in him thoſe perſonal marks by which they believe Providence diſtinguiſhes the fortunate and the brave, and which their ſuperſtitious reliance in phyſiognomy always directs them to ſearch for.

In all the habitudes of private life he was uniformly amiable, frank, generous, ardent, and ſincere: he was a dutiful ſon, an affectionate brother, a faithful and ſteady friend. Animated with a generous ambition of gaining military fame, he puſhed forward with zeal in the exerciſe of his public duties. With frequent opportunities of amaſſing a fortune, his deſire of wealth was meaſured by the love of independence, and regulated by the dictates of honour. He poſſeſſed, indeed, many virtues, rarely united in the ſame mind: he was prudent, yet liberal; firm, yet placable; cautious, yet brave; cool in his judgment, yet warm in his heart. The army under his command loved him as a father, and followed him as a hero.

As a general, he was no leſs diſtinguiſhed for the reſources of his mind, that ſeemed equal to every exigency, than for his gallant ſpirit, which ſurmounted every difficulty, and which even diſaſter could not damp: and while this ſpirit gave promptitude and activity to all his exertions, it was moderated by the matureſt judgment, and directed by the moſt conſummate ſkill.

In ſhort, whether we conſider General Hartley as a private or a public man, he lays equal claim to our admiration. Perhaps no character ever had fewer blemiſhes, and few poſſeſſed more eſtimable qualities. All his thoughts, words, and actions, manifeſted his love for his friends, and his zeal for his profeſſion. To the laſt moment of his life, his boſom panted for the happineſs and glory of both; and on the bed of ſickneſs he died a ſoldier.

We cannot but wiſh that the memory of a man, who deſerved ſo well of his country, ſhould have ſome public teſtimony of its gratitude; and we confidently truſt that the Honourable the Court of Directors,

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in remembrance of his eminent ſervices, and in conformity with their own liberal ſentiments, will take into their conſideration the propriety of erecting a cenotaph in St. Paul's, with an inſcription that would tranſmit his name with due honours to poſterity.

A CHARACTER *of the late* ANTHONY LAMBERT, *Eſq. many years a diſtinguiſhed Merchant in Bengal.*

Mr. LAMBERT, a native of Berwick-upon-Tweed, was an eminent inſtance of the perfection which the powers of the human mind may attain, without the aid of a regular education. The ſtrength of his faculties in a great meaſure ſupplied the want of early culture: a vigorous and correct judgment, and a pure and warm heart, were his only monitors. Introduced into life at an early age, and left to the reſources of his own active mind, he roſe ſuperior to the diſadvantages of his fortune, and to the obſtacles with which he had to contend.

His good ſenſe, however, pointed out the utility of improving his talents by ſtudy, and he had ſtored in his mind much various knowledge. The promptitude of his perception, and the clearneſs of his underſtanding, rendered him no leſs happy in aſſociating the ideas of others, than in the communication of his own; while the unaffuming mildneſs of his manners gave a pleaſing turn to his converſation, which was often inſtructive, and always delightful. He delivered his opinions with that firmneſs which reſulted from a clear conception and a perfect knowledge of his ſubject; and he maintained them with a ſuavity and gentleneſs, the effect of which, even thoſe who differed from him found it extremely difficult to reſiſt.

He was an active member of the Aſiatic Society, and was much admired by the late illuſtrious preſident of that learned body. Though ſelf-inſtructed, he was ever conſidered as one of the ornaments of the poliſhed circle of friends which Sir William Jones drew round him; and he ſecured the affection of the accompliſhed men of whom it was compoſed, as much by the placidity of his diſpoſition, as the benevolence of his heart.

As a merchant, he was ſo much reſpected, and his manners were ſo exceedingly ingratiating, that no one ever came to him on buſineſs who did not anxiouſly ſeek his acquaintance, and hope for his friendſhip. His high-minded and honourable ſentiments, and his enlarged and generous views, were by a bland aſſimilation incorporated into all his commercial purſuits. His ſpeculations in trade, as they were founded on ſound and liberal principles, ſo they were purſued with an ardent ſpirit, and regulated by an unimpeachable integrity. Combining political ſagacity with the ſpirit of mercantile adventure, his ſchemes expanded into the views of a ſtateſman; and they were not leſs calculated to benefit himſelf, than to promote the intereſts of his country. His comprehenſive mind took a wide and accurate ſurvey of the whole ſyſtem of our commercial intercourſe with India, on which his well-framed and well-conducted ſpeculations were ſo many practical comments. The principles on which theſe ſpeculations were founded, he has ably developed in a work well known in India; and which, it is to be hoped, from the importance of the topics diſcuſſed, as well as the ability with which

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which they are treated, will be ſoon reprinted in this country. To his exertions, the opium trade of India owes its principal ſupport and improvement. His judicious and perſevering repreſentations to government, contributed in no ſmall degree to induce the Eaſt India Company to abandon the old policy in their ſhipping concerns, which, by confining the commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and her eaſtern dominions to one deſcription of high-freighted ſhips, had actually forced a large portion of the valuable trade of India into foreign ports.

Mr. Lambert, ſince his return to England in 1798, had been ſtruggling with the diſeaſe which prematurely cloſed his uſeful and exemplary life, at a period when he looked forward to the calm enjoyment of that ample fortune, which his talents and induſtry had realized, in the boſom of his friends whom his virtues had warmed. At Calcutta, where he paſſed the beſt years of his life, his memory will long be cheriſhed, and his death deeply and univerſally regretted. In him we lament, with unfeigned ſorrow, the loſs of a warm and ſincere friend, of an enlightened and honourable merchant, and of a wife and virtuous man.

He died in the 41ſt year of his age, at his houſe, Devonſhire-ſtreet, Portland-place, on the 17th of January, 1800.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL HARRIS.

ALTHOUGH we have the happineſs of being well acquainted with the gallant Conqueror of Seringapatam, whoſe private virtues, no leſs than his military talents, lay claim to ſo much praiſe; yet having been unable to obtain ſuch ample materials for his Life as his own ſervices demand, and as the public may expect from the nature of our work, we ſhall reſerve an account of it for our next volume.

*** For the above reaſon, we have been induced to poſtpone an account of the military lives of Generals FLOYD, STUART and BAIRD, which it was our original intention to have preſented to the public.

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MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

UNDER this head of our Collection we have introduced all the novelty and variety which our moſt ſtrenuous diligence could procure; and we have endeavoured ſo to diſpoſe the different Tracts, as to preſerve that order and perſpicuity, without which rational entertainment loſes much of its uſefulneſs, and elegant literature wants half its charms. Our ſelections are made from rare, rather than recent writings; not from their poſſeſſing more intrinſic value, but from a deſire of ſaving from the wreck of Time many inſtructive and meritorious performances.

The Narrative with which we open this part of our work, is no leſs amuſing from its novelty, than it is important from its ſubject, and intereſting from the extraordinary character of its author. It is taken from the works of the late Mr. HUGH BOYD, publiſhed a few weeks ago. We have given an account of his life in our Biographical Department. He was deputed, in February 1782, on a ſpecial miſſion to the King of Candy, in the iſland of Ceylon, by his Excellency Earl MACARTNEY, then Governor of Madras. He accompanied the expedition under the command of Admiral Sir EDWARD HUGHS, which was deſtined for the reduction of the Dutch poſſeſſions in Ceylon; and, after the ſurrender of Trincomallée to the Britiſh arms, he ſet out from that place, by an unuſual and difficult route, to Candy.—From the pen of ſo able a writer, more, perhaps, may be expected than this Narrative affords: but it ſhould be recollected that it is only a faithful diary, in the compoſition of which true taſte always rejects literary ornament. It excels in ſimplicity and conciſeneſs, which are the real beauties of ſuch a performance: and it manifeſts a ſingular firmneſs, perſeverance, and ability, in ſurmounting the ſeveral obſtacles that impeded his embaſſy; as well as the greateſt acuteneſs, promptitude, and addreſs, in reconciling the various intereſts of his country with the immovable prejudices of the Cingaleſe, and the unbending cuſtoms of their King.

A JOURNAL *of an* EMBASSY *from the Government of* MADRAS *to the King of* CANDY *in* CEYLON, *in the Year* 1782, *by* HUGH BOYD, *Eſq.*

From Trincomallée to Copputtorey, (nine miles.)

ON the 5th February 1782, at half an hour paſt ſeven, *a. m.* left Trincomallée *. At nine ſtopped at a very beautiful inlet of the ſea, rendezvouſed, and breakfaſted on cheeſe and biſcuit, the cook having marched on with the cold fowl. Before we proceeded, loſt one cooley, who

* Our whole number 173, 63 of whom were a fine grenadier company of ſepoys, under the command of Enſign Cherech. We had three palankeens, for myſelf, Mr. Cherech, and Permaul, my dubaſh and principal interpreter, and a dooley for Moſs, my writer: beſides ſervants and attendants of all denominations, for ſhew and uſe,

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who found opportunity to escape into the woods. At twenty minutes past ten got into motion again. The road more woody and difficult for the palankeens, and water up to a man's middle in one or two places, particularly Copputtorey river, running near a little hamlet of that name. We were obliged to halt before we crossed, near half an hour, to clear the way among the trees, and to send over the bullock-loads by men, lest they should again throw them, as they had before, in a rivulet we had passed. At half past one, halted at Copputtorey; a few little huts, twelve or fourteen, among the trees, neat and cleanly enough, with a tank *. To prevent, or at least to mitigate any alarm, kept all our people strictly from entering the hamlet, only a messenger whom we sent to request the head inhabitant to come and speak with us. But he and the others were gone to the paddy-fields †, and partly, I believe, through some preconceived alarm; except one man, who came immediately, and was very willing to accommodate us. All we wanted were pots for the palankeen boys and cooleys to boil rice, and he supplied all he had ‡. Reviewed and harangued the cooleys. All safe and seemingly satisfied; in the course of the evening a few more of the inhabitants appeared: halted all night §.

From Copputtorey to Tumbela-Caumum, (six miles.)

Feb. 6.—From delay of tents and loading, the bullocks did not move till half past seven. About eight arrived at a river, pretty deep in the channel; which, as before, cost us considerable time in crossing. A fine river; but the water salt. The people here have no idea of distances. They told us, Tumbela-Caumum was ten miles from Copputtorey. We found it, from certain calculation of our time, not more at most than six.

I had heard that some persons were here, sent lately from the King. I was doubly careful, therefore, in the style of our approach, and the prohibition of entering the village, which, I had also heard, was of some respect and consequence. On our approach, we had the agreeable omen of the inhabitants coming forward to receive us. They did so with much civility, and returned with us to a very fine plain, close to the village. After conversing with them here some time, seated in my chair, which, according to the customary compliment of the country, they had covered with white cloth, the principal person of those I had heard of, came forth to pay his respects, with the affectation rather than the reality of some pomp and attendance. He was a Munnygar, as called on the coast; here ¶ Veraumy.

After a few compliments of course, inquiring the health of the King, and he mine, he observed, it was to be expected that his master should be well, situated at ease and plenty in

cooleys for the baggage and presents. For the heavier part, tents, &c. Captain Bonnevaux, commandant at Trincomallée, accommodated us with eight bullocks, as indeed he did with every thing in his power.

* Some of the inhabitants manufacture a coarse kind of cloth, partly sent to Trincomallée, and into the country, and partly collected from them by the king's people, sent throughout the country from Candy. The people here do not, as in the Carnatic, pay to government any share of their crops.

† This was the common pretext for their absence on similar occasions, as I marched into the country, when I found my present suspicion too well founded.

‡ He would take no money, and said, "Our favour was more to him than 1000 rupees."

§ No hut or appearance of inhabitant since we left the suburbs and environs of Trincomallée.

¶ Veraumy, or, as Knox spells it, Vidaumy, the general of a district.

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in his palace, but that it might be apprehended the Engliſh ſhould be otherwiſe, having had the fatigues of coming ſo far in ſhips, and afterwards of fighting and conquering the Dutch. I told him our ſhips were ſo large and powerful, that we lived as well and as happily at ſea as on land; and that we were ſo much ſtronger than our enemies, that the conqueſt of them gave us no trouble.

He told me that the King, hearing of my coming, had appointed the general of this diſtrict, Mauthela diſtrict, including Trincomallée, Cottiar, &c. to come down and receive me; and that he himſelf was ſent forward to prepare the roads and accommodations for him for that purpoſe: that he did not know till the preceding evening of my coming on ſo ſoon, or he would have been better provided for our reception: that he had great deſire, but little power, to accommodate us in theſe parts, oppreſſed as they had been under the Dutch; but that we ſhould have whatever we wanted, and they could ſupply. He ſent us afterwards ſome fine fowls and fiſh, cocoa-nuts, and a little rice, which, it ſeems, is a ſcarce commodity here, but natchenny* in plenty. I thanked him, and aſſured him of the friendſhip of the Engliſh to the King and people of the country. On telling him, in reply to his obſervation of this part of the country being only the root of the tree, which bore no fruit itſelf, but made the branches produce, that the Engliſh were famous for being excellent garleners, and that on this occaſion they would be very happy to ſhew their friendly ſkill, and make this great tree flouriſh,—he ſaid it was neceſſary to ſurround valuable trees and fruits with *hedges* and *defences*; and for *ſo much care as that*, they would be very happy in the friendſhip of the Engliſh †.

Much time was taken up in the ceremonies and double tranſlation of our converſation, from his Cingaleſe, through Malabar, to Engliſh, by my two debaſhes; but well employed in what thus appeared authentic information of the ground being ſufficiently firm and favourable.

Another eſſential conſideratio contributed to detain us; the want of rice and paddy for the ſepoys and cooleys. We obtained ſome, however, with much difficulty.

Pitched one tent on the plain, and halted all night. The road hither was much better and pleaſanter than yeſterday's, through lawns and openings; and as we approached Tumbela-Caumum, ſaw conſiderable numbers of oxen, fifty or ſixty in a herd.

From Tumbela-Caumum to Tertolay, (ſixteen miles.)

Feb. 17.—Did not ſet out till ſeven, *a. m.* being detained by another conference, with another meſſenger from Candy, who had arrived late the preceding evening. He was an envoy from the King; had left Candy nine days before, he told me, and was ſent forwards to prepare accommodations, &c. as the other had ſaid, with whom his account agreed; aſſuring me, expreſsly, in addition, that as the late King had always been moſt friendly inclined to

* A grain that grows in the Carnatic and Ceylon.

† He entered into ſome particulars of the preſent and former ſtate of this town of Tumbela-Caumum, which is large, and has ſome good ſtone-buildings; but much leſs populous and flouriſhing ſince the exactions of the Dutch reſidents there for fourteen or fifteen years paſt. The ſtaple of the place had been cattle, for which its extenſive paſturage ſeems very well calculated. He gave me ſome information too, not very faithful, as I afterwards diſcovered, of the politics of the court, the Dutch, &c. all in the moſt figurative ſtyle, with ſome agreeable turns and compliments.

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to the Engliſh, and deſirous of cultivating their friendſhip, ſo his preſent Highneſs was poſſeſſed of the ſame ſentiments and diſpoſition.*

He made much apology for the want of accommodation we ſhould experience on the road, from our proceeding ſooner than he expected, and the difficulty of it for our palankeens, as there had not been time to clear it; but that, as he was immediately returning to notify our approach, he would give directions as he went for as much accommodation as could be prepared.

This we found very little indeed, both on the journey of to-day, and at the end of it. Tolerably good path-ways, but the woods all the way very cloſe and low over them; which, with ſome rough and ſteep rocky paſſages, made it neceſſary often to alight from the palankeens.

We halted after about eight miles, half-way to Tertolay, where there was ſome water for the ſepoys (the cooleys had marched on before us), and breakfaſted heartily on cold fowl,† ſeaſoned with ſome excellent ſalt beef we had from the admiral, and waſhed down with what Mr. Cherech's palankeen-bearers had left him of a bottle of aniſeed, to improve the water, which wanted it much. Before three we arrived and pitched our tents on the borders of Tertolay lake, within about a quarter of a mile of the village; a very extenſive and beautiful expanſe of water, finely ſkirted with riſing woods. As the chief peon, with whom I had conferred in the morning, had promiſed to prepare whatever accommodation could be ready for us, I ſent forward my two meſſengers ‡ with the more confidence, to notify our arrival to the head-inhabitant of the village.

The delay of my two meſſengers, who did not return for an hour and a half, ſurpriſed me; but I was ſtill more ſo when they did return, with two men, the only perſons viſible in the place! This deſertion, ſeemingly at our approach, was not encouraging: our two viſitors, however, accounted for it by telling us, the inhabitants were gone to their paddy-fields. The place, at beſt, is very ſmall and poor, and their account might be true; conſidering, eſpecially, the quality of our two hoſts; one, the head-inhabitant; and the other, a man of the village, expreſsly ordered by the chief peon, as he paſſed through, to procure us what we wanted, and could be ready.—This intelligence, implying the will at leaſt, qualified the apparent coolneſs of our reception, and ſcantineſs of our fare; for they had brought us only one fowl, plantains not ripe, and a dozen rotten eggs.

On the whole I remained in ſome doubt on this alternative, whether the court, not contemplating my immediate advance, had not prepared the

* On this topic he recommended what appeared an extraordinary caution to me, that I ſhould not believe what the people of the country, as I advanced, might ſay: for they were great liars, and might endeavour to inſinuate improper impreſſions of *enmity* or *indiſpoſition*, where friendſhip only exiſted.—I told him, that as I was conſcious of the moſt friendly diſpoſition of the Engliſh to the King and his ſubjects, as my commiſſion from the high authority I came from would teſtify, ſo I confided in the ſame amicable ſentiments on the part of his highneſs.

† Our lame cook, who carried it, this morning ſaw a tiger; the drummer was ordered to ſtrike up; and the woods of Ceylon, for the firſt time, heard the grenadier's march.

‡ Mahommed Coſſim, a very intelligent man, whom I had engaged on the coaſt, was lately cutwal at Carrical, but had formerly traded to Candy, and was very reſpectably acquainted there; and ſpoke Cingaleſe, the language of the country. The other, a very decent old man, who came on with us from Tumbela-Caumum.

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the peon with sufficient authority, though he desired to appear, for personal consequence, perhaps, or for political reasons, to have it; or whether there were really the disposition at Candy in our favour, that was pretended. But, considering, on the whole, the Munnygar's friendly conduct and communication, and this morning's assurances from the chief peon, of the king, still more express; and concluding, that the only alternative, on the supposition of fraud, is highly improbable; either that the king should practise a treachery so gross, or that these slaves of their master should attempt it without his sanction; I determined, without appearance of diffidence or delay, to proceed to-morrow.*

From Tertolay to Permaumadoo, (ten miles.)

Feb. 8.—Very long detained this morning in consequence of the heavy rain that fell last night, and wetted the tents so much, that we were obliged to wait for their drying, and becoming portable again to the bullocks, till near one o'clock in the afternoon.

We then set out, and after halting about half-way, near an hour, at our constant cold fowl mess, arrived about six at Permaumadoo. The road more and more difficult, both from the closeness of the woods, and sudden steepnesses. After walking more to-day than I had done for a considerable time, and quitting my palankeen, the † pinjaree of which it was necessary to take off, I made a very advantageous change into the dooley of Moss, my writer. We crossed two or three streams, as we advanced, that flow from Tertolay-lake; one a little on this side of the village, pretty large, and running over rocks. The lake opened now and then on our right hand as we advanced, very beautifully, to various prospects of retiring woods and hills. About two miles from where we set out, we saw grazing on its borders a vast number of wild buffaloes, not less, I believe, than two or three hundred; but which, probably, do not venture too near the alligators that abound in the lake.

As we approached close to Permaumadoo, we were glad to see some fine paddy-ground, our rice being very nearly exhausted; and, as we had been apprised this was a plentiful little place, we relied here on the accommodating offices of our precursor the peon, and advanced, with as much alacrity as fatigue permitted, to the encampment-ground our preceding messengers had taken for us.

But that was all they had been able to do; for, to our great mortification, we found this scene more desolate than the former; exactly, in fact, what has been so finely pictured in poetry, "a Deserted Village,"

> "All but yon widow'd solitary thing,
> "That feebly bends beside the plashy spring."

This was precisely the state of Permaumadoo. There was only *one old woman* to be seen. But she was neither so communicative, nor authentic, as Goldsmith's "sad historian of the pensive plain." All the account she would give of the absence of the inhabitants, was the stale pretext of the paddy-grounds.

* I must do justice to Mr. Chereeh's judgment on this occasion, as on many others in our expedition. He suspected strongly their dispositions towards us: and it must be confessed, the alluring air of their promises, and then the breach of them, the miserable want of provisions, the nature of the country, &c. &c. seemed to furnish ground of apprehension.

† The top of the palankeen.

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Our ſituation was now very unpleaſant, and choice of conduct not eaſy. In the firſt place, all poſſible care was taken to prevent our people going into the village; which, though empty of people, was full of proviſion: great ſtore of paddy; and the doors of the houſes open. But, politically circumſtanced as we were, doubts of the country's diſpoſition and intention increaſing with our advances into it, the greateſt caution in our conduct became more and more neceſſary; not a ſingle perſon, even as before in point of compliment, appearing on the part of the peon, of whom the old woman either knew, or pretended to know, nothing:—this, too, the firſt village we had come to, fully under the king (for the Dutch incroachments, as conſidered at Candy, had extended to Tertolay); our increaſing diſappointment on this ground was, therefore, the more ſeriouſly diſcouraging, and our advance into ſuch a country the more dangerous.

Two things were neceſſary, *ſupply* and *intelligence*. But I reſolved to protract, as long as poſſible, the unpleaſant neceſſity, which might afterwards afford pretext for reſentment, of taking the former; and contrived, with ſome rice which luckily my debaſh had a good ſtock of for his own people, to ſatisfy the ſepoys and the reſt of our party this night, without invading the property of Permaamadoo; in hopes, poſſibly, of ſome favourable appearance of the inhabitants in the morning. As the beſt means towards intelligence, I determined to ſend ſome of my confidential people, under ſanction of a letter to the king, notifying to him, in point of compliment, and with all appearance of unſuſpicious friendſhip, my advance ſo far. Beſides, I was deſirous of having an opportunity of ſtating formally, though in appearance curſorily, the aſſurances I had received, in my conferences at Tumbela-Caumum, with his people immediately coming from his durbar, his veraundy and chief peon.

As my meſſengers proceeded, Mahommed Coſſim, who ſet out with them, was to ſend me back all the obſervation he could collect at Pulian-Caravvety, the next village, about nine miles diſtance, or further on, if he found it neceſſary to proceed a little, of every ſymptom he could collect of the diſpoſition both of the country and the court, eſpecially if he could aſcertain whether the diſappearance of the inhabitants proceeded merely from their own fears, or any political cauſe or authority.

Others were ſent to go on with the bearer of my letter (one of my chubdars), to report to me any thing that might occur of conſequence as they advanced; eſpecially relative to the general, whoſe friendly appointment and approach were ſo expreſsly announced to me.

I finiſhed my letter to the king, and memorandums to Mahommed, which Permaul tranſlated early the next morning, and the reconnoitring party I diſpatched with all ſpeed. We then proceeded, or laid by, as new circumſtances or proper caution required from the old ones, with due leiſure and circumſpection.

From Permaamadoo to Pulian-Caravvety, (ten miles.)

Feb. 9.—More rain, which detained us very long, but luckily, this morning, as by it I had the following interview and particulars. A man came to my tent, and gave me a letter, addreſſed "A Monſieur Monſieur, le Commandant General des Forces Angloiſes, a Trincomallée." When he told me he brought it from the Governor of Columbo, and ſhewed me two or three other letters, and one directed to Homoet,

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ate governor of Trincomallée, I made no ceremony with the wax of the latter, or my friend Bonnevaux's. But one was only on private affairs, and the other a recommendation to humanity, very properly and respectfully urged, of the Dutch prisoners. I inclosed them, and took his opportunity of again * writing to Capt. Bonnevaux, by the Columbo messenger, whom I sent on, after learning from him the following information: that he had, the day before, been met and brought back by the chief peon I had spoken with, who examined and treated him very roughly, suspecting that he came from Columbo, or some of the Dutch settlements. The man, however, persisted that he was only a trader, and found means to conceal his letters. He told him he had left Columbo seventeen days ago, had come by Negombo, and then cross the country through the woods. On my inquiring about the Candian ambassador, who had been at Columbo to notify the late king's death, he told me, that he had staid there only three days, and had come away as soon as the news arrived there of the English taking Trincomallée, a day or two only before he left it. But his most immediate important intelligence was of the chief peon, who had, in his hearing, remonstrated with the two or three persons that met him here and entertained him, and one of them the head-inhabitant, against their deserting the village; telling them how well we conducted ourselves, and treated the people; and desiring them to remain, and accommodate us as well as in their power.

This corresponded with the hope that occurred to me at Tertolay, of the peon's inclination being greater than his authority; and we were the more induced to attribute the people's absence merely to their fears, from the information I at last extracted from the old woman. She said, the men had been almost all gone five or six days, a few only coming backwards and forwards—as those yesterday who, she now told us, as the Columbo man had, received the peon; but she could not confirm the important remainder of his intelligence, as to his directions in our favour. She said, the women and children went the preceding day, and would have persuaded her to go also; but that being infirm, and relying perhaps on the sanctity of her wrinkles, she had remained. I praised her good sense; and endeavoured to convince her too, how much wiser she was than her neighbours, by presenting her with two star pagodas,—the first, probably, she had ever seen, or certainly had ever been mistress of.

Consideration of these particulars, so apparently favourable, especially the Columbo man's report, saved the paddy of Permaumadoo; as I thought myself now more justified in venturing to proceed, and finding that we could do so to another larger village, called Pulian-Caravvery, where Mahommed † assured us we should have plenty of provisions. We flattered ourselves too, that in addition to the peon's recommendation to the people, they must have heard through the country of our good conduct, and be the more induced to receive us; and

* I had written to him our good news, as it appeared, from Tumbela-Caumum, to relieve the great apprehension he was under of our meeting insuperable difficulties, if not hostilities.

† He was not yet out on the reconnoitring party; but founded his opinion, on this occasion, on what he had seen there a few weeks before, when he went up from Trincomallée with my first letter to the king.

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that possibly the same, even of my golden offering to the sybil of Permaumadoo, might have been wafted before us, and served, in some degree, to propitiate the *swaumies* of Ceylon.

Protracting, therefore, on the principle already stated, the taking of any supply, to the last possible moment, and the political necessity of intelligence towards our advance appearing not now so strong, I determined to go on, assured thus of provision at Pulian-Caravvety, and to detain my letter and messengers, to be dispatched thence according to circumstances. At about half past twelve, therefore, we set out, and after a short halt as usual, at the sign of the cold fowl! (which, by the by, had been a little too much in the sun,) arrived at a little past five at Pulian-Caravvety; or rather close to it, for we adhered strictly to our rule of not entering a village.

We might, however, have dispensed with it here, for there was nothing to alarm us but empty huts: not even an old woman to present two pagodas to!

This anticlimax of reception ever since Tumbela-Caumum, and in proportion as we advanced into so strange and strong a country, was very unpleasant. We wondered that the people's fear should not have subsided; or that the chief peon's remonstrances, if sincere, should be still unsuccessful. No trace or report of him; not a single person even to pretend an apology! though easier in this village, it would seem to have prevailed on some to remain, as it is much larger than the former: twenty or thirty houses, such as they are.—Doubts returned and increased, about the peon's sincerity, and consequently the disposition of Candy; and our two old wants, of supply and intelligence, pressed more and more strongly on us.

Mr. Cherech, with the caution of an old soldier, and a very proper solicitude for those under his command, was very apprehensive on both grounds. As to the former, however, our reconnoitring party brought us intelligence, that there were many store places for paddy well covered up, and plenty of natchenny in the houses. For the latter I dispatched Mahommed Cossim, and the Candy party, with my letter to the king, early next morning.

Our road to-day rather more open than hitherto; but very deep and heavy in some places, especially near the end of our stage. A general appearance of want of industry through the country; easily accounted for, where there is no encouragement to labour; for that is a virtue, which, beyond the supply of necessaries, is not its own reward. But though agriculture be neglected or ill pursued, and their huts ill and clumsily constructed, the people seem rather indolent than poor. They are easily supplied by their sun, soil, and rains, with more than they can consume.

Some very romantic views relieved the way as we passed along. But in general, the whole course of the road resembles very much the gravelled ways through the groves common in the grounds about our great houses in England. These gravel walks are rather rougher, it must be confessed, both under foot, and on each side; but if we had travelled as men of taste instead of business, unvexed by what we then considered as interruptions, we should, on the contrary, have admired the sudden rock, or fallen tree, majestic in ruin; the venerable victim of ages; or recently, perhaps, before we passed, prostrated athwart

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athwart the little path of men, by the ruthless bulk of the lord of the forest; whose sublime magnitude, bearing down all obstacle before him, and on every side, is really awful in its effects. I have not yet been fortunate enough to see this land leviathan, whose wildness must indeed be sublime; but I have stopped to contemplate the length and breadth of his footsteps across the way. *Ex pede elephantem.*

At Pulian-Caravvety.

Feb. 10.—After dispatching my letter to the king, and giving particular instructions to the messengers, especially enjoining Mahommed to write back exact intelligence on some specific points which I gave him in writing (and this he was to do by day-break the next day, so that we might receive his letter in the morning, if his intelligence should be favourable), we attended to our other essential care of provisions; but, to our exceeding disappointment, we found that there was no rice. The store-places, which were so carefully covered up, we found most thoroughly unpacked, and not a pad of paddy remaining. No alternative but natchenny; which, besides being a very inferior and much less wholesome food, has another material inconvenience, delay; first, in beating it out, and then in grinding it into flour. An inconvenience increased by the obstinacy of the cooleys and palanqueen-boys, who refused to work, and said they would rather starve; —mine especially, who were the most insolent set of knaves I ever saw, affecting high superiority over the country bearers that came from Trincomallée, though themselves are almost outcasts on the coast, Mariars from Negapatam: exacting, by the by, an extraordinary price, for what must indeed be acknowledged an extra kind of service. I am glad to bear, on the contrary, the most favourable testimony to the conduct of our sepoys, under the strict and able care of Mr. Cherech; equally patient under their hunger and fatigue, and active in every labour of loading and drawing the bullocks, guarding and assisting the cooleys, pitching the tents, &c. &c.

We borrowed a fowl from one of the sepoys, who had purchased it from the fowl-cooley * at Tertolay, and carried it with the last plate of rice to be had. The natchenny business, though now the sole resource of the people, went on very reluctantly, and with much objection, from the apprehension of its making them sick.

At Pulian-Caravvety.

Feb. 11.—The apprehension of sickness among our people, last night, was too well-founded; of which we had this morning the unwelcome proof, in the illness of some of the sepoys, and the servants and attendants. The mischief, however, had no resource; of which the people were conscious, and behaved very well, especially the military. Mr. Cherech managed them with equal care and kindness; as the rapid ebb of his arrack bottle testified.

Our anxiety grew the greater to hear, from Mahommed, the disposition and ability of the next village, as to people and provisions, as well as any general intelligence he might be able to send of the country. Without some favourable intelligence on these heads, I determined, or rather would be determined, by the necessity of such a situation, to send back a party to Permaumadoo, to negotiate with

* A fellow who had fallen in with the sepoys there, with eight or ten fowls on his head; they purchased his flock, and he consented to join our cooley-corps.

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(now, I hope) our friends there for the paddy, which our delicacy, too ſcrupulous perhaps, had ſpared—But this, I hoped, for obvious reaſons, would not be neceſſary.

Three o'clock in the afternoon brought no tidings from Mahommed! though we had expected them at breakfaſt. We ſat down "with what appetite we may," to a little land turtle, two of which a ſepoy caught this morning; but one was of a kind not fit for uſe. This was luckily very good; and our cooks, both the lame one, and a young aſſiſtant that I had obtained for him, performed very well.

Another hour without news, added, in proportion, to our anxiety; which was now, however, agreeably relieved in a conſiderable meaſure, by two viſitors, who arrived a little after four o'clock. They told me, they were ſent from Noatchy-wettay * by the chief peon, who they had left there the morning of the 10th, to meet me, and let me know he had given all poſſible directions for our accommodation, and for the clearing of the roads, with apologies for the great want of it, &c.; that the peon was proceeding as faſt as he could to Candy, to notify our approach; and that every thing would be prepared for us in the beſt manner the ſhortneſs of the time admitted: eſpecially, on my examining them ſtrictly as to rice at the next ſtage, they aſſured me we ſhould find it; though perhaps at a dear price, as it had been ſcarce.

All this intelligence, and even the compliment of ſending it, was obviouſly extremely encouraging; and could not eaſily be ſuſpected to be a ſyſtem of fineſſe, ſo deeply laid from the beginning to intrap us into diſtreſs. But it is nevertheleſs true, I had yet received nothing direct or written from authority. The general, who, I forgot to mention, theſe men ſaid, had not, as they knew, left Candy, might, I think, have heard of us, and ſent more authentically. But that, perhaps, was apprehended, would be committing the court too particularly; and the verbal reports of all theſe underlings might be denied by themſelves, or diſavowed by their maſters. I did not forget, though I ſeemed to forgive, the rejection of my letter to the king. Of the ſucceſs or ſtate of my ſecond attempt towards the correſpondence, I yet knew nothing, though eleven days had elapſed ſince my meſſenger left Trincomallée, and ſince which I advanced almoſt half-way to Candy. I continued, therefore, to wiſh anxiouſly for Mahommed's intelligence. A little before five, arrived a letter from Mahommed Coſſim. He wrote to Permaul, that on the preceding evening, he found Minary, the next little village to us, though not directly in the way, about ſixteen or ſeventeen miles, entirely deſerted; that he then went on three or four miles farther, and met this morning with ſome of the people in another village (Wiſhtegall), and in the woods; that he had explained particulars to them to return and remain; as it was merely from their fears of what they had heard of an Engliſh army being advancing, that they had removed. As to rice, he did not know that he could obtain any; but would endeavour by all means, if any could be procured.

This information a little damped our hopes. It repreſented ſupply as at leaſt uncertain, if not unlikely. Mr. Cherech's ſolicitude for his men was ſo much increaſed, that he leaned ſtrongly to the reſource of ſending back to Permaupadoo; and the political

* A village about thirty miles farther.

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litical appearance, as to our safety in advancing, struck him as very problematical. On that head, however, I thought Mahommed's letter concurred rather favourably with the other proofs, that all this disappearance was from the timidity of the people; and as so much time had already been lost, and as even the Permaumadoo resource would be very tedious, I determined to go on as expeditiously as possible. Going back would expose our distress, and possibly, after all, without relieving it. Delay might essentially defeat the object of my mission. I therefore gave orders to beat the general an hour before day-break next morning.

From Pulian-Caravvety to Wisstegall.

Feb. 12.—So much delay in loading bullocks and cooleys, that we did not move till half past six. I walked the first hour and a half through the lowest and closest woods we had yet encountered. Halted and breakfasted at half past nine, in the almost dry channel of a river, prettily skirted with woods, which, in the wet season, must, from the appearance of its sand and banks, be rapid and deep. In about an hour set forward. The road much better, and the country more open, and we made more than usual progress. But the sun was intensely hot; and without my pinjeree, which I had been obliged to keep dismounted, I felt its full influence.

After two hours and a half's march from breakfast, at a very good pace, bullocks and some of the cooleys left a long way behind under a guard, we halted again under the shade of some very fine trees, in a wide and open bottom, grown only with weeds, that extends some miles along the lake of Minary. Here, as we approached the lake, and still more as, turning a little to the right, we proceeded along its borders, the most noble scenes of nature arose on every side; the grandest variety of hills I had ever seen, of vast height and magnitude; and, taking different dispositions as we moved along, immense and various vallies opened upon us. The lake itself must have a fine effect in this grand scene, when full. It appeared now not to be near so; but is at all times a very noble and extensive sheet of water.

When our people had a little rested from the heat and fatigue, and our bullocks joined the main body, we moved again; and in an hour and a half more, I walked along the lake with the king of Candy's brass-barrelled firelock, (but unluckily I had only a single ball, so that I only frightened the wild-fowl that abound on it); we at length approached the wished-for environs of Wishtegall. But where wishes are so anxious, fears are in proportion. Here we were to know our fate as to the essential object of provision, and probably the state and disposition of the country.

We halted our people at about a mile's distance from the village, which lies out of the way to Candy, and Mr. Cherech and I advanced to reconnoitre. He told me he saw the people running into the woods. A most discouraging omen! We went on about a quarter of a mile, to the dry bed of a river; and thence we descried Mahommed approaching, the revealer, as he was in a great measure, the minister of our destiny. Two of the country people with him. A propitious omen! which we found most agreeably verified in Mahommed's report. He had taken great pains, and with success, to quiet the alarms of the people, and they had actually returned to their houses; but, being almost as wild as the fowl of Minary lake, had been as much

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much frightened at our approach, and ran back to the woods, as Mr. Cherech had seen. Our two Wiſhtegallians, who were perfectly pleaſed with their interview, ſaid they would now bring them back immediately.

As to Mahommed's eſſential commiſſion, he ſucceeded moſt fortunately indeed: and very wiſely embraced all the good fortune that preſented itſelf; for he had purchaſed one thouſand meaſures of paddy—very dear, though, if price were now an object, conſiſtently with the report of the Noatchy-wettay men, To the ten pagodas I had furniſhed him with, he had added ten of his own: twenty pagodas for five hundred meaſures of rice! But circumſtances governing all things, it was a moſt cheap and valuable acquiſition, making us, even in the worſt event or appearance of politics, maſters of our own motions for ſome days at leaſt.

We ordered up the main body; and, after repeating to them all the ſtricteſt injunctions againſt entering the village, in the preſence of many of the people, who were by this time aſſembled, and much pleaſed with our caution, we pitched our tents within about half a mile, in a charming ſituation. Juſt in the front of my tent was a very noble and venerable tree, inclining a little with age; but it was a flouriſhing *viridiſque ſenectus;* with a beautiful perſpective through its lower branches, of an amphitheatre of woods, terminating a lawn that appeared with a very new and uſeful ornament, as we have copiouſly experienced, from the very fine milk of the cows that we ſaw grazing on it.

Our truſty Mahommed, the prime miniſter of our ſupply and intelligence, proceeded in his care of the paddy, to have it beaten out as ſoon as poſſible by the country people; our own being interdicted the village.

Mr. Cherech and I, after a dinner of ſalt beef, enjoyed our ſupper off a very fine fowl curried with rice, with additional ſatisfaction, from the certainty that our people would now have enough of it for ſupper for four or five nights to come: and I lay down on my cot more comfortable than I had done for many nights before.

At Wiſhtegall.

Feb. 13.—Notwithſtanding the exertions of Mahommed, our eſſential buſineſs of beating out the paddy remained incomplete; and we were detained in neceſſary conſequence all day. The hands were but few to beat out ſuch a quantity of paddy; and thoſe few were occupied by the inſolence of the palankeen-boys, who found means, when we ſent a few of them to bring the rice from the village, inſtead of beating for themſelves, to employ the country people, and to detach them from the paddy of the ſepoys. In the evening, we ſent up ſome of the cooleys under a ſmall guard; and hoped to have the whole done early the day following.

In ſupply for head-quarters, we found the ability of the people inferior to their inclinations. Our breakfaſt, indeed, was ſumptuous, with the addition of the aforeſaid milk to our tea, and a prodigious fine egg, whoſe ſize and excellence ſurpriſed us; for we boldly ventured on it without inquiry. On making ſome afterwards, we found we were indebted for it immediately to Mr. Cherech's jemindar, but originally to the peacock, which abounds in the woods of this country.

I had this morning a viſit from a Cingaleſe man, juſt arrived from Allwala, one ſtage about fifteen miles this ſide of Candy. He ſaid he left

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the general there on the 11th, and heard he was coming to receive me, and had given orders for houſes and accommodations for that purpoſe; and that the roads were cleared. This favourable information was the more comfortable, as it appeared perfectly ſpontaneous; and the man too ſimple to be ſent on any deep fineſſe. He took a pagoda too, which added to all appearance at leaſt, of his intelligence being from himſelf; as there is a rigid prohibition againſt the people accepting any preſent, when employed on public buſineſs.

This morning Permaul brought me word, that four or five men had arrived, whom Mahommed, meeting in the village, had brought down to our ground. He learned from the people there, that theſe men had been very particular and ſtrict in inquiring about us, and our conduct ſince we came. The people could not do otherwiſe than make a very good report of us; and the men, therefore, accompanied Mahommed with leſs difficulty. With apparent candour too, they acquainted him, that they had been ſent for this purpoſe of looking about them, and obtaining all intelligence concerning us, by ſome principal perſons of the country, Moatyarrs, higher than the Veraunies. Expreſſing a deſire, therefore, to go about the encampment; I directed Permaul to ſhew them all civility, and to notice their obſervations. They walked about with much attention, particularly to the arms, which were ranged, as uſual, near my tent, and which he obſerved one of them very ſlily counting.

All this inquiry, firſt among the people, and ocular examination afterwards, we ſoon found was a prelude to a more important ſcene; no leſs than the approach of the aforeſaid Moatyarrs themſelves, whom theſe men acknowledged to have ſent them, but concealed from us the circumſtance of their being ſo near us. In fact, they were in an adjacent wood, waiting only the report of their ſcouts. After ſome very reſpectful and diſtant meſſaging at firſt, they made their appearance in the evening *, and opened their buſineſs with great formality.

They told me, they were ſent by the general from Candy to meet me, and in the firſt place inquired after my health, which they were afraid muſt have ſuffered from the inconveniences and want of ſupply on the road. For this they apologized largely, and ſaid it ſhould be rectified as well and as ſoon as poſſible, the general having iſſued orders for that purpoſe; but that the time had not yet been ſufficient, nor for the general himſelf to come forward to meet me,

* The cuſtom of tranſacting all public buſineſs at night, ſeems peculiar to the Cingaleſe. It certainly is not practiſed by any other people in Aſia. It has probably riſen from the jealous policy of their government, which is always upon the watch againſt domeſtic treaſon, which admits all ambaſſadors with reluctance, and views their conduct with ſuſpicion. Mr. Knox, in his account of Ceylon, mentions this ſingular cuſtom, as being part of the policy of the king of Candy. He ſays, "The king's great endeavour is to ſecure himſelf from plots and conſpiracies of his people, who are only weary of tyrannical government, and do often plot to make away with him; but by his ſubtilty and good fortune together, he prevents them. And for this purpoſe he is very vigilant in the night: the noiſe of trumpets and drums, which he appoints at every watch, hinders both himſelf and all others from ſleeping. In the night alſo he commonly does moſt of his buſineſs, calling ambaſſadors before him, and reading the letters; alſo, diſplacing ſome of his courtiers, and promoting others.

"Another part of his policy, is to make his country as intricate and difficult to travel as may be; and, therefore, forbids the woods to be felled, eſpecially thoſe that divide province from province, and permits no bridges to be made over the rivers, nor the roads to be made wider." Knox *on Ceylon*, p. 44.

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me, which he wished to have done at Trincomallée, or at least on the road, as had been the case of a former gentleman, who had come from Madras, Mr. Pybus: That to fulfil now, as well as might be, the customary and necessary compliments, the general requested I should halt wherever they might meet me: that they had travelled night and day for this purpose, and hoped, therefore, I would remain at present at Wishtegall.

I replied with all possible thanks and compliments to the general, of whose obliging attention I was perfectly sensible, but that I begged he would not be solicitous on that head; for that I should consider myself equally honoured by the intention, and what circumstances admitted, as if all the customary compliments had been prepared: and that as his wish for my stay arose merely from that consideration, I was sure he would wave what was so unnecessary a point of form, and wish rather I would go on with all speed, when he considered what essential motives of business and public utility urged me forward. Besides, I had stated these motives, and my proceeding on them, in two several letters to the king, and was therefore additionally bound to be consistent in matters of such importance, and which I flattered myself would be agreeable to his highness.

They still urged their wish that I should remain at Wishtegall, till the general should come and meet me, and all due compliment be paid: and observed, pointedly enough, that if I came entirely on grounds of friendship, it was extraordinary I would not comply with the wishes and customs of friends.

Having assured them most explicitly and strongly on that point of friendship, I endeavoured to convince them that it was therefore only I was so anxious to proceed; for that such long delay as they recommended, (having answered me that the general probably would not leave Candy to come and meet me till he should hear from them,) might be fatal to the friendly business I came with. However, that I had so much respect for the wish of every person in this country, that I should proceed more slowly than I had intended, and only two stages more, to Nallendy-Caravvety, till I should meet him there, or hear from the king; and that I should certainly remove there, or proceed, only as should be agreeable to his highness's commands.

At this they expressed great satisfaction; and after a minute inquiry into our whole number, sepoys, servants, palankeen-bearers, and coolies, for the purpose of providing a sufficient number, as they promised, and supply for us all, they said they would make all haste to report the particulars of our conference to the general, and at court.

I desired they would do so exactly, and represent, with my best respects to the general, the sentiments I had expressed, and which I now repeated and enforced; and in the propriety and urgency of which, I had no doubt the general himself would concur, and be very happy that as little time as possible should have been lost.

This tedious conference concluded, Mr. Cherech and I adjourned to more comfortable business, the discussion of our fowl-curry, which we could hardly make hot enough to encounter the night cold and extreme dampness of the dews. It penetrated the triple covering of my tents; and not being used to sleep in a cold bath, and more than half invalid as I had been for some time, I felt its effect very unpleasantly. But we had gained our main point—expedition; and the next day proceeded on our journey.

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From Wiſhtegall to Rock-River.

Feb. 14.—The delay in preparing proviſions, and conſequently in ſetting out this day, was the leſs important, as it might in ſome degree ſeem an attention to the wiſhes of our advancing ſlowly, ſo ſtrongly preſſed by the Moatyarrs yeſterday.

We did not move till a little paſt four, in hopes even then of day-light ſufficient to gain a ſmall lake about eight miles diſtant, and pitch our tents there. But the road, tho' a little cleared as to the immediate cloſeneſs of the wood, was ſo peculiarly rough and difficult, through little channels of broken rocks and craggy ſtones, that we advanced very ſlowly indeed, and at laſt not at all, the light which we ſhould otherwiſe have had from the ſtars being totally intercepted by the high woods. Now, too, began the carouſals of the foreſt; and we learnt from Mahommed and ſome Cingaleſe with us, that it is very dangerous to travel without lights and much precaution: our bullocks, too, were wedged in rock, half a mile behind; abſolutely unable to come on without light and additional help.

Halting, therefore, in the dry bed of this river, which deſerves the name I give it from an immenſe rock cloſe to the place we ſtopped in, riſing to a prodigious height, we ſent back ſome ſepoys and palankeen-boys to the relief of the bullocks, with as many pieces of candle as we could ſcrape up by accident; for unluckily my candle-box, and all the lanthorns, were gone on with ſome of our party, who, not knowing that our large body would be thus obliged to halt, had advanced far before us, my debaſh and writer with them; they were enough to be ſafe—ſome of the cooleys, a few ſepoys, and my orderly trooper.

The bullocks joined us in about an hour:—Mr. Cherech made an excellent diſpoſition againſt any night attack of our foreſt enemies *; we ſupped very heartily on bread, cheeſe and grog, and ſlept ſoundly in the bed of the river of the rock.

From Rock-River to Gona.

Feb. 15.—We ſtarted at half paſt five; and in an hour and ten minutes, through woods a little, and but a little, cleared, joined our advanced parties (for they had ſeparated alſo into two diviſions) at the lake we expected to have reached the night before, the perils and dangers of which were really much more than imaginary. Beſides their hearing the deſtruction of the foreſt, not unfrequent in the night, by its huge inhabitants burſting through it, we diſcovered, by a certain and very recent relique in the road, that one of thoſe immenſe animals had been very near the foremoſt party, in which were Permaul and my orderly trooper. But they had the fortune and great civility of an actual viſit from the bear, who came acroſs them after they had halted. Very inhoſpitably, the orderly fired at him; and bruin, not reliſhing this unexpected return for his politeneſs, returned without farther ceremony. We breakfaſted here, and made a long halt of three hours. In two more reached Noatchy-wettay, where two or three of the inhabitants came forward very frankly to receive me, and converſed with us; we had found in various places leſs of that fooliſh timidity, and much more diſpoſition to intercourſe, in the Choliars of the country, who are Mahommedans, and quite diſtinct † in their manners from the other more numerous and ſuperior claſs, the Cingaleſe.

Our Choliar viſitors inquired very parti-

* Fire being the beſt defence againſt them, we kept two great piles burning all night.

† Of this diſtinction I conceive ſome advantage might in future be made, in the poſſible

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particularly for the Nabob, for whom they have a high reſpect, and very cordially promiſed to procure us ſome fowls and eggs. But Mahommed, whom, as uſual, we had diſpatched before us, had in the mean time ſaved them the trouble, and prevailed on ſome of the Cingaleſe to come out to us with a few.

Here, too, we found a material diſtinction; for on offering them a few pagodas, the Choliars had no manner of objection, and were actually coming forward to take them, till prevented by the Cingaleſe, the principal of whom made a long and loud ſpeech on the occaſion, of the guilt of accepting any reward on the king's ſervice.

Another particular, too, I ought not to omit, as I confeſs it has ſurpriſed me a little, and ſhews at leaſt that odd thoughts have been in other heads as well as ours. Before we left them, one of the Choliars took Mahommed aſide, and in great confidence and ſolemnity urged, that we ſhould be on our guard againſt the treachery of the Cingaleſe, whom he repreſented in the moſt perfidious colours; and recommended, particularly, that we ſhould not go into the houſes they might prepare for us. This inſinuation may be the reſult merely of the envy and ill underſtanding between them; but, touching the ſtring that has already been ſo wound up, it heightens the note of caution at leaſt, if not of ſuſpicion.

After a long halt at Noatchy-wettay, for our men were much fatigued, we arrived, between five and ſix in the evening, at our next ſtage near Gona; that is, we pitched our tents in the road, and a very narrow one, cloſed up with woods and hills, and if among others than friends we were in a very unpleaſant and dangerous ſituation. But Mr. Cherech, as uſual, took all poſſible and judicious care of every thing; and not only ordered, but went himſelf round every department of cooleys and bullocks, as well as ſepoys, and ſaw, according to the wakeful notification which all our ſentries repeated aloud every quarter of an hour through the night, "*all's well.*"

From Gona to Choultry-Plain.

Beſides the circumſtances of ſuſpicion that have occurred on our part, ſo many more anxious appeared on theirs, that I was very ſolicitous to reach Nallendy-Caravvety, where I hoped to meet the general, or ſome of their principal people, and come to an eclairciſſement of mutual confidence. But the roads have been ſo rocky and rough to-day, that after a long halt, at the ſide of a very pleaſant river, ten miles on this ſide of Gona (where I was lucky in meeting a man whom my people knew, returning to Tumbela-Caumum, and by whom I ſent a few lines to Capt. Bonnevaux, acquainting him with our progreſs, with thanks for the wines and good ſpirits we had received from him the night before)—we were at laſt, and with much difficulty arrived only here, five or ſix miles, I am told, ſhort of Caravvety. I take the liberty of naming this fine plain, Choultry-Plain, on the report of Mahommed, who told me there were the remains of a fine old choultry on it. I was ſo fatigued, that I took his word. The bold openneſs of this ſituation was a good contraſt to our incloſure the night before, "bound in with ſaucy doubts and fears."

The proſpects of to-day very grand and various. Stupendous hills on

ſible caſe of political diſagreements with a people ſo bigotted and obſtinate as the Cingaleſe appear to be. The Choliars have a chief of their tribe at court. They ſeem a more manly, effective race of men than the other.

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on our right as we passed; and the immense height to which they carried their verdure, with now and then abrupt faces of rock breaking through, added great sublimity to the beauty of the scene.

From Choultry-Plain to the River Nallendy.

Feb. 17.—About eight in the morning came two messengers from the general, to let me know he had received my message from Wishtegall by the Moatyarrs; and that, in consequence of his orders, all possible speed had been used in preparing a house, &c. for me, near Nallendy-Caravvety; but that as it could not be ready till evening, it was hoped I would stop here a little, and that every thing should be done as well and as soon as possible. I told them, with thanks and respects to the general, that though I had been just ready to move, yet, anxious to comply with the wishes of my friends, I would stop for a few hours, as desired; and would be very happy, when I advanced, and it should be convenient to the general, to have the pleasure of meeting him. They said they left him at Allwalay yesterday, but believed he would come on to Nallendy to-day. Then they took leave, and returned in great haste.

I was very glad to learn intelligence from these men, of Solyman and Chubdar, the bearers of my letters from Trincomallee and Pulian-Caravvety, of or from whom I had yet no account; but they told Permaul, on inquiry, that they had both gone on, and my letters were forwarded.

In consequence of the above arrangement, we did not move till half past twelve; and in about an hour and ten minutes, as we were proceeding very quick along some fine road, which compensated a little for a great rocky hill we had just passed over, I was met by three or four persons, of some consequence apparently, from their train; among whom were some bow and pikemen.

They were also just come from the general at Allwalay, but, hearing of my arrival, they supposed he would soon be here.

After their usual compliments and apologies, they observed, that as the court might now be considered as at Nallendy-Caravvety, many of the principal persons being there, and it being a place always of particular estimation and consequence, it was the custom, and would be expected as a proper compliment, that I should alight from my palankeen, and walk the rest of the way.

I was a little surprised by this extraordinary strain of respect, required at so many degrees from the throne; but assuring them of my sincere desire of complying with the customs of the court, and paying every compliment in my power, consistently with the propriety of my own situation, I told them that, if even this were to be considered so, I should be unable to conform to it, being much indisposed with the fatigues of my journey, and the heat of the weather. They repeated it was the custom, and therefore only they mentioned it, but that I should certainly do what was agreeable to me. I re-assured them as before; and that whatever was most agreeable to the king, would be so to me, as far as should be in my power.

They desired then to go, that they might trim up the house, they had been able to make ready, with white cloth; and begged I would stop a little till it could be done. They promised not to exceed an hour, and that they would then send to conduct me.

We halted, therefore, in a very pleasant shade, near the river Nallendy;

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lendy; now with little water, but in the rainy ſeaſons a full and ſtrong ſtream. Here was a number of houſes, as they call them, but in fact nothing more than huts, of mud walls and ſtraw, neatly enough, however, conſtructed, and ranged not unlike ſmall ſquares of colleges, ſome within others, with one elevated in the centre, and larger than the reſt. There was alſo a neat cottage, built by the late king as a place of pleaſure, and very agreeably ſituated, near the river, on the other ſide of which roſe very fine hills, covered with trees and verdure. This country ſo far juſtifies thoſe who place Eden here; for it abounds, according to the Poet of Paradiſe, with "woody theatres of ſtateſieſt views." This ruſtic palace, however, like other Richmonds, remains unfiniſhed.

While we halted, two or three perſons came, and ſlily counted our people; but I was not ſorry at this ſymptom, prognoſticating a complete preparation of proviſions.

At the River Nallendy.

The perſons who had met us on the road, more than doubled their appointment of an hour; and it was paſt four when we moved near the river to our new habitation, which had really a very pretty appearance as we approached it. The green walls of cocoa-nut leaves, very neatly interwoven, and bound and pannelled with laths, and the roofs very compact with wattling, and well thatched, appeared both cool and comfortable; with the rural magnificence of a ſpacious pandaul, croſs which we entered: there were two rooms joined on each ſide, with an open way between—each about fifteen feet ſquare. In mine was prepared a ſeat of rather inconvenient dignity and elevation.

Here I ſat ſome time, expecting a viſit, or inquiry at leaſt, from our hoſts: but none appeared.—Soon, however, were ſent an amazing number of cocoa-nuts, almoſt three hundred, as we afterwards found. This looked like a plentiful prelude to the various proviſion that we expected to follow, fruit eſpecially; though I was moſt deſirous to have the rice expedited, the men having had very little in the morning; only the ſavings of the former day.

Not having the ſmalleſt doubt of a complete ſupply of all kinds, I was aſtoniſhed in proportion at finding it did not extend a grain beyond the cocoa-nuts! I ſent Mahommed to inquire if any of the perſons we had juſt met on the road were yet here; and on his reporting that two remained, I deſired they might come to me: and on finding from them that nō rice was prepared, nor to be procured but by immediate orders from the general, whom they had ſent to at Allwalay, and could not, therefore, expect till to-morrow; I thought it not impolitic to indulge, what the occaſion ſo juſtly provoked, an almoſt angry ſurpriſe at ſo eſſential a diſappointment. I expoſtulated very ſtrongly on the neceſſity of our people's ſituation, without proviſions; and on the certain expectation we had for ſome days paſt been induced to entertain of complete ſupply here—for that otherwiſe we ſhould have taken care to obtain and bring it with us; but as they had known ſo long of our immediate approach, both from my letters and meſſengers, and their own, the chief peon, particularly, from Tumbela-Caumum, and many ſince, I certainly had reaſon to rely, at leaſt, on the neceſſary ſupply for my people here, where proviſion ſo plentifully abounded, as I had been uniformly aſſured all poſſible accommodation and ſupply ſhould

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should be prepared, and that the general had already given orders for that purpose: particularly by the Moatyarrs at Wishtegall, four days ago, with whom I had settled my route to come on thus far, and who had ascertained my expectation of supply here at least, if not sooner, by taking an exact account of the number of all our people for that purpose, (and the general had sent to me that he had received my message, &c. from Wishtegall.) Of this I reminded one of these two persons who attended them there as an adviser or assistant. He seemed a shrewd old gentleman, and a man of business.

To all this he could only answer, there had not been orders sufficiently particular from the general, to authorise the people to supply us as they wished; but that he would be here to-morrow himself.

Our conference concluded with my restating the absolute necessity of our situation, and requiring, therefore, as emphatically as I could, that it might immediately be represented, with all that had passed, to some of the persons of the court, who I understood were then at Nallendy-Caravvety,* and I supposed, though the general was absent, could give the necessary orders immediately: adding, in compliment, my best respects and acknowledgments for the house already prepared, and so commodiously, considering the shortness of the time.

The men promised to make all speed, and return in an hour.—After waiting upwards of six hours, neither rice, answer, nor any notice of us from Caravvetty arrived, except a considerable number of men posted on the other side of the river to watch us. It would have been wiser in them to have fed us.

At the River Nallendy.

Feb. 18.—The morning elapsed in expectation and disappointment. I wondered at the patience of the men, who hardly even complained. About one or two o'clock in the afternoon Solyman returned, the bearer of my first letter to the king from Trincomallée.

After a long account of his delays and difficulties in going up with my letter, misled into wrong and bad roads by the peons he went with, —and at last, on his arrival at Allwalay, of his being most strictly and fully examined by the general there, to whom he was known, on all particulars relative to the English, his letter having in the mean time been forwarded to court; he then told me he had left Allwalay late the preceding night, at the same time with two generals†, who were advancing with great pomp and retinue to meet me; that he had left them on the way, and supposed they would soon be here.

Matters appeared thus to clear up very satisfactorily, and I was in hopes of proceeding both on business and rice immediately; but much exercise for our patience yet remained, from the slowness and obstinate forms of this extraordinary people.

But not till near seven in the evening had we any notice of their arrival at Nallendy-Caravvety: it was then notified to me, with much ceremony, by the peon we had seen at Tumbela-Caumum, and one of the chief attendants. They told me that a Pandaul was prepared near my house, for my meeting these personages, according to the custom of the country on similar occasions; and that now it was a form peculiarly proper, as they were of higher rank than usual.

From

* The town about half a mile on the other side of the river.

† Or great persons;—he did not exactly know their rank.

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From the appearance of things about me, and the converſation of my people, they underſtood, it ſeemed, what I expected, that the viſit ſhould be made to me by theſe perſons. I certainly did ſo, but they had as certain orders to the contrary. For on my telling them, after proper compliments, that I ſhould be ready to have the pleaſure of receiving them here, they adhered rigidly to the Pandaul aſſignation. Beſides the cuſtom, and they ſaid this *Durbar* had many peculiar ones, ſo ancient and ſacred that they could not be departed from, they argued that it was perfectly proper to meet half-way, and at a third place; as the perſons coming to meet me were ſent immediately from the king, as I was from the governor of Madras.

This was as eaſily anſwered, in argument, from the additional character I bore, as their cuſtom was, in fact, by the inſtance of Mr. Pybus's reception, who received a viſit from a general at Nallendy-Caravvety. On their doubting this, I referred to his journal; and then they had only to ſay, that there being now two perſons, and of higher rank * than that general, the caſe was eſſentially different. I was very unwilling to give up this firſt point, in which, too, I was ſure I was right. On my perſeverance, therefore, qualifying, however, a little, by offering to receive them at or even near my door, and then accompany them; it was agreed that if it ſhould appear to them that Mr. Pybus's reception had been as I ſtated, there ſhould be no farther difficulty.

It muſt appear extraordinary that above two hours ſhould be expended on this diſcuſſion, and one or two other points. But ſuch was their ſlowneſs and repetition; and it was with difficulty I at laſt got them away, after urging, in very ſtrong terms to them, the groſs diſappointment and neglect on their parts, and the preſſing neceſſity on ours, as to proviſions.

Many tedious meſſages enſued as to the point of meeting. At laſt two new perſons advanced from them; and deſiring to ſee my debaſh Permaul, who was my Malabar interpreter, and Mahommed (my Cingaleſe), communicated their two ſtrong points of determination, and which they knew were my feeble ones, as to expedition and proviſion: but their orders now, and cuſtoms always were, as had been ſtated by their meſſengers; as they found alſo on reference to the inſtance of Mr. Pybus (not true); that therefore they would come to the Pandaul; if I did not chuſe to meet them there, they muſt ſend from thence to the king, and wait his farther orders. And as for proviſions, they had been as induſtrious as poſſible in preparing them; but none could be ſupplied till after the interview with the ambaſſador.

I confeſs the ambaſſador was puzzled between his rights and dignity on one hand, and his buſineſs and the wants of his people on the other. But determining, without heſitation, in favour of the latter, I anſwered, that when I found they had croſſed the river, (which was rather gaining the point between us) I ſhould meet them, and accompany them to the Pandaul.

They came accordingly, attended and belighted moſt ſplendidly, with a great number of flambeaux, umbrella-bearers, peons, &c. and forty or fifty firelocks; of courſe, we were neither ſo numerous nor magnificent, ſtudiouſly indeed not ſo in the latter particular, for I requeſted Mr. Cherech to change his intention of

* So they then inſinuated; but untruly, as I afterwards found. They were Secretaries.

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of half his number for a guard, and to take only twelve. I saw their apprehensions had been their great obstacle to the advance of business; and I was anxious to avoid appearances, even, that might continue or revive them.

At the River Nallendy.

Feb. 19.—Being assembled in the Pandaul, but not till half past one in the morning! with all our suites, lights, &c. and seated, they on a raised bench prepared rather too high, I thought, and I on my own chair, covered with white cloth, they descended very solemnly, and we stood all the time the ceremonies and inquiries were going on; which was very slowly indeed, they were so surprisingly tedious and particular; first for the governor of Madras, then the nabob, then the members of council, then the gentlemen at Madras; with half a dozen of observations on each, of their happiness and their health, their hopes for its continuance, their being so glad at whatever I happened to say in reply, &c.

After my ceremonials in return, equally tedious, but necessary, it seemed, for his highness, the prime minister, the generals, &c. we sat; and they began a most minute inquiry as to the force, and all the particulars of the operations of the English fleet and troops that had come to Ceylon. I satisfied them simply as to these points, as well as to the whole histories of Negapatam and Trincomallée, except the immediate present destination of the fleet; I told them only that the admiral was to be joined by the great additional force both of ships and troops hourly expected from Europe: but that as to the next service they were going upon, being a delicate point of most important consequence, which my confidential situation had given me an opportunity of knowing pretty certainly, perhaps, I could not enter on it now; but should be happy, when I had the honour of seeing his highness, and advancing on confidential ground with him, to communicate all particulars to him in the most satisfactory manner. They seemed to admit the propriety of this; and then changing the subject, they said they had also some points of a delicate nature to mention, and wished, therefore, the people, who thronged closely about us, to retire.—With great solemnity they proceeded to represent the sacredness of their customs, and hoped what they had to propose relative to them would not be disagreeable. I agreed as to the respect due to custom, especially of so ancient a country; but not to answer particularly, till I knew what particulars they had to propose.

The first, I confess, surprised me, which they stated very seriously, that it had always been the custom for ambassadors to go to Candy by way of Columbo. They therefore wished that I would go the Columbo way, and then they would be able to receive me more as they wished, with more pomp and greater convenience; for that I had hitherto come by a way that no ambassador had ever come, and that its want of accommodation for me and my people was a serious concern to the court. If they meant, as it struck Permaul, that I should actually pass through Columbo, it was a most curious attempt to prorogue my business till our complete destruction of the Dutch should leave no option between them and us,—but I rather thought they had only meant I should go some roundabout way into the Columbo road, and make my approach on that side. The answer was pretty obvious; that as I had been at Trincomallée, and

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not at Columbo, I could only come from the former place; and that my buſineſs was too important and urgent to admit of any delay or change in my route: but that, in fact, an Engliſh gentleman * had come to Candy ſome years ago, pretty nearly the ſame way that I came. They ſaid, that his was a ſtolen and wandering ſort of expedition; but they conſidered mine in a quite different and much higher light: more perſons, therefore, and of higher rank, would meet me; and it was wiſhed to pay me every proportionate compliment, which could be better done that way, according to cuſtom.

This ſtrange propoſal, however, ſo out of the way † at preſent, they ſtill perſiſted in, after ſome farther converſation; and I have ſtated it at full, only to ſhew how tenacious they muſt be of forms and cuſtoms, practicable on the ſpot, when they could affect ſuch adherence to one ſo unreaſonable and difficult, if not impoſſible.

My ready promiſe to comply with the cuſtoms of the court, which they enumerated in delivering my letters, &c. gave them much pleaſure, with my warm profeſſions of every reſpect and friendſhip towards the king, which I gave them to underſtand was the ſole ground of my compliance in the inſtance they required; for that they could not ſuppoſe an Engliſh ambaſſador would be ſwayed by any example or cuſtomary conduct of the Dutch, who were a little people without a king, and and with no fleet nor armies. They ſaid, they were perfectly ſenſible of the great power and ſuperiority of the Engliſh, and that much higher reſpect would therefore be ſhewn to me than had ever been to the Dutch or any other ambaſſador.

Only one important point remained, as to the manner of my approach to Candy, and the only one on which we differed: the number of my ſepoys. They urged, that they were abſolutely unneceſſary; that his highneſs would order a ſufficient guard of his ſepoys for me, or any number I required; therefore, I ſhould want none of my own, but that, if I deſired, I might have ſix or ſeven with me, and they hoped I would not think of bringing more. On this point I was leſs influenced now than I ſhould have been ſome days before, by the conſideration of ſafety, merely from Candian politics. Still, however, having heard much, and ſeen ſomething of their duplicity, it was not wholly out of the queſtion. But, on other grounds alſo, I was extremely anxious to retain my ſepoys. They were by far the beſt part of my appearance, and would be a requiſite, as well as reſpectable diſtinction, above the rabble train, but very numerous and ſhowy, that the Dutch always brought with them. Beſides, it was an eſſential part of the ſepoy-plan originally, to ſhew our ſoldiers to the king and his generals, to impreſs them with due reſpect for the military ſuperiority of their new friends.

I partly ſtated this idea to them, that I hoped it would give great pleaſure to the king and his court, to ſee as many of their friends as they could, eſpecially friends ſo reſpectable and efficient; but that as to myſelf, it would be contrary to my duty, in the character I bore, to give up ſo eſſential a part of its dignity: that in ſincere reſpect to the dignity

* Mr. Pybus.

† I found afterwards, that the roads they inſiſted on my taking, loſt me near forty miles; from Nallendy-Caravvety being only about twenty miles the direct road, and the way I was obliged to go fifty-ſeven.

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lignity of their court, and ſacred-neſs of their cuſtoms, I promiſed compliance in the inſtances they required; that I claimed, therefore, in this important inſtance, a reciprocal reſpect from them to thoſe high powers I repreſented:—beſides, the ſmall guard I had with me, though in the preſent conſideration merely objects of appearance and attendance, might on my return poſſibly be neceſſary to me in point of defence againſt enemies, or unforeſeen dangers.

This argument ſpun out to great length. They then advanced one little ſtep, and ſaid I might bring eight, and at laſt they offered to conſent to ten. I had hitherto been rigid to my whole number; but ſeeing, contrary to my expectations, from their extreme obſtinacy, that they yielded a little, I thought it beſt to offer them at once, and finally, a compromiſe of half my number, twenty-five; making a high merit of it, as a conceſſion that I was not juſtified to myſelf in making, but as a teſtimony of my extreme deſire to meet their wiſhes.

Reduced thus, like old Lear, from my fifty knights, to five-and-twenty, I, like him too, expected permiſſion even for them: but was a little afraid, on the contrary, of the ſame reply, "What need one?" The two negociators ſaid they would, according to their orders, ſend all particulars of our conference to court, particularly the latter, and that orders would then be returned for our proceedings, according to the king's pleaſure. I preſſed to go on immediately, if poſſible, for that time was eſſentially precious; but to no purpoſe,—their orders and cuſtoms were ſacred, and muſt be complied with. They promiſed, however, to diſpatch with all ſpeed, and ſaid they expected an anſwer the third day. I did not believe them; but waited patiently.

Our conference, which was incredibly tedious, concluded at laſt with a very minute inquiry, on their part, into the nature and number of the preſents I had brought for the king; how many boxes or trunks contained them; and how many men would be required to carry them. Having but few, and of little weight, I parried particulars as well as I could.

We ſeparated not till paſt ſeven o'clock in the morning! The preſſing article of ſupply for our almoſt ſtarving people, began at laſt to be attended to. Rice was ſent, with proper accompaniments, but little more than ſufficient for a day for the ſepoys. So that the cooleys, poor fellows, and the palankeen-boys, whom I leſs pitied, were ſtill kept at ſhort, and ſome at no commons. I ſent repeated remonſtrances, and for a little better attention too, to head-quarters; for they had ſent only the ſame fare for Mr. Cherech and me.

At the River Nallendy.

Feb. 20.—This is the land flowing neither with milk nor honey. Except a few eggs in addition, we only received our rice and its accompaniments, which made, however, a great ſwing on the bamboos. Soly-man brought a couple of fowls moſt ſeaſonably, of a ſtock he had had on his tour at Caravvety. But it was ſome comfort, in our *ſtarvation*, to find it was rather from ſcarcity than neglect. Rice had not been in plenty, and quantities had been collected higher up. Good, at leaſt, in proſpect; and as to fowls, none were to be given us by authority: it being the *cuſtom* for the king to prohibit any life being taken in his dominions, *unleſs in private*, as themſelves all do from theſe fowls, and

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as we were permitted to do by connivance.

At the River Nallendy.

Feb. 21.—Our people were at laſt attended to: and laſt night, palankeeners, cooleys, and all had plenty of rice, &c. except ghee and ſpice of ſome ſort, which the ſepoys complained much of the want of, and of their not being permitted to buy: for that is the awkward conſequence of their punctilious hoſpitality. The great folks either would not, or I believe could not, order us what we wanted; and the lower people were not permitted to take money for what little they could furniſh us with. This was peculiarly ſevere on the table at head-quarters, where the laſt two fowls of Soſyman's ſtock this day made their appearance; and, unleſs reſources had ariſen, would have left us prematurely in a very literal lent, not only as to all manner of fleſh, but without fiſh, butter and milk, and very few eggs.

This morning I had notice of the two old gentlemen at the river ſide, where I met them, determined, if I could, without offence or delay, to rectify ſome of the punctilios in which they had improperly taken advantage of me. I expected, therefore, that I ſhould this day have the compliment of the hand, which I had ſhewn on the former; and that one of them ſhould now *hand me* to the Pandaul, as I had him. Abſolute objection was made to this, as contrary to cuſtom, and their orders.

I inſtanced, in ſtrong terms, the difference of reſpect ſhewed Mr. Pybus, who had been *viſited* at the houſe prepared for him, at this very place, by a general; complained of the miſinformation attempted on that head and others, by the perſons ſent to me the other evening; and argued, that the miſtake ought now to be rectified as fully as poſſible.

This the ſpokeſman contrived at laſt, but not till after many repetitions and explanations, by a reſource perfectly ſatisfactory to me, as to punctilio, though, in fact, the invention of the moment. He ſaid, the *viſit* was all along *intended* to me; but that the place prepared for me not being large enough, the Pandaul was made ready—*which was to be conſidered alſo as my houſe.* This ſolved all points. I immediately ſent a chubdar and peon to take poſſeſſion, and then handed my new gueſt to my new houſe.

But I found there they had nothing new to ſay, and it was merely a *viſit*, as I am now to call it, of ceremony, and perhaps to make further obſervations of us and our manners. After compliments, and ſome very honeſt complaints on my part as to proviſions, they told me they had diſpatched, early yeſterday, to the king, an account of all our preceding conference; and as the prime miniſter and generals, whoſe office it was to expedite ſuch buſineſſes, wiſhed it as much as we, they hoped for an anſwer that night, or the next morning; which they promiſed to communicate as ſoon as received: and beſides, they wiſhed to ſee me again, as they had other matters to converſe upon; but that, being now dinner-time, they would for the preſent take leave. I preſſed them, if they did not chuſe to ſtay, to let me have the pleaſure of ſeeing them in the evening; but they poſtponed till next day.

Dry rice, and quantities of pumpkins, agreed as ill with the men, as the *ſtrict lent did at head-quarters!*

At the River Nallendy.

Feb. 22.—The morning elapſed without any intelligence of or from the other ſide of the river; and if there were no buſineſs to make time anxious, pleaſant enough it might be

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ɔe in our houſe of audience, charmingly ſituated near the river, which murmurs along coolly and clearly under its ſloping banks and high overſhading trees. Mr. Cherech and I had taken complete poſſeſſion, and breakfaſted and dined there on the little we could make out, of egg-curry, but without the eſſential ingredient of greens, and a miſerable rice-pudding, that manufacture not being the forte of our travelling kitchen.

After dinner the approach of our two friends was announced, who paid a long evening viſit. Mahommed had juſt learned, and told me, that they had received, in the morning, a letter from Candy, and that the prime miniſter there had died the day before. This, I feared, might add delay; but expected particulars from our viſitors. None were communicated. Concealed, on the contrary, they denied having received or heard any. But after a long converſation, relating, very tediouſly, all their cuſtoms, and reaſſuring themſelves of my willingneſs to conform to them; and inquiring again, ſtill more minutely than before, into all the particulars of our fleet and army, and ſucceſſes againſt the Dutch that I had been witneſs of, at Negapatam and Trincomallée, which I fully gratified, and in ſome points ſurpriſed them with; the old gentleman at laſt told me, on my preſſing for expedition, the moment he ſhould be authoriſed from Candy, I ſhould be permitted to proceed: that he was obliged, however, to go early in the morning to Allwalay, to the general, whom he would make very happy by communicating to him all I had ſaid, both of the ſentiments, great power, and ſucceſſes of their friends; and that he would return the ſame night, or next morning. I could make no reply to this new delay, but to urge that it might be as ſhort as poſſible; and was very glad to ſee them at laſt incline to move.

As to their favourite ground of cuſtom for their demands of ſuch extraordinary reſpect, finding they were endeavouring, (as in the Pandaul inſtance, and in the firſt demand on my coming hither, that I *ſhould walk*), to exact new, rather than be content with the old, I was very glad to find them wave, and ſeem perfectly ſatisfied too, with my remonſtrance againſt one, which they at firſt ſtated very ſolemnly, and required among others, that *I ſhould throw myſelf proſtrate on the ground*, as the prime miniſter and all the generals did, on approaching his highneſs, and ſo remain till permitted to riſe. This was given up; and the ceremony of the knee, to which I aſſented, agreed on*.

Towards the cloſe of our converſation, I was ſurpriſed at the perſonal curioſity expreſſed as to myſelf, and the manner the old gentleman put his queſtions to me. He did a rude thing as civilly as poſſible; apologiſing and explaining that friends wiſhed to know all particulars of each other, and that the king would conſider my merit in coming to him as the greater, when he knew what ſituation and what connections I had conſented to leave for that purpoſe: he would, therefore, be infinitely obliged to me if I would let him know, what rank I ſtood in, and how long? and then all my private ſituation; was I married?—any children, and how many?—father or mother alive—or any bre-

* This ceremony the Dutch ambaſſadors to the court of Candy were always obliged to ſubmit to, until the concluſion of the laſt war between them; when it was made a condition of the treaty of peace, that it ſhould be laid aſide in all their ſubſequent negociations.

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thers and ſiſters, and how many? —and what eſtate? No New England-man could be more inquiſitive; nor at the ſame time a Pariſian more polite. I made great friendly merit in ſatisfying his curioſity in what I thought proper, and he expreſſed much pleaſure and obligation.

At the River Nallendy.

Feb. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.—I never paſſed ſo many days ſo anxiouſly. It was near twelve o'clock of the 28th, the *ſixth* day ſince the old ſecretary left us, with a poſitive promiſe to return from Allwalay the 1ſt or 2d, but till within this half hour I had heard nothing of, from or concerning him, except a report of what I ſuſpected, from the firſt, that he was gone to Candy. Now, indeed, we learned from the men who came with proviſions, in conſequence of a very emphatical meſſage, which I took a lucky opportunity of conveying yeſterday to the other old gentleman who remained at Caravvety, that a general, of the Paulipanny diſtrict, and another eminent perſon, had left Candy, and arrived at Allwalay yeſterday, and were expected by the travelling old ſecretary at Caravvety this day.

I repeated my meſſage of yeſterday to theſe people, but doubted their carrying it; re-urging expedition, and requiring, with all poſſible civility and compliment, an anſwer, with ſome information relative to our and their motions. For every means of this have ſtudiouſly been prevented; with a care, indeed, that increaſed not a little the anxiety of my ſpeculations, in addition to the ſimple circumſtance of delay. No paſſage, for ſome days paſt, permitted to any of our people to the other ſide of the river, where guards, or watchmen rather, were conſtantly poſted. I endeavoured, by little detached parties towards ſome of the neighbouring villages, and by circuitous ways over the river too, to obtain intelligence, if they could ſlily, and fowls avowedly; but they brought us ſcanty ſupplies of both. The 27th, one of them returned with a repetition of the former report, of a Dutch ambaſſador from Columbo, and of his being actually on his way, with Europeans and Malays. Solyman, captain of our ſcouts, was diſpatched this morning with one of our Cingaleſe, to be aſcertained, if poſſible, on this important point. But indeed, excluſively of this, or any other difficulty or adverſity that might ariſe, the obſtinate dilatory ſpirit which ſo ſtrangely delayed even the beginning of my buſineſs, made me almoſt deſpair of its effectual concluſion, in time for the expected public ſervice; * if what other

* The attack of Columbo, and the other Dutch ſettlements in Ceylon. This being a great object of the ſouthern expedition, which had commenced ſo fortunately and ſo early by the capture of Negapatam (the 10th of Nov. the preceding year), I had often the honour of diſcuſſing the ſubject there with Sir Edward Hughes and Sir Hector Munro. The latter was ſo obliging to enter on it particularly, and to give his opinion as to the number of troops neceſſary, &c. Expedition, however, was an article as neceſſary as force. Unfortunately, *but I ſuppoſe unavoidably*, the fleet remained near two months at Negapatam after its capture. After the taking of Trincomallée, when Sir E. Hughes was preparing to ſail for Madras, the latter end of Jan. 1782, the laſt converſation I had the honour of holding with him on the ſubject, was very particular, as ſtated in the introduction. It was then agreed, that by my gaining my way to Candy with the beſt expedition, the requiſite meaſures might be effected for aſſiſting and ſecuring the important objects intended: as the fleet could not act on the weſtern ſide of Ceylon till the middle of April, and Sir Edward's intention was to return immediately from Madras, to act with Commodore Alms's ſquadron, which was expected every hour.

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other delays have rendered, perhaps, not very probable, that we ſhould be able, after all, to proceed as expected. In my little department of it, if I have erred, it has been as I wiſhed, on the ſide of expedition. For if I had not advanced as I did, it is obvious that it would have been utterly impoſſible to have effected any thing towards the ſervice for this ſeaſon. Coming on even as I have done, and removed as all their doubts and fooliſh fears ſeemed to be, yet the bigotry of this extraordinary people to their ſlow cuſtoms and all their forms, rendered any timely arrangement with them very improbable. I hope it is evident that I had given all poſſible chance, at leaſt, to its ſucceſs; and on the other hand, I am afraid it may appear, I incurred ſome that were too ſtrong againſt me. But the value of the object, I thought, was more than the danger of the means, or the importance of the inſtruments; and, on that ſcale, hazard becomes prudence.

I continued in hopes that a few hours more might poſſibly give us a glimpſe of buſineſs and Candy. In the mean time, Mr. Cherech and I ſat down in our Pandaul with patience and good appetite to our laſt chicken and mango-curry. As I expected, ſeven o'clock came before any announcement of our viſitors, and nine before they made their appearance. They then came to the river ſide, with a very numerous and ſplendid train attending the general; a very conſiderable number of their ſepoys, ſome hundreds, but indifferently armed, various muſic and flags, and ſome ſmall ſwivel guns.

We took our ſeats in great form, and, after all the uſual tediouſneſs, I found at laſt, with much ſatisfaction, that this general was come from the king, to conduct me next morning; but on ſome ſubſequent information I learned, that they adhered to their roundabout way of going by the Columbo approach, which would induce a farther delay of two or three days.

On two other points they were equally tenacious, the old one of the ſepoys, a new one of my horſe, which I brought from Trincomallée, which I in vain repreſented, as was much too truly the fact, to be abſolutely neceſſary to my health. I rode twice a day, and found moſt eſſential benefit from it. But no one is allowed to ride near Candy.* As to the ſepoys, it was ſettled, on their poſitive requiſition, with which they were much pleaſed at my compliance, that I ſhould take with me only twelve, with the havildar and naig. Another havildar's guard left at this place, for relief, perhaps, of the Candian guard,—appearance, &c. with the tents, per force indeed, for there were ſeven or eight invalids who could not march. Mr. Cherech went with me; and the other half of our party, all effective, returned immediately to the ſervice at Trincomallée.

Gunnoor—(from Trincomallée 167 miles).

March 4.—We were now arrived at the end of our journey; for though Candy was ſtill five miles diſtant, we found at Gunnoor† the houſe deſtined for our reſidence, as the place from whence we were to hold all communication with the court.

It is a large building, conſiſting

* Becauſe it is in this country a kingly cuſtom, which no ſubject is permitted to enjoy, except as a ſpecial favour from the king.

† Here all the ambaſſadors to Candy, and their ſuites, are accommodated. It is on the high road from Columbo, about half a mile from where our by-road had fallen into it.

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of a ſquare within a ſquare, and capable of containing five hundred perſons: the walls of clay, as uſual, but ſufficiently ſtrong and well finiſhed.

The two perſons who had been appointed the night before to take care of us, made an early viſit, not however to me, as I expected, but to the preſents which I had brought, and were depoſited in a building for the purpoſe, in the centre of the inner ſquare. With very polite inquiries about my health, &c. they ſent to deſire that I ſhould accompany them. But finding myſelf too weak and fatigued to incur any unneceſſary trouble of ceremony, I begged they would diſpenſe with my attendance, and accept Mr. Cherech, who accordingly did the honours on this occaſion.

Soon after, I received a meſſage that two perſons from court were arrived at the river, two or three hundred yards diſtant from our houſe, on a viſit to me, but that it was neceſſary I ſhould go and receive them there on their croſſing it. This being indiſpenſable, notwithſtanding my remonſtrance of the heat, &c. I was glad to compromiſe when we came near the river, and to be excuſed the fatigue of going down a very ſteep and long flight of broken ſteps, that led down to its bank. I waited, therefore, in a pagoda, at the head of them, cloſe to the road; and when my viſitors were aſcended, conducted them with great form to our habitation.

A long veranda, extending along one ſide of the inner ſquare, is uſed as the ſcene of conference on theſe occaſions. We ſtopped there, therefore; and my viſitors opened the firſt part of their buſineſs of compliments from his majeſty, and inquiries about health, our accommodation, &c. When this was over, I was not leſs ſurpriſed than pleaſed at their proceeding to real buſineſs ſo ſpeedily, and informing me, that as I had all along expreſſed my deſire for a ſpeedy conſideration of my buſineſs, his majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to appoint that evening for my firſt audience, and the delivery of my letters.

Nothing could be more acceptable than this diſpoſition, at which I expreſſed my ſatisfaction in the ſtrongeſt terms, and told them I ſhould be ready in every particular, except one; which I confeſſed I had promiſed to comply with, as having been ſtated to me as cuſtomary, of walking to Candy from the other ſide of the river; but that, ſo extremely weak and fatigued as I was, I feared it would be utterly out of my power to walk ſo far, and therefore requeſted the indulgence of a dooley.

But all I could urge to obtain it was in vain: they ſaid it was contrary to cuſtom, and inadmiſſible. And when I argued to them, that by ſo rigid an adherence to cuſtom, the moſt important buſineſs might be neglected or defeated, they anſwered, there could be nothing more important than the cuſtoms of their country, and the reſpect due to their court†: that ambaſſadors who could not walk to Candy, muſt remain at Gunnoor: and that one from Goa, on behalf of the Portugueſe, had actually been detained there, on that account, five or ſix weeks.

I requeſted they would repreſent to the king, my earneſt deſire to comply with the cuſtoms in every particular

* On the Candy ſide of the river, the king has the ſole privilege of being carried on horſeback or in a palankeen; and on the other ſide, from Nallendy-Caravvery, as has been mentioned, about fifty miles, no one is allowed to travel in a covered dooley.

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particular in my power; urging, at the same time, the necessity of immediately proceeding on the business I was charged with; and, though I was absolutely unable to do so that evening in the manner they required, that I would attempt it next day, however distressing or dangerous to me, if I could not obtain the indulgence I demanded for this evening.

They then produced a letter for me, from Trincomallée, with a trifling apology for the delay in my receiving it; for it ought to have been given me on the road. I found it was of an old date, from Capt. Bonnevaux*, full of apprehensions, not only about our success, but for our safety; with an account of the hostile orders which had been issued from Candy, prohibiting throughput the country any intercourse whatsoever with the English, and denouncing the severest penalties against all those who should disobey, with injunctions to seize and detain any of them who should be found in the country; that, in consequence, Trincomallée was extremely distressed for supplies, all communication with the country being actually cut off.

I instantly demanded the attention of my visitors to this point in the most solemn manner, and in the strongest terms remonstrated against a measure so injurious and ungrateful to their friends. The occasion was so important, and the time so pressing, that I thought it necessary to anticipate, in some measure, the business of my commission. I represented to them the object of my coming in particular, to establish a firm friendship, and security against their enemies and oppressors; and that our conduct in general, since our first landing at Trincomallée, had been strictly consistent with those friendly principles. This I stated to them at large; warning them also, seriously to consider what fatal consequences must ensue, if that hostile idea should be attempted to be enforced, of seizing any person belonging to the English; and insisting, on the whole, that these injurious orders should be instantly revoked, and contrary ones issued, such as we had a right to expect from the whole of our friendly principles and proceedings.

They freely admitted the propriety of my remonstrance; and after apologising for those obnoxious orders, on the ground of mistake and misinformation, and having their curiosity satisfied as favourably as I could, as to other news in the letter, of the state of Trincomallée, and of the fleet, about which they were very inquisitive, they took leave; promising to submit the whole of our conference to the immediate consideration of his majesty.

They expected the same ceremonious attendance in going away as in coming; and it was not without some difficulty that they dispensed with my accompanying them to the river, though I urged to them how necessary it was for me to reserve myself for the approaching operation of my visit to Candy; which I had still some hopes might be this evening, in a dooley, or to-morrow, at farthest, without one.

March 5.—But it was not so near as I expected. Though they had promised I should hear early this day, to fix the hour of being waited on in the evening by the general, towards setting out for Candy, the morning passed without any communication, more than a message about health, &c. from our two first inspectors, and a visit from them, as before—to the presents.

I still expected a notification of the

* Commandant at Trincomallée.

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the time and particulars of our proceeding, till about ſix o'clock in the evening, when their interpreter, the ſame who had officiated at Nallendy Caravvety, came to let me know, with abundance of compliments and inquiries, that his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to receive me the next evening. This delay was, it ſeems, as the interpreter confeſſed afterwards to my debaſh, merely on a point of pride,—not to adopt my day, as I had not agreed to theirs.

In the mean time our day paſſed unpleaſantly enough, the weather intolerably hot, our place of abode very cloſe and diſagreeable, and proviſions ſcanty and bad; no fruit, eggs not freſh, and fowls very ſcarce.

March 6.—After their viſit to the preſents, as uſual, our two friends notified to me, this morning, in form, that a general would attend me in the evening to proceed to Candy. All their political operations, I found, were tranſacted at Candy by night, as I had experienced at Nallendy-Caravvety.

Between ſix and ſeven in the evening, the general's arrival at the other ſide of the river was announced to me, and that he waited there till I ſhould appear on this ſide to receive him. I accordingly ſet forward, with all our people marſhalled in our beſt array, and was now obliged to deſcend the ſteps in honour of the general. When he ſaw me coming down to the ſide of the river, he ſtepped into a boat that waited for him, and ſome of his principal attendants into another. But the water being then low, though in the rainy ſeaſon it is very deep and rapid, the bulk of his people, ſoldiers, &c. waded over. The profuſion of lights, and the noiſe (though not very harmonious, it muſt be confeſſed) of their drums and trumpets, and pateraro cannon from the other ſide of the river, with the romantic appearance of its woods and banks, rendered the ſcene upon the whole extremely ſtriking *.

My new viſitor was a general of the ſecond order †. He was an old man, of the moſt engaging appearance and manners. Not only that ſtrain of courtly politeneſs, which, to my ſurpriſe, I confeſs I found in great perfection, and univerſal, among theſe people, but a friendly openneſs and affability peculiarly diſtinguiſhed this old gentleman.

I conducted him to our quarters, or

* This correſponds, in every material part, with the deſcription given by Mr. Knox, of the manner in which the court of Candy receives ambaſſadors. "Firſt," ſays he, "the king ſends ſeveral of his great men to meet the ambaſſadors, with great trains of ſoldiers; the ways are all cut broad, and the graſs pared away for many miles; drums and trumpets, pipes and flags going before them; victuals and all ſorts of varieties are daily brought to them, and continue to be ſo all the time they are in the land, and at free coſt: For the cuſtom here is, ambaſſadors, ſtay they never ſo long, are maintained at the king's coſt and charges; and, being near the city, have every thing brought for them from the king's palace. Preſents, goods, or whatſoever they pleaſe to bring with them, the king prepareth men to carry. And when they are come to the houſe that is prepared for them, which is hung round, top and ſides, with white calico, they are kept under a guard, and great commanders with ſoldiers appointed to attend on them; which is accounted a great honour."—Knox *on Ceylon*, *p.* 36.

† There are four principal generals § entruſted with the four grand diviſions of the iſland: Yalcoralay, to the weſtward, including Columbo: Nalcoralay, to the ſouthward, including Point du Gal: Mauthelay, eaſtward, including Trincomaliée: and Tovey, including Jaffnapatam. Under theſe are other generals ‡, who have the care of large ſubdivided diſtricts: Under them, veraunies: and ſo on through other ſubordinate officers, the whole ſyſtem managed with perfect regularity, and the moſt prompt obedience.

§ Theſe generals, or governors of provinces, are called Diſſauvas.
‡ The governors of diſtricts, called Roterauas.

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ir rather to the quarter where the presents and letters were lodged, for that was the object of his visit. After arranging the mode of conveying them, and preparing our sepoys, pikemen, &c. we set out between seven and eight o'clock in the evening. I had unlocked the box in which the letters were contained, and delivered them to the old general, who folded them very carefully in muslin, and then laid them on a large silver salver, spreading a rich piece of gold brocaded silk over them, and covering the whole with fine white cloth. He then gave me the salver to hold with both my hands above my head, and in that attitude I was to march with it out of our little temple; I then gave it to the person appointed to carry it to Candy, and was very glad to get a business of so much weight off my hands, for it was really very heavy; and so very weak as I was, even these little commencing operations had fatigued me very much. It may easily be conceived, therefore, how agreeably surprised I was when the old gentleman told me on our return to the river, that in consideration of what had been represented to the king, he had consented to dispense even with the sacredness of custom in my favour, and allow me the indulgence of a dooley on the other side of the river, to a certain distance, about a mile from Candy; but that then, being within the immediate precincts of the court, it would be indispensably necessary to walk that remaining part of the way.

At that moment hardly any intelligence whatever could have been more acceptable to me, for I was absolutely in despair of accomplishing the march. But I had resolved to run every risk, rather than let the business stand still at that critical stage; and in the almost certain event of my not being able to walk all the way, I must have attempted the expedient, of making some of my own people carry me on their shoulders. Now, however, without the necessity of this resource, which might have been objected to, and opposed by my conductors, I was enabled to proceed very comfortably, and arrived at the appointed stage, where a little place, convenient enough, was prepared for my reception, about nine o'clock. We had passed through two or three caravveties, or fortified gates, where parties of their military were drawn out with much ostentation; particularly some Malays, who made a tolerable appearance. The old gentleman had marched on before, to notify our approach; and, on his return, I waited for us at another caravvety on the top of a steep hill, defended by some pieces of cannon.

The crowds that thronged round us gave abundant proof of the population and the curiosity of the country; and I was much pleased with the solicitude of the old general to gratify it, by frequent orders to his people to fall back and display our little party, especially the sepoys, who were very fine fellows, and made a most respectable appearance. Mr. Cherech acquitted himself on this, as on every occasion, with the most successful activity and attention.

We soon arrived at Candy, which we found of better appearance, and more regularly built, than any Indian town I had yet seen. The principal street through which we marched, is very broad; and though the houses in general have but one story, they appear to have two, from the number of steps running up sideways and close to the wall of the house, so that the door is at least the height of a story from the street.

This

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This manner of building, it ſeems, is to avoid the miſchiefs which the elephant-fights, celebrated in this great ſtreet for his majeſty's amuſement, would otherwiſe do to their houſes.

After advancing about a quarter of a mile along this ſtreet, we turned round the angle of a conſiderable incloſure with a ſtone wall, which I learned was the royal garden. This was on our left hand; and when we turned the next corner, we ſaw the palace on our right; a large ſtone building, with ſixteen large ſtone ſteps leading up to the entrance, at each ſide of which was placed a bowman; two huge fellows, fantaſtically dreſſed. At the head of the ſteps ſtood ſome of their officers, natives and Malays; and the whole area below, which was very ſpacious and open, was filled with their ſoldiers and elephants, of which there were between forty and fifty drawn up in a ſemicircle, and two very fine white ones in the centre. The old general took frequent opportunities of hinting to me, that there was much greater diſplay, on this occaſion, than had ever been on any other; and was very ſolicitous to know what impreſſion this unuſual magnificence made upon me; of which I acknowledged my ſenſe and admiration in ſtrong terms, and very much to his ſatisfaction.

We halted here ſome time, till farther permiſſion ſhould be ſent us from the palace to approach. In the mean time it was notified to me, that none of my people were to be admitted to the audience but my interpreter. I was very deſirous that Mr. Cherech and my writer ſhould accompany me; but could not gain permiſſion. They were, however, admitted through the firſt gate at the head of the ſtairs, which we now aſcended, and were conducted into a large court.

At the bottom of this court a door opened, through which the miniſter and four generals * advanced to receive me. After ſome ceremonious compliments and inquiries, the miniſter retired to announce our arrival ſo far: but ſoon returning with final permiſſion for us to advance, he then (with the generals) conducted me and my interpreter through the door he had come through at firſt, into a very ſpacious inner court, partly covered and partly open, well paved with broad flat ſtone. Along all the ſides of this court were ranged a great number of perſons, officers and attendants, as it ſhould ſeem, of the palace. We advanced to the centre of this large area, till, facing about to the right, we fronted a very wide and high arch, ſpread acroſs with a white curtain.

Here were to commence the labours of the ceremony. The ſilver ſalver, with the letters, was brought, and the miniſter gave it to me to hold as before, with my hands above my head. Even to a man in perfect ſtrength, it were an uneaſy attitude to ſupport ſuch a weight ſo long. But to me, at that time, it was a moſt diſtreſſing fatigue. Obſerving this, however, he aſſiſted me, and one of the generals on the other ſide, by putting their hands to it; telling me at the ſame time, as another inſtance of attention to my ſituation, that the king had diſpenſed with the cuſtom, uſual on theſe occaſions, of the ſhoes being taken off, and that I might keep mine on.

The curtain was now removed, and diſcovered to our view a long hall, almoſt covered with a fine large carpet; the ceiling divided by arches

* Thoſe who have been mentioned, in a former note, as the principal; except the Mauthelay general, who was abſent.

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arches that extended from ſide to ſide, large ones in the centre, and two ſmall ones on each ſide. Theſe arches, and two rows of pillars that ſupported them, and formed two ailes, to the right and left, were very prettily adorned with feſtoons of muſlins, &c. of various colours. Within the pillars were ranged the courtiers, ſitting, in their faſhion, on their heels; not with their legs croſſed, as I have ſeen in the Carnatic, but in a more difficult and painful poſture to thoſe not uſed to it, with the knees projecting ſtraight forward. The hall was well lighted by lamps attached to the pillars, and very large wax lights * at the upper end of each aile; near one of which ſat the ſecretary, my old friend of Nallendy-Caravvety, with his ſecretarial implements, to note what ſhould paſs. The whole terminated in a large alcove, retired within which was a very high throne, and his majeſty ſeated on it with much ſolemnity. There ſeemed a ſort of ſtudied obſcurity; as if he deſired, though without having ſtudied Milton, "with the majeſty of darkneſs around" to "cover his throne." He is about thirty-ſix or thirty-ſeven years of age, of a grand majeſtic appearance; a very large man, and very black, but of an open intelligent countenance, as I found afterwards on a nearer approach. On the whole, his figure and attitude put me much in mind of our Harry the Eighth. He wore a large crown, which is a very important diſtinction † from the other princes of the eaſt ‡.

The removal of the curtain was the ſignal for our obeiſances. Mine, by ſtipulation, was to be only kneeling—ſtill with the ſalver over my head, which became almoſt intolerably fatiguing. My companions immediately began the performance of theirs, which were in the moſt perfect degree of eaſtern humiliation. They almoſt literally licked the duſt; proſtrating themſelves with their faces cloſe to the ſtone-floor, and throwing out their legs and arms, as in the attitude of ſwimming; then riſing to their knees by a ſudden ſpring from the breaſt, like what is called the ſalmon-leap by tumblers, they repeated, in a very loud voice, a certain form of words of the moſt extravagant meaning that can be conceived, "That the head of the king of kings might reach beyond the ſun! that he might live a hundred thouſand years!" &c. He anſwered very gravely, that we might advance, which we accordingly did, much to my ſatisfaction, but not till the aforeſaid concert had been repeated half a dozen times.

On our entry into the hall, by the aſcent of two or three high ſteps, we had it all to do and to ſuffer over again, they repeating their extraordinary obeiſances ſix times, and I kneeling:—and then a third time, when we arrived at the carpet, which reached within about ten yards of the door. Theſe three acts being over, I was conducted up the centre of the hall to the throne, by the miniſter on one ſide, and a general on the other; I then knelt on the loweſt ſtep, ſtill ſupporting my burthen, but with infinite difficulty, in

* I did not find, on inquiry, that the lights for the royal uſe are perfumed with the oil of cinnamon, as mentioned by Reynal, and others.

† Among the multitude of his titles, it is a diſtinguiſhing one, "The King who wears a Crown." In one of our conferences, ſome of the generals aſked me, "whether the King of England wore a crown?

‡ The whole of this deſcription pretty nearly accords with the account given by Baldæus, of the reception of the Dutch general Gerard Hulſt, in the year 1656, in the reign of Rajah Singah, king of Candy.—See BALDÆUS's *Hiſtory of Ceylan.*

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in the ſame irkſome poſture. I was now relieved from it by his majeſty's taking the letters, and had an opportunity of obſerving his figure as I have deſcribed it, and his dreſs, which was more magnificent than I expected, though ſurpriſingly warm for the climate of Candy. But the temperature of courts, I am afraid, is the ſame in all parts of the world, "where cumbrous pomp and vanity preſide!"

It not being the cuſtom at this court to read letters at the time they are preſented, the king laid them aſide, and I retired in the ſame manner between my two conductors, keeping my face towards the throne. We found the other generals at the end of the carpet, where they ſat down, in their manner; but told me I might ſtretch out my legs, provided I kept them as much on one ſide, and out of ſight, as poſſible. I was ſeated in the middle, two generals on each ſide of me, and the interpreters a little behind us. Then began our converſation, which, as I apprehended, was only form; but there being no leſs than five ſtages betwixt his majeſty and me, it was incredibly tedious. He ſpoke to his miniſter, who knelt at the upper end of the hall, near the throne; the miniſter to one of the generals; the general to their interpreter; their interpreter to mine in Malabar; and mine to me in Engliſh; and my anſwers, of courſe, had the ſame journey to travel back again.

He began with inquiring, when I had left Madras, and in what capacity? When I anſwered him, that I had the honour of being inveſted with the office of bringing letters to his highneſs, and of treating with him on the moſt friendly grounds on behalf of the Madras government, he expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction at this teſtimony of friendly diſpoſition in the governor of Madras. He then aſked particularly about his health; then of the members of the council; of the admiral and gentlemen of the fleet, &c. When he inquired about my own, and the fatigues of my journey, I took the opportunity of attempting, at leaſt, to turn the diſcourſe to buſineſs, and told him that I certainly had been extremely fatigued, and much indiſpoſed in health, but that I had advanced, notwithſtanding, with the utmoſt expedition; the buſineſs I was charged with being of the moſt urgent nature, and moſt critically circumſtanced as to time, and that I therefore hoped we might proceed on it immediately.

I ſuſpect that the latter part of what I ſaid, loſt ſomething in the Cingaleſe channels it paſſed through; for his highneſs, without taking the leaſt notice of it, proceeded to aſk me, whether I wiſhed to retire, or had any thing farther to mention to him?

I anſwered, that I had much to ſtate to him and to diſcuſs, repeating the neceſſity of proceeding immediately; and was going on to repreſent, in the firſt place, the ſubject I had diſcuſſed before with ſome of the courtiers at Gunnoor, of the hoſtile orders which had been iſſued againſt any communication with the Engliſh: but the general* on my right hand ſtopped me, telling me that the king expected I ſhould now retire; but that he and the other generals would adjourn with me immediately, to another place, and there hear whatever I had to propoſe.

I would rather have continued in the

* He was the governor of Halcoralay diſtrict, including Columbo, &c. See former note. This they eſteem the moſt important command, and the general who holds it uſually ſucceeds to the poſt of prime-miniſter.

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the direct line to his majesty; but seeing that a hint of his pleasure was to be law, and considering too, that what I had to urge would come with greater propriety and effect after the letter was read, I accepted the necessity of retiring with the best grace I could. We all got up accordingly, and retired as we had advanced, I kneeling, and they tumbling as before*: and when we had performed our three acts again, the curtain dropped.

According to the promise of conference, the minister and generals then conducted me across the first court we had come through, upon a high flight of stairs, to a very low gallery. Here they left me, promising to return soon. I had desired that Mr. Cherech might come in the mean time, and he and I sat down at the upper end of our long room, on a bench prepared, to the collation which was brought us, in separate trays, of fruit, sweetmeats, spices, &c. and some bread, but very ill baked, and coarse and heavy. There were also separate rations for Moss, my writer, and my interpreter, Permaul.

Almost an hour elapsed before my ministerial friends returned. We then proceeded to our conference, standing, as is indispensable on any business of the king.

I began with calling their attention to the universal character and conduct of the English in India; and, according to the instructions I had received, endeavoured to impress them, in the most forcible manner in my power, with a conviction of our unshaken firmness and fidelity to our allies. Having obtained their assent to this representation, I urged to the minister that we should proceed immediately to business. He asked me, what particular proposals I had to make? I told him that it was necessary, in the first instance, to accept and establish, on the part of the king, the general ground of friendship and alliance which had been proposed by the governor of Madras. For that, and some particulars also, I referred him to the letter I had brought; and that, when I understood his highness's acceptance and assent, I would instantly go upon every particular that should be necessary. He replied, that the letter had not yet been read; (a political fib, certainly, of the old gentleman, which I could not but construe as a bad omen; for it must have been read and considered in that long interval during which he had left me); but that it should immediately, and not a moment be lost: that some of the generals should attend me in two or three days at farthest, to discuss any points that might arise; and that I might depend on another audience immediately after.

From the whole complexion of affairs, I had a presentiment not the most favourable, which made me the more desirous for precision. I told him, that as we had expressly adjourned to this conference, I concluded he had been invested with powers of conferring to some effect; but that, as it appeared he had not read the letter, I would state the principal points of it to him, for his more clear conception of the business. That it proposed a treaty of firm friendship and alliance between

* This, performed in the manner I have described, one would imagine as abject an instance of humiliation as could be given. But during the audience, one occurred, which surprised me still more. Something happened that made it necessary for the minister to come to the lower end of the hall. I did not observe him set out; but turning my head by accident, I cannot express my surprise when I saw him, a venerable grey-headed old man, coming trotting down one of the ailes like a dog!—on all fours! He returned in the same manner to the foot of the throne.

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tween his highneſs of Candy, and the Engliſh in India;—that it promiſed the moſt effectual aſſiſtance that the Engliſh could contribute to vindicate the rights of his highneſs againſt the uſurpations of the Dutch, and to protect them in future againſt them and all other enemies;—that it required a liberal ſupply of proviſions, and every friendly intercourſe from the country to the Engliſh at Trincomallée, or elſewhere;—and that it referred his highneſs to me, for the explanation and arrangement of all matters tending to the mutual and juſt intereſts of both parties.

I repeated to him in particular, as I had done to my viſitors at Gunnoor, the neceſſity of inſtantly repealing the orders which had been iſſued againſt communication with the Engliſh; as it was a preliminary, without which I could not proceed in my negociation. After giving me a ſolemn promiſe to that effect, and his repeated aſſurance alſo that no time ſhould be loſt, but that I ſhould have another audience as ſoon as poſſible, and, for that purpoſe, that ſome of the generals ſhould attend me in the mean time, he concluded with telling me, I might depend alſo on the point being complied with, which I had inſiſted on at Gunnoor, relative to the ſepoys left at Nallendy-Caravvety; and that orders ſhould be immediately ſent to ſecure them proviſions and accommodations for their march to Trincomallée.

It was by this time near two o'clock; and having aſcertained matters as particularly as the policy of the old miniſter would permit, I was glad to take my leave of him. The courtier, who had accompanied the old ſecretary to Nallendy-Caravvety, was appointed to conduct me back to Gunnoor, where we arrived before four in the morning, in the ſame manner we had left it; and, notwithſtanding my extreme fatigue and weakneſs, with the ſame neceſſity of walking the mile and a half I had before done, within the hallowed precinct of Candy.

Gunnoor.

March 7.—A viſit this morning from my two neighbours, to inquire about health, &c. of which I could give them but a very infirm account. I remonſtrated about the neglect of proviſions, which were very ſcanty. They promiſed to ſupply us better.

I was very glad to ſee the interpreter arrive this evening; (our acquaintance, I mean, of Nallendy-Caravvety: laſt night it was another that officiated.) I deſired Permaul to improve acquaintance with him as much as poſſible, and cultivate the friendly diſpoſition he ſeemed deſirous to ſhew us. He gave a very favourable account of the audience; and undertook the management of a ſubject Permaul and I had been juſt diſcuſſing,—the preſenting to the miniſters and generals a few pieces of gold and ſilver muſlin I had procured on the coaſt for the purpoſe, having heard they were very fond of dreſs, both for themſelves and their women. He ſaid it was neceſſary firſt to obtain their permiſſion, and that he would let me know to-morrow, with ſpeed, the particulars, as I preſſed him, towards the promiſed viſit from the generals.

Gunnoor.

March 8.—The interpreter returned early, according to promiſe, with a polite and thankful anſwer from the miniſter on the ſubject of the preſents intended him and the generals; but declining them, as being immediately on the king's buſineſs, on which it is abſolutely prohibited to receive any thing; and obſerving, that it was incumbent

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bent on them to give presents to me, rather than take them from me: but on the whole it seemed to have a good effect.

On the important subject of proceeding on business, he told me the court was perfectly disposed to the speediest dispatch; and that he was sure I should only be detained a few days more for my next audience, and that the generals would come to-morrow. This was very satisfactory, and I enjoyed my evening's walk the more agreeably, though I was able to take only a very short one. The country is extremely beautiful and various, and well cultivated.

March 9.—In the morning, about ten o'clock, I received intelligence that the deputation from court was arrived at the other side of the river, and that I was expected on my side to receive them. It was exceedingly hot, but I knew the necessity of their forms, and proceeded accordingly. They excused me, however, from going down the steep broken steps to the river side. I received, at the pagoda on the brow of the hill, the three principal generals, and the old secretary, and conducted them to our great veranda of conference.

I perceived, from the respectability of this deputation, and the writing apparatus that the interpreter brought with him, that this was to be a visit of some consequence. The people who thronged about the veranda were accordingly ordered to a distance; and after the usual inquiries and compliments, we took our seats in great form.

I told them I was extremely happy to find their sentiments coincide with my own towards expediting the important business I was charged with; that being, I concluded, the object of their present visit, in pursuance of the assurances I had received from them and the minister. That the revocation which had been promised, of the hostile orders against the English, being an essential preliminary, I desired to know whether it had been issued?

The principal general assured me it had: but there was something in his manner and the looks of the others which gave me some suspicion.—I asked, when? and what other orders had been sent? (for they promised to send me permission for the supply of Trincomallée, and that all letters from thence should be forwarded to me without farther interruption; and that my people, Mahommed Cossim, Solyman, and a few others, and my horse, might be permitted to come from Nallendy-Caravvety; and that the sepoys intended to return, should be immediately dispatched from thence with provisions.) The hesitation in his answer, as to the time and these particulars, confirmed my suspicion; however, I thought proper to dissemble then, and to seem satisfied, believing that the delay proceeded from their usual slowness, and their falsehood from their being ashamed of it*.

As I now hoped they would proceed on the letter I had brought, I was going on to an explanation of the most important points, when the general told me they had not yet any instructions to enter on those particulars, and desired I would explain to them on what principle the English thought themselves justifiable in making war on the Dutch, who had always been such good friends to them, especially in attacking them in this country, without any

* So I found afterwards, in effect; and that the requisite orders were sent next morning, in consequence of the strong manner in which I then inquired into the subject.

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any notice of hoſtilities, and without any communication with the king.

I expreſſed my ſurpriſe at their not having powers to enter on the contents of the letter; as had been promiſed; but from their manner of putting the queſtions, and ſome intelligence I had obtained a day or two before, of the Dutch ambaſſador having effected a communication with the court, from his halting place on the road, where he ſtill remained; waiting my departure, I apprehended ſome new obſtacle might have ariſen. I determined, therefore, to ſatisfy them in the moſt complying manner poſſible.

This I had the good fortune to do pretty ſucceſsfully, by explaining the origin of the war, commenced, in fact, by our good friends the Dutch, againſt the king of England, aſſiſting his ſubjects who had taken up arms againſt him. This particular, as the moſt atrocious in their eyes, I ſtated in the ſtrongeſt terms I could, and the ingratitude of the Dutch for all the obligations and ſupport they had always received from England.

Their curioſity on this ſubject was very inquiſitive, eſpecially about America, which they had never heard of. I gave them all the particulars I thought neceſſary towards making the moſt favourable impreſſion; and was glad that every thing was taken down in writing, that the king might have the more certain opportunity of ſeeing and conſidering it diſtinctly.

Their curioſity being alſo ſatisfied as to the power of England, and the juſtice alſo of her war with France on the ſame principle, they aſked many queſtions about the French power and government. They knew, alſo, of our war with Spain; and naturally enough inſinuated, that it appeared we were rather too fond of war, having ſo many hoſtilities on our hands at once. But they admitted, as I ſtated to them, that it was more a proof of our being ſtrong, than wrong; and that our enemies, united as they were, were yet inferior to the power they envied, even with the aſſiſtance of the Americans, whom they contributed to ſeduce: that we had deſtroyed the navy of France laſt war: that our London (for they were very inquiſitive about our great cities) was much more flouriſhing and rich in trade, &c. than their capital, Paris: with many minute particulars that they inquired about.

Their civility travelled all over Europe; particularly to Portugal, which they were ſurpriſed they now heard nothing of. Portugal put them in mind of religion; and they returned to England, to hope that the ſame religion was not profeſſed there as among the Portugueze. I ſatisfied them on this head, that the Engliſh church was the mildeſt and moſt tolerant in Europe.

After ſome general anſwers as to the powers there, for they were much pleaſed with information as to all *, we concluded this long political conference at near four o'clock.

They very politely diſpenſed with my re-attending them to the river, and promiſed to expedite my next audience, for proceeding on buſineſs as ſpeedily as poſſible.

Gauncor.

March 10, 11, 12, 13.—Four days paſſed without any thing remarkable.

* And as to the ſtate of politics on the coaſt alſo. The Rajah of Tanjore ſtands pretty well with them; but the Nabob is by no means a favourite, except with the Choliar tribe, who are Mahommedans; and equally, on that account, perhaps, out of favour at court. They ſpoke of the Nabob's ambition, invading Tanjore, &c.

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markable. Constant inquiries about us from court; and visits now and then from our friend the interpreter, which I encouraged as much as I could, to obtain all possible information from him. He was of the race of Vaddahs *, as he pronounced it, who are called Bedas in some descriptions of this island: a people towards the north and north-east of it, differing in some religious customs and dress from the Cingalese, but speaking the same language; less civilized, he confessed, but more open and sincere, he asserted, perhaps in aid of his own veracity, and braver: independent, but in general on good terms with the government. From living in the neighbourhood of Trincomallée, he acquired the Malabar language perfectly, and so became recommended as one of the interpreters at Candy, where I understood he was a favourite.

He told me, that though the politics of Candy be still rather unfavourable to the Dutch, they are not so much so as before the late king's death, (about three weeks before I went up). Since that event, some of those whom the Dutch had formerly been able to gain, had attempted some intrigues in their favour, to which the death of the late minister had unfortunately afforded some facility and success: that the present king, above twenty years younger than his late brother, had not been in particular favour or harmony with him: and as to the English, that never having had any personal opportunity of intercourse, he had been the more liable to be misled and prepossessed against them, especially at the commencement of his reign; and though his power appeared perfectly despotic, and, when exerted, was so in fact, yet from the mode of conducting every political business through so many channels, and from the great delegated power of the generals throughout their districts, they had great authority and influence: that, unfortunately for us, the principal of them (of Yalcoralay) had been one of those inclined to the Dutch; that to these causes, and the gross misrepresentations made of our conduct and designs, were to be imputed the obstacles we had encountered; which, however, were now entirely at an end: for that, from our conduct since we came into the country, and the explanations we had given them both at Nallendy-Caravety and here, the king himself, (whom they reckon a more able and enterprising man than

* "This race of people," says Mr. Knox, "are called Vaddahs, dwelling in the woods, near no other inhabitants. They speak the Cingalese language. They kill deer, and dry the flesh over the fire, and the people of the country come and buy it of them. They never till the ground for corn, their food being only flesh. They are very expert with their bows. They have a little ax, which they stick in by their sides, to cut honey out of hollow trees. Some few of them have commerce with the Cingalese. They have no towns nor houses, only live by the waters under a tree, with some boughs cut and laid round about them, to give notice when any wild beasts come near, which they may hear by their rustling and trampling upon them. Some of the more civilized of these people are under a kind of subjection to the king.

"They never cut their hair, but tie it up on their crowns in a bunch. The cloth they use is not broad nor large, scarcely enough to cover their buttocks.

"The wilder and tamer sort of them do both observe a religion. They have a god peculiar to themselves. The tamer do build temples; the wild only bring their sacrifices under trees; and while it is offering, dance round it, both men and women.

"For portions with their daughters in marriage, they give hunting-dogs. They are reported to be courteous. Some of the Cingalese, in discontent, will leave their houses and friends, and go and live among them, where they are civilly entertained. The tamer sort of them, as hath been said, will sometimes appear, and hold trade with the Cingalese; but the wilder sort, called Ramba Vaddahs, never shew themselves." Knox *on Ceylon*, p. 62.

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his late brother), and those about him, were perfectly undeceived and satisfied in our favour.

This intelligence was the more satisfactory, and the less to be suspected of artifice, as it seemed by no means premeditated, but was rather extracted in accidental conversations from our friend the interpreter.

I was, however, much surprised at the delay of my second audience; till on the 13th I received an answer from the minister, relative to that and some secondary matters on which I had applied to him. The important point of my going again to Candy, he sent me word, was fixed for the next day; but as to the other particulars I had requested, of my horse being sent to me from Nallendy-Caravvety, Mahommed, and others who were there, to be permitted to come on to me, my letters to be forwarded, and the sepoys, who I found were yet detained at Nallendy-Caravvety, to be dispatched from thence with provisions as promised, to Trincomallée; as to these particulars, he gave me to understand that the speedy conclusion of my business at Candy would render them unnecessary.—He accompanied his message with a very welcome present of some large pieces of wild boar and elk; the latter, especially, was remarkably good, very like beef, but of a still finer grain and flavour.

Gunnoor to Candy.

March 14.—About seven o'clock in the evening, the arrival of the general who was to conduct me was announced. I advanced, as usual, to the river, where he waited on the opposite side till he saw me approach, and then crossed with a very numerous train of firelocks, lights, music, &c.; the rains that continued, swelled the river, and the boating backwards and forwards was very tedious. I was glad to find it was my old acquaintance, who had been sent to escort me from Nallendy. After the troublesome ceremony of conducting him to my quarters, we returned, and proceeded towards the capital in the same order and pomp as on the former occasion: the same indulgence of a dooley being permitted to me to the same distance, within a mile or a little more of Candy. I was obliged to wait above an hour at the house prepared for me there, before notice was sent to us to advance. Walking was very disagreeable, from the heaviness of the rain, and softness of the ground. The general was posted to receive us at the caravvety, on the steep rising ground, a few hundred yards from where we had stopped; and we proceeded with the same pomp as before, and, notwithstanding the rain, prodigious multitudes of people assembled to see us.

When we came before the place, where elephants were drawn up as before, the general sent to notify our arrival, and to obtain permission, on my request, for Mr. Cherech to see his highness. (This was granted, and for my debash also, but not to come into the sanctum sanctorum of audience! After the business was over, they were admitted to the large outer court; and, the curtain being drawn up, to make their obeisances at a most respectful distance from his majesty, whom they could hardly see.)

I was received, as before, by the minister and four generals; and after an exact repetition of the former fatiguing ceremonies, was at last admitted into the hall of audience, and seated on the distant end of the carpet, the generals on each side of me, with our friend the interpreter, who, I was glad to find, was to officiate on this occasion, and the minister

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after on both his knees at the foot of the throne.

The ceremonious queſtions of health, &c. being finiſhed, his majeſty began buſineſs with telling me, that the letter of the governor of Madras had given him the greateſt ſatisfaction; that he had conſidered it with equal pleaſure and attention, and agreed entirely with all the ſentiments contained in it; that he had expreſſed himſelf fully in the anſwer which was prepared to it; but deſired beſides, that I would have it from his own mouth, and communicate to the governor and council of Madras, in the ſtrongeſt manner, his friendly diſpoſition towards the Engliſh,—his happineſs in the overtures now made to him, with ſome compliments to the manner our buſineſs had been conducted in,—and his wiſhes to cultivate the moſt friendly correſpondence. He ſaid, in concluſion, that the anſwer to the governor's letter, and preſents for him, would be ſent on to Allwalay, where they would meet me, and recommend them to my care very particularly.

I aſſured him, as ſtrongly as I could, of the mutual ſatisfaction the governor and council of Madras would feel from the friendly diſpoſition of his highneſs; that they were ready to teſtify theirs by every proof in their power, according to the ſincerity and good faith always obſerved by the Engliſh in their negociations; that it was for that purpoſe I had the honour of coming on their part to his highneſs; that as he had ſo ſtrongly expreſſed his entire agreement with the ſentiments of the letter I had brought, I hoped we ſhould immediately proceed to eſtabliſh the firſt ground propoſed therein, a firm union between his highneſs and the Engliſh, and immediately act in concert. He anſwered, that he poſſeſſed thoſe ſentiments as ſtrongly as poſſible, and that he was equally convinced of the ſentiments of the Engliſh; that they were expreſſed fully on his part in the letter, which, with the preſents, ſhould meet me at Allwalay: that as I had expreſſed ſo much deſire for expedition, he had uſed every poſſible diſpatch in preparing them; that now, therefore, there would be no farther delay, and that orders were iſſued for proper accommodations and attendance on my return.

I thanked him for his attention; but was ſorry to find my apprehenſion verified of the buſineſs being ſuſpended at this ſtage. Wiſhing, therefore, if poſſible, to procure farther conference, in order to ſomething more explicit and eſſential, I obſerved, that the expedition I had been ſo anxious for, was to proceed on our buſineſs, to form a ſtrict union and friendſhip with his highneſs, and to act together againſt his enemies and ours, according to the letter I had the honour of bringing him; that the Engliſh were ready to aſſiſt and act with him, and, as he agreed entirely with the contents of the letter, would expect his aſſiſtance and co-operation with them.

The generals here told me, as at the former audience, that as to the diſcuſſion of particulars, they and the miniſter would confer with me after the audience; but that as his highneſs had ſaid there was to be now no farther delay, it was proper to retire; and they gave directions for the preſents intended for me to be brought in.

Finding that a hint from the throne was a ſentence without appeal, I was obliged to compromiſe for the ſubordinate conference they promiſed me: on the ſubject of preſents, however, as the king had twice recommended to me, in a very particular manner, thoſe for the go-

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vernor, I thought it neceſſary to explain to him what I knew to be the governor's ſentiments.

It would not be eaſy to conceive the ſurpriſe of the Candy courtiers, at hearing of preſents being declined. Diſtinctions between duty and intereſt were as new to their imaginations as to their practice; and it was in vain to urge to his majeſty, that as they had their cuſtoms and laws, ſo we had ours; that governors of Engliſh ſettlements had appointments by law adequate to their high rank; that as it was their duty, ſo it was the determined reſolution of the governor of Madras to decline all additional emoluments, either by preſent or otherwiſe; to be biaſſed by no perſonal conſideration of intereſt, and to direct the whole attention of government to the advantage of their country and their allies.

He anſwered, it was their cuſtom both to receive and to give preſents: that as he had received thoſe I had brought, he expected the governor of Madras would receive his: otherwiſe he would be under the neceſſity of returning thoſe the governor had ſent him. This, I knew, would be a dangerous wound to the friendſhip of our intercourſe; and was not ſorry, therefore, when the generals prevented my reply by telling me, we might diſcuſs that point with the others preſently.

The preſents for me were then brought in, and given to me in great form as I ſat on the floor. The miniſter, after coming down on all-fours from the throne, put a gold chain on my neck, of Candy workmanſhip, as were all the reſt, and very tolerable; a large ſword, with ſilver wrought in the handle, and very heavy; a knife, and very large ſciſſars of curious form; chunam-boxes of ſilver, and ſome little trinkets; and a ring, which he put on my finger; a large green ſtone, but of little value; with a piece of ſilk, and two of white cloth.

The ceremonies finiſhed, the king told me he would detain me no longer than by ſome queſtions relative to myſelf,—where I was born? how old I was? what was my rank? was I married? had I children? &c. My anſwers to theſe important particulars being entered on their records, by the ſecretaries, with as much formality as if they were to decide the fate of Aſia, I took my leave in the uſual fatiguing forms, repeated twice in the great hall, and then in the outer court, of bowing, kneeling, ſalmoning, &c.

I was then conducted by one of the generals to the long and high gallery where I had been before, at the lower end of the firſt court, where a collation of ſweetmeats, ſpices, &c. was provided as before. At laſt, after a very tedious hour of waiting, the miniſter, the four generals*, and interpreter, arrived.

The miniſter began with explaining the particulars of the letter I was to take, in anſwer to the one I had brought. He told me, as the king had expreſſed, that it contained the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the friendly diſpoſition of his majeſty towards the Engliſh; that it expreſſed his anxious deſire to eſtabliſh a connection and alliance, as propoſed by the government of Madras; but that, to make the alliance ſufficiently

* It was remarkable, that the general of the Mauthelay diſtrict, with whom I had ſo much intercourſe at firſt by meſſage, and expected to have met as I advanced, never made his appearance when I was at court, nor at any of the conferences. As well as I could collect by inquiry, I found there was a jealouſy and rivalſhip between him and the others—probably for the poſt of prime miniſter, for the preſent old man was only *locum tenens*. The abſence of the Mauthelay general was a loſs to us, for he was much a friend to the Engliſh.

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ficiently firm, and sufficiently respectable for him to accede to, it would be necessary to procure to it the sanction of the king of England, signified under his own hand; when that should arrive, that the king of Candy would agree to every proposition that could be made for the strictest union and co-operation with the English arms and interests; and that in the mean time they might depend on his favourable disposition and friendly services.

The measure was taken, the letter written, and the business evidently concluded. It was necessary, however, to rectify their judgment on this point, on which the delay was founded, as well as to ascertain the friendly ground we had made.

I expressed accordingly the greatest satisfaction at the friendly sentiments of his highness; and explained how unnecessary and prejudicial to our mutual interests might be their delay, in supposing the immediate sanction of the king of England necessary to the alliance proposed; that the government of Madras was completely competent to conclude it, and equally ready and able to act instantly in consequence towards carrying into execution all points that should be agreed on. For the good faith also of our governments, as well as full power to form and support alliances, I appealed to the known character and conduct of the English in India. I could not avoid expressing, therefore, my surprise at this unprecedented delay, in a crisis that required the utmost dispatch; supposing, however, that it arose merely from inattention and mistake, now that I had explained the subject to them, I hoped the idea would be withdrawn, and that a treaty of alliance, and the most vigorous measures in consequence, might be proceeded upon, with as little delay as possible, according to the mutual friendly dispositions of his highness and the government of Madras.

They seemed to be somewhat struck with this remonstrance, and said they would go and report it to his highness, and return to me immediately.

They did so in about half an hour: the minister then began a long harangue. He detailed the particulars of Mr. Pybus's negociation with them above twenty years ago, and complained of its having had no consequence in their favour; that the government of Madras had at that time deputed that gentleman with offers of friendship, which had been answered by them in a friendly manner;—but that, on his return to Madras, the business, instead of being proceeded on effectually as they expected, seemed to have entirely dropped, and from that time to this they had never heard a syllable on the subject; that this departure from a negociation so friendly begun, had surprised and disappointed them very much, especially as they had then particular reason to turn their attention to it, being on the eve of a rupture with the Dutch; that when that rupture took place, they were obliged to support it themselves, without any assistance, or even communication, from Madras; but that now, when a rupture had happened between the Dutch and us, the communication was renewed!—that these circumstances could not but induce them to think, that our attention to their interest was governed only by adherence to our own; that, however, the king was extremely happy in the friendly offers I had brought, and the assurances I had given him; that he desired again that I would represent his friendly sentiments in the strongest terms at Madras; but as to concluding an actual treaty, he must adhere to what was required

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quired in the letter, that the propoſal ſhould come to him from the king of England himſelf.

This repreſentation the miniſter ſpun out to great length; eſpecially his animadverſions on the total neglect, and their diſappointment in conſequence of what they had been induced to expect from Mr. Pybus's miſſion. Finding that to be the ſtumbling-block, and the only one, (for the other points of fear or ſuſpicion of our intentions, which had impeded us at firſt, were now entirely removed), I reminded him of the diſtinction * themſelves had made to me at Nallendy-Caravvety, between that expedition and mine, which I ſtill farther explained to him, my powers being public, and the object of my embaſſy explicitly defined; relating, as ſtrongly as I could, the complete competency of the governments in India, according to their acknowledged powers and univerſal uſage. This point I endeavoured to enforce as fully as poſſible, to weaken the ſame argument of delay that might be urged on any ſimilar occaſion. For the preſent, their part was taken—to inſiſt on the royal ſanction of England.

The miniſter then, in explaining more fully than at the durbar, the anſwer prepared to the governor of Madras, (profeſſions of friendſhip, and a deſire to cultivate correſpondence,) told me, there was one particular relative to that letter, which it was neceſſary to advertiſe me of; that it was written, not by the king, but by him, the miniſter; that this was the cuſtom of their court in all their correſpondence, and that theſe cuſtoms were inviolable.

On my expreſſing my ſurprife at this very ſingular cuſtom and claim, ſo different from the uſage of the greateſt powers in India, in tranſactions with the Engliſh governments; and ſignifying that I ſhould have wiſhed to have had that particular communicated to me ſooner, reſpecting their cuſtoms, that I might have had opportunity of examining and conſidering this extraordinary one; he ſaid, it had always been ſacredly obſerved in their tranſactions, both with the powers of India and Europe. Here he enumerated an amazing long liſt of courts, which he ſaid had all commenced negociation, by applying to the king of Candy for his friendſhip; which applications had been anſwered, on the part of the king, by his miniſters. In particular, he inſtanced a French ambaſſador, laſt century, who, talking highly of the dignity of his king, had refuſed at firſt to accept of the miniſter's anſwer, but at laſt found it neceſſary in compliance with their cuſtoms: however, ſuch was the reſpect of his king for the Engliſh nation, that when he ſhould receive a letter from the king of England, he would wave the venerable privilege hitherto maintained by the majeſty of Candy, and anſwer it himſelf.

After the preſents intended for the government of Madras, which, with the letter, were to meet me at Allwalay on my return, I explained fully the governor's ſentiments on that ſubject, and had the good fortune of enforcing approbation from a hackneyed black politician, (and he was really a very acute old man), of ſentiments and conduct ſo correct. Underſtanding, however, that the preſents were of very ſmall value, and that the refuſal of them would be of great miſchief, I told him at laſt, very much to

* The old ſecretary, who was ſent to meet me there, had argued, relative to ſome tedious honours which they inſiſted on ſhewing, that my miſſion was in a very different ſtyle from that of the former, which he ſaid had been only a ſtolen and wandering ſort of buſineſs.

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to his ſatisfaction, that the preſents appearing from his explanation not to be of conſiderable value, and the acceptance of them, therefore, not contrary to the true ſpirit of our laws and duty, the governor would be happy to receive them merely as marks of friendſhip from the king, and to teſtify, in every inſtance that his duty would permit, his inclination to cultivate and improve the moſt friendly correſpondence.

March 15.—It was now growing very late, or rather very far advanced into the morning, and the old miniſter grew extremely anxious to conclude before it ſhould become too light for the accuſtomed obſcurity of Candy. Deſirous, however, on my part, to leave the moſt effectual impreſſion in this our laſt conference, relative to the important and immediate point of ſupply of our troops at Trincomallée, and fleet when it ſhould arrive, I recalled his attention to that ſubject; and urged it with all the ſolemnity and force in my power, not only for the preſent, but a conſtant and regular ſupply; as the abſolutely eſſential proof of that friendly diſpoſition which his highneſs had expreſſed in terms ſo favourable, and which it would be equally the happineſs of the Engliſh to cultivate and ſupport on the firmeſt principles of union.

He anſwered with the fulleſt aſſurances on this, and every friendly point in their power; and told me, that a viſit from ſome of the courtiers was intended me at Gunnoor, to recapitulate any points that might not have been ſufficiently explained, and to arrange particulars for my return. This long conference was at laſt concluded, to my infinite ſatisfaction; for, weak as I was, I was almoſt intolerably fatigued with ſtanding ſo long: I was obliged, however, to walk as uſual to the old place of halt, under the care of one of the courtiers appointed to attend me to Gunnoor, where we arrived about five o'clock in the morning.

Gunnoor.

March 16.—Having thus aſcertained matters as fully and favourably as circumſtances would admit, I was happy to find my friends at Candy as much diſpoſed as myſelf to expedite my return.

For that purpoſe, and to talk over matters in general, the old ſecretary, and another courtier, came according to promiſe this evening to Gunnoor. This our final conference was in as favourable a train as could be wiſhed, with the fulleſt aſſurances of every friendly correſpondence. It concluded with their producing the preſents intended for the governor of Madras, in order to ſatisfy me on that ſubject, that they were by no means conſiderable enough in point of value to be looked on in any other light than merely as marks of friendſhip and compliment.* It was then arranged that we ſhould ſet out on the 17th; the old ſecretary, his companion, and the interpreter, being to conduct me as far as Nallendy-Caravvety. The letter and preſents ſtill were appointed to meet us at Allwalay, the ſecond ſtage from hence; I could not diſcover for what reaſon, unleſs to profit of the ſhort and direct road thither; it being ſtill inſiſted on that I ſhould return by the ſame roundabout way I had advanced.

The

* They were certainly of very ſmall value; of the ſame kind with thoſe given to me, and differing only in ſome of the workmanſhip, the handles of the ſword, knife, &c. being wrought with gold inſtead of ſilver. There were beſides two pieces of ſilk additional, and ſome toys wrought with ſurpriſing neatneſs in ivory.

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The neceſſary number being then adjuſted, of bearers*, and people for the baggage, for at their deſire I had diſmiſſed my own cooleys from Nallendy,—my viſitors took their leave, and we ſet about preparing for our march.

Gunnoor, March 16. — Compliments and inquiries, and offers of aſſiſtance towards packing up, &c. We proceeded in getting ready every thing for our return.

March 17.—From Gunnoor to Oſſpoot, ſixteen miles.—This day we ſet out on our return, but much later than I wiſhed, my conducting friends not arriving from Candy till paſt twelve o'clock, and then much time was loſt in ceremonies of receiving them, &c. From this delay, and badneſs of road † and bearers, arrived very late at Oſſpoot, where we found houſes and proviſions prepared as before, for our reception. The dews were extremely heavy and cold, which affected me very much after the violent heat of the day.

March 18.—From Oſſpoot to Allwalay‡, eighteen miles. Very late again in ſetting out, from the invincible cuſtomary ſlowneſs of my companions. As late and cold in conſequence as the laſt night.

About half-way we were ſtopped by two elephants, who met us in a very narrow part of the road. They halted to reconnoitre us, as we did them; one very large in front, and a young one behind him. Our ſix advanced ſepoys, and the havildar, who marched a little before my palankeen, fired on the foremoſt. The young one immediately retreated; but the firſt ſtood with ſurpriſing firmneſs, and certainly received ſeveral balls. At laſt he turned, but without any ſign either of fear or rage, ſlowly enough into the wood, which broke and ſunk before him. It ſeemed as if he thought it not worth his while to advance; and our bullets, I imagine, made no impreſſion either on his ſide or his courage.

March 19.—From Allwalay to Nallendy-Caravvety, eighteen miles. Late as uſual, but without any thing remarkable on the road. To my great ſurpriſe, however, I found the ſepoys ſtill here, not having been furniſhed with proviſions, as had been promiſed me, to proceed to Trincomallée. But they had been very well ſupplied here, and I attributed it rather to a ſyſtematic ſlowneſs and indolence, than to any unfriendly motive. I was very happy to find here Mahommed Coſſim perfectly recovered, and Solymman. My horſe and bullocks were very well taken care of.

March 20.—From Nallendy-Caravvety to Gona, about ſeventeen miles. After a moſt friendly taking leave of the old ſecretary, and a mutual promiſe of correſpondence§, he appointed ſome Moatyarrs and Veraunies to conduct us the remainder of the way. A neglect in preparations for us, which obliged us to ſleep in the road, near ſome water, but without proviſions. I threatened to complain; the Moatyarrs were extremely frightened. We were very much diſturbed in the night by elephants.

March 21.—To Gona, about ſix miles.—Arrived here very early, but obliged to ſtay, cooleys not being

* Though I had retained my palankeen-boys under the denomination of pikemen, they inſiſted on ſupplying me with bearers. I would willingly have diſpenſed with this inſtance of politeneſs, which I found a very uneaſy one.

† Some forells of cinnamon and other ſpices, extremely freſh and fragrant.

‡ Here I found the letter and preſents, as had been appointed.

§ On my arrival at Trincomallée, I kept my promiſe, and wrote to Candy an account of the firſt naval engagement, with a preſent of a gun to the interpreter, as I had alſo promiſed.

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ing provided. I threatened the Moatyarrs again, who promiſed moſt earneſtly there ſhould be no farther diſappointment. Walked in the evening in the woods, which, with a rocky river running through them, were very beautiful.

March 22.—From Gona to Wiſhtegall, twenty-one miles.—I was extremely ſorry to find, on my arrival here, that the two men who had ſupplied me at this place ſo critically with the one thouſand meaſures of paddy as I went up, had purchaſed their twenty pagodas ſo dearly—with their lives! They had actually been put to death in conſequence! So hoſtile were the orders that had been ſo often mentioned, againſt any communication with the Engliſh! and ſo cruelly inexorable is diſobeyed royalty in this country!

March 23.—From Wiſhtegall to Permaumadoo, twenty-ſix miles. Obliged to halt a long time in the road; ſome of our people were much fatigued; arrived late, and in very bad weather.

March 24.—From Permaumadoo to Tertolay-lake, on the Trincomallée ſide, fourteen miles. The road and proſpect extremely agreeable, and, as I have found in general on my return, the woods cleared away in ſome of the moſt difficult paſſes. Arrived in good time, and a charming moonlight evening, at the houſe prepared on the borders of Tertolay-lake, ſome miles on the Trincomallée ſide, nearer than where we had ſtopped in going up. A moſt delightful ſituation! But my extreme fatigue and weakneſs prevented me from enjoying it.

March 25.—From Tertolay-lake to Tumbela-Caumum, twelve miles. The ſevere rain rendered our journey this morning quite diſagreeable. We arrived, however, early; and I endeavoured to profit of the remaining part of the day, by eſtabliſhing a bullock trade with ſome of the principal inhabitants, under ſanction of the friendſhip we had formed at Candy, and of the revocation that had been effected of the original hoſtile orders againſt us.

They came accordingly to my quarters, and ſeemed very happy to renew the acquaintance we had begun when I firſt went up; particularly my old talking friend the verauny, whom I had firſt met here. I purchaſed ſix bullocks from them on the ſpot, and beſpoke five hundred more to be ſent to Trincomallée.

March 26.—From Tumbela-Caumum to Trincomallée, fifteen miles. Set out very early this morning, and arrived to dinner, having uſed every poſſible expedition, ſince leaving Candy, that my extreme illneſs and weakneſs would allow, in order to return, or at leaſt to communicate to Madras by the ſpeedieſt poſſible opportunity †.

Though it was impoſſible to accompliſh, for the preſent, the grand object of my miſſion, an actual alliance with theſe people, I thought myſelf very happily ſucceſsful in rectifying thoroughly, as I hope it will appear I have done, their injurious and hoſtile conceptions againſt us, which had produced that fatal prohibition; and in effecting, on the contrary, what is abſolutely neceſſary to our exiſtence in that moſt important ſettlement of Trincomallée, and to the refreſhment and health of our fleet,—an adequate ſupply from the interior of the country. I truſt, therefore, that our ſituation there,

† Little new on my return more than I have remarked, or different from what I have mentioned in going up, except in one very remarkable particular. Many caravvetys, or fortified gates, had been erected in the moſt difficult paſſes of the roads. A proof, formidable enough, how fortunate we had been in making our friendly ground good.

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there, from being extremely diſtreſſed and precarious, has become perfectly ſecure and comfortable.

Annexed is the journal and diſtance, as I computed, of each day's march, in our going up to Candy. It may aſſiſt the reader's idea of the difficulty of the roads, and the repeated delays to which we were obliged to ſubmit.

TABLE *of Times and Diſtances on my Journey to Candy.*

1782.	*Miles.*
Feb. 5. from Trincomallée to Coppu-torey,	9
6. from Copputorey to Tumbela-Canmum,	6
7. from Tumbela-Caumum to Ter-tolay,	16
8. from Tertolay to Permaumadoo,	10
9. from Permaumadoo to Pulian-Caravvety,	10
10. - - Ditto - Ditto	
11. from Pulian-Caravvety to Wiſh-tegall,	20
12. - - Ditto - - Ditto	
13. from Wiſhtegall to Rock-River,	5
14. from Rock-River to Gona,	16
15. from Gona to Choultry-Plain,	18
Feb. 16. to 28. from Choultry-Plain to Nallendy-Caravvety,	5
Mar. 1. from Nallendy-Caravvety to Allwalay	18
2. from Allwalay to Oſſpoot,	18
3. to 5. from Oſſpoot to Gunnoor,	16
6. from Gunnoor to Candy,	5
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TABLE *of Times and Diſtances on my Return.*

1782.	*Miles.*
Mar. 15. from Candy to Gunpoor,	5
17. from Gunpoor to Oſſpoot,	16
18. from Oſſpoot to Allwalay,	18
19. from Allwalay to Nallendy-Caravvety,	17
20. from Nallendy to near Gona,	18
21. to Gona,	6
22. from Gona to Wiſhtegall,	21
23. from Wiſhtegall to Permau-madoo	26
24. from Permaumadoo to Ter-tolay-lake,	14
25. from Tertolay-lake to Tumbe-la-Caumum,	23
26. from Tumbela-Caumum to Trincomallée,	15
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A NARRATIVE *of a* JOURNEY *to the* DIAMOND MINES *at* SUMBHULPOOR, *in the Province of* ORISSA. *By* T. MOTTE, *Eſq.*

(Undertaken in the Year 1766, by the direction of the late LORD CLIVE, then Governor of Bengal.)

THE Rajah of Sumbhulpoor, in the middle of March 1766, diſpatched Surdur Khan, his ſervant, to Calcutta, inviting the governor to ſend to his capital a perſon whom he could truſt to purchaſe diamonds. There came at the ſame time four Patan merchants, of whom the rajah had bought ſome horſes, without a command of money to pay for them, to whom he had given an order on his ſervant for payment out of the produce of the ſale of a rough diamond, weighing, carats, ſixteen and a half, which he was to diſpoſe of in Calcutta.

Mohunperſaud, a fellow of an infamous character, employed himſelf at this time in picking acquaintance with ſuch ſtrangers as came to that capital, making himſelf maſter of their buſineſs, and inſtructing them how to proceed. Surdar Khan fell into his hands, who introduced him to Lord Clive, the governor, perſuading him to deliver the diamond as a preſent from the rajah. The Patan merchants, finding they were likely to be deprived of their chance of payment, aſſembled about his lordſhip's houſe, and made a clamour. Lord Clive knew not the cauſe of the

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the complaint, while Surdar Khan and Mohunperſaud joined to perſuade the poor merchants, that a perſon would be ſent to pay them at Sumbhulpoor.

His lordſhip being then at a great loſs for means of remitting money to England, propoſed to me to return with the vakeel to the mines, and to endeavour to open the diamond trade. He offered to make it a joint concern, in which I was to hold a third, he the other two; all the expences to be borne by the concern. The propoſals dazzled me, and I caught at it without reflecting on the difficulties of the march, or on the barbarity of a country in which Mr. Mallock, ſent by Mr. Henry Vanſittart for the ſame purpoſe, durſt only ſtay twenty-four hours.

His lordſhip inſtructed me to make what inquiries I could into the ſtate of the Mahrattas, ſuppoſing that a government connected by ſuch very ſlight ties might be eaſily divided, and, by ſuch diviſion, that the power of a people ſo formidable in India might be weakened. He directed me alſo to ſound the officers of Jannoojei's court, whether he would not cede the province of Oriſſa for an annual tribute, and thereby give a contiguity to the Britiſh dominions in India, which would ſtrengthen them greatly.

I left Calcutta the 18th of March, proceeded to Midnapoor, and from thence in ſearch of Mr. John Graham on a circuit round the province, whom I wanted to take leave of as an old friend, and to conſult with, as a man ſuperior in judgment to moſt of my acquaintance.

I found him at Beerkool, on the ſea-ſide at the foot of the braces. Here I had a ſight of the ſea, that ſpectacle of magnificence and terror; that moſt auguſt object under the heavens. It is viewed by the Europeans baniſhed to this country with a pleaſing regret; for they regard it as the road to the place of their nativity.

I went with Mr. Graham from thence to Jallaſore, and halted on the way at Putchumber, under a banyan tree, *ſub ficu indica ramis inferne radicantibus*; the branches of which taking root, and again iſſuing freſh ſhoots, formed a ſhade 560 feet in circumference. I imagine the branches of theſe trees might be carried on to as great an extent as the level of the ſpot would admit, ſince the body of the tree is not at all exhauſted by them, the parts which riſe from the earth being much larger than the branches which deſcend to it, while the trunk, not being at all affected by cutting thoſe branches, it is evident that every ſhooting bough is a ſeparate tree, and as much independent of the original root as the layer of a carnation after it is cut.

We arrived at Jallaſore the 23d, where we found Mr. Marriott, the Engliſh reſident at Ballaſore. Jallaſore is a ſmall town on the Shoobunreeka, bounding on the Engliſh territories to the ſouthward. While the Mahrattas kept a conſiderable force in Oriſſa, a body of troops were always ſtationed here; but ſince they had borne an appearance more pacific, a ſmall guard of ſepoys only had been kept.

I croſſed the river Shoobunreeka the 25th in company with Mr. Marriott, and entered the Mohun Bunge country. I paſſed the fort of Omerdnagur, about a mile on the right of the road, built in the ſtyle of the country faſtneſſes; that is to ſay, a deep ditch is dug, the earth of which being thrown inwards, forms a bank whereon ſmall bamboos are planted, the thorns of which, three inches long, very ſtrong and ſharp, render it impaſſable. It is weakeſt

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in the month of May; for, during the extreme heats, the bamboos are inflammable, and will, if ſet fire to, to windward, burn with great violence, while the knots, when the flame comes to them, fly with a ſound equal to that of a piſtol.

The country, from the river to Multanekubur (the bur-tree of the Multaneze, becauſe it was planted by a native of Multan), conſiſts of paddy-grounds, though not half of them are cultivated; on the banks that ſeparate them are buſhes, ſo that the country is not open. The diſtance from the river to this tree is five miles, where you enter the woods, through which the road is at firſt broad, but grows narrower as you approach Buſta.

Buſta is a large village, ſix miles from the bur-tree, and is the firſt Mahratta chokey on the road, conſiſting of a tannadar and twenty men. About 100 yards from the village is a ſmall river which falls into the Shoobunreeka.

Beyond Buſta the road is more open. I paſſed a ſmall river a mile and three quarters from it, and two miles from thence a ſecond, both of which fall into the Shoobunreeka. Five miles from Buſta, you paſs the extremities of two banks, where once ſtood the gateway of the town of Gurpudda. This place was fortified in the country manner by Aſſud Ullah Khan, in the ſervice of Mohur Bunge Rajah, who apoſtatized from Hinduiſm, and became a Muſſulman. Like moſt other apoſtates, he became a zealot to his new profeſſion, and collected extravagant ſums from perſons who paſſed this town on their pilgrimage to Jaggernaut. The fortifications have been deſtroyed by the Mahrattas, except the inner fort on the right of the road, where Buddee Zemman Khan, ſon of Aſſud Ullah, lives, contiguous to which is a ſmall village.

From Gurpudda you come to Ramchunderpoor, where is a ſmall mud fort, two miles on the right of the road.

From Ramchunderpoor the country is at firſt woody; but as you approach Ballaſore, you have extenſive cultivated plains, until you come to the river Boree Bellaun, which is paſſable at Phoolwar Gaut, eight miles from the laſt place. This is the entrance of the town of Ballaſore, and a ſtrong Mahratta ſtation. From Rag Gaut, where I croſſed the Shoobunreeka, to this place, are twelve chokeys, the firſt and laſt included, at each of which money is extorted from the pilgrims going to the temple of Jaggernaut, according to their means.

Pipley was once the mart of this country; but the waters waſhing away great part of the town, at the ſame time that a dangerous bar was formed at the mouth of the river, the merchants, encouraged by Shuja Khan, then Nabob of Oriſſa, removed to Ballaſore.

Ballaſore was a conſiderable town, but is now only one mile long, and half a mile broad, in the wideſt part. It is built along the river Boree Bellaun, where the tide riſes commonly eight feet, and ſerves to carry veſſels into the dry docks, of which there are many here; but the ſpring tides riſe much higher. The ſtream is navigable only for veſſels of 100 tons burden; nor can theſe get over the bar at the mouth of the river, except at the time of the ſpring tides.

The Engliſh factory is a large building, irregular without, and as ill laid out within as can be conceived. But though the whole building is ſo badly arranged, it is ſo large, there muſt of neceſſity be ſome good apartments in it. The proſpect from the top is moſt beautiful. From S. W. by W. to N. W. by N.

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ire plains bounded at the distance of twelve miles by the Neelgur hills. To the south you overlook a neat town, containing a greater number of brick buildings in proportion to the thatched than I have seen in any country town before. To the east, you trace the windings of the Boree Bellaun, through a country interspersed with villages as far as the eye will reach, beyond which you suppose the sea. To the northward, you have uncultivated plains, watered by that river. Thus the contrast between the blue hills, and the spacious plains; between a neat populous town on one side, and an extensive uncultivated country on the other; between the idea of industry arising from the view of shipping, and of idleness, from the prospect of well watered lands, which call on the inhabitants for cultivation, is so strong as to please irresistibly by the extraordinary variety.

The French factory is at old Ballasore, a small village three miles to the eastward of the new town. The Dutch have a factory near the English one, between which are two lofty pyramids, erected to the memory of two Dutch ladies. There is also a Portugueze church, and a small number of Portugueze and Armenian inhabitants.

There is usually, at Ballasore, a party of thirty horse and five hundred foot; but at this time they were with Pillejee, collecting the tribute of the Mohur Bunge country. The Mohur Bunge country extends from the Neelgur hills to the sea; but having borne with impatience a foreign yoke, each expression of such impatience has been punished by dismembering part of the country; since every officer who behaved remarkably well in the expeditions against the rebellious princes, was rewarded by a portion of their land, under the name of a tallook. For this reason, you find in this neighbourhood so many small tallookdars, who being oppressed by the Mahrattas, and in their turn oppressing their tenants, have almost made the country desolate. Indeed, the tenants of such tallookdars as are above attending to agriculture themselves, are in general in a worse condition than those of the more considerable zemindars, the causes whereof I shall endeavour to shew.

When a man raises himself either by the army or finances, he is desirous, if a native, of getting the village of his birth, and two or three contiguous, that he may keep his holidays in pomp with his family; or, if a foreigner, he covets an estate inland, that he may secure to himself a retreat against the time when fortune shall cease to smile. He either purchases from the zemindar, or gets a grant from the sovereign of five or six villages, at a rent below their real value, and by improvements raises their rents. He dies; the eldest son, not bred up to business, is seldom capable of succeeding to his father's post, but depends upon his tallook to support the charge of a large family. The young man, scorning to retract his paternal expences, though he has not the emoluments of his father's appointment to support them, plunges into debt. He harasses his tenants by raising their rents; they run away; until, demands upon him increasing in the same proportion as his means of answering them decrease, some artful fellow, not a whit more merciful to the tenants, becomes nurse to his estate, while he degenerates into a despicable wretch, with scarce rice to eat, shut up in a ruinous inhospitable castle, puffed up with family pride, deprived of society, and supporting his spirits on the fumes of opium! Are not these the giants of the

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the feudal ages? If the ſon is able to ſave any of the father's riches from the claws of government, which is entitled to the perſonal eſtate of every one who dies in its ſervice, the family is not ruined in the firſt generation; but if a deſcendant does not ariſe who has ſpirit enough to leave his hereditary clay, and ſeek employment in the capital cities, or who has prudence and reſignation to apply himſelf to the cultivation and improvement of his lands, it never fails to be ruined in the ſecond or third generation.

But to return from this digreſſion. The firſt conſiderable avulſion from the Mohur Bunge zemindary, was the fouzdary of Pipley; the next that of Ballaſore; ſince which ſo many ſmall tallooks have been taken from it, that the rajah has now no land to the eaſtward of the road I came.

At this time there were two rajahs of Mohur Bunge, or the Wood of Peacocks. Duſruttee Bunge being diſpoſſeſſed by his nephew Dummoodah Bunge, the reigning rajah, of ſome lands he held, retired into the Neelgur country. He was joined by Jehan Mahmud, the principal military commander, who was alſo diſguſted. Theſe two went to Bowanee Pundit, the governor of Oriſſa, promiſing to diſcover large treaſures, and the avenues into the country, on condition he ſhould eſtabliſh the uncle in the ſovereignty. Bowanee marched his army, and came alternately before the forts of Maun Govinpoor, Mauntree, and Bimdah, the garriſons of which Jehan Mahmud, by his influence, induced to ſurrender without a blow. Dummoodah, who was haſtening to the relief of thoſe places, judging from his treachery that he was betrayed, ran away to the paſs of Bommin Gaulee among the hills, and left his competitors in poſſeſſion of Hurrarpoor, the capital, and of the plain country.

I left Ballaſore the 27th of April, and halted under a tree near Ectiarpoor, where I entered Neelgur, formerly dependent on Mohur Bunge. It is bounded on the north by Mohur Bunge; on the eaſt, by ſmall tallooks; and on the ſouth and weſt, by Coonjur. It gives name to that range of hills which extend to the weſt of Midnapoor. Some Engliſhmen, fond of anglicizing it, and perhaps in love with a lady of that name, called them the Nelly-green-hills, and which you will find them in the directory for ſailing to Bengal. This is a better etymology than moſt geographers give of the names of places; for my part as almoſt all the names of places in this country are the names of the founders, with the addition of gur or nagur for a fort, abad for a city, and poor or gunge for a village; and as neel is a common name among the Hindus, I ſhall venture to pronounce it Neelgur. The country is ſmall, and pays rupees thirty thouſand annual tribute to the Mahrattas, by whom the rajah is maintained againſt the claims of Mohur Bunge.

This was a ſhort ſtage, only eight miles; but as I paid reſpect to the cuſtoms of a country, and had picked up ſeveral new ſervants at Ballaſore, I complied with the manner of the eaſt, and made the firſt day's march a ſhort one.

There is no village between Ballaſore and Shooroo; to remedy which inconvenience, Mahmud Ally Khan, the late fouzdar of that place, eſtabliſhed a buzar at Beguneah, ſunk a well, and encouraged people to build; but when he loſt his poſt, the buzar, unſupported, fell with him. Such is the fate of moſt villages under ſo bad a government. A worthy man, deſirous of eſtabliſhing a good name, and of ſecuring the

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he bleſſings of travellers, eſtabliſhes halting-place for them on the road. The ſhade of a few trees, and the efreſhment of wholeſome water, are he neceſſaries in ſo mild a climate. To form the one, he plants a grove f mango trees; to ſecure the other, e digs a pond, or ſinks a well, which he ſurrounds with brick-ork; two or three perſons eſtabliſh handler's ſhops, and he gives a mall guard to ſecure them from im-oſition. No ſooner have they hatched their houſes than they plant garden to ſupply them with greens, s ſauces to render their rice palat-ble. They have their families about hem, and cultivate a little land to row their daily rice. The houſe-vife at night ſteeps ſome rice in vater; ſhe riſes an hour before the un, pounds it in a mortar, and dries t. The livelineſs of her ſong while he plies the peſtle, added to the harming freſhneſs of the morning, as often inſpired me with the moſt ational pleaſure paſſing through one f the villages; ſhe fries a coarſe kind of peaſe in treacle, and then xpoſes the goods for ſale. The ice and peaſe prepared in this man-er, ſerve travellers as a breakfaſt. Thus do the inhabitants live happy, ill diſgrace falls on their patron, vhen, if the village is not become f conſequence enough to obtain a ew one, they diſperſe, and their races are ſoon loſt, where nothing s left but a howling half-ſtarved log,

"The ſad hiſtorian of the penſive plain!"

—But if the patron continues long n power, manufactures ſettle, trade ouriſhes, and the inhabitants are ich enough, on his death, to pur-haſe a new protector, or perhaps claim, by a free gift, the pro-ection of the ſovereign himſelf.

Can we not herein trace the ori-inal of all corporations? Manufac-rers, to ſave themſelves from the oppreſſion of the feudal tyrants in general, throw themſelves under the protection of a particular one, ſettle under his auſpices, and at length, by a hearty union, become of conſequence enough to need no other ſupport than what they could derive from the king.

It appears by the ruins on the N. E. of the river at Shooroo, that it was a conſiderable town; whereas all the houſes are now on the S. W. ſide; and indeed in my journey it will be unneceſſary to ſay, that any place I came to was once conſiderable, ſince all the places which were not ſo, are now depopulated by the Mahrattas, and ſuch alone remain as on account of their bulk are longer in decaying. At Shooroo are the ruins of an handſome ſtone bridge. There is alſo a Mahratta ſtation, conſiſting of one hundred horſe, and three hundred foot, which is all the force they keep in the Neelgur country.

The road from Ballaſore to Shooroo, and two miles beyond, muſt be very heavy during the time of the rains; from thence to Budruc, are extenſive uncultivated plains, paſſable at all ſeaſons, and ſuch as an European army would wiſh to ſee a black enemy upon.

I left Shooroo the 29th, early; five miles from whence I croſſed Cauns Bauns river, over a ſtone bridge, one hundred and twenty yards long, and ten broad, conſiſting of ten arches. When Shuja Khan was nabob of Oriſſa, he built ſuch bridges over all the ſmall rivers in the road to Moorſhedabad, from Cuttac to the extremity of his country, which then reached as far as Nanadole, now in the Burdwan province. Three of them remain near Midnapoor, built of ſtone; but the piers being as wide as the arches, occaſion a ſtoppage of water; while the arches being Gothic, are apt to give

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way at their centres: ſtill with theſe defects they ſpeak the magnificent ſpirit of that great prince.

I recollect no proof he gave of his taſte in building, after his acceſſion to the ſubadary of Bengal, except the moſque he built at Mootſhedabad, to the memory of his father-in-law, Jaffeir Khan, which remains the grandeſt moſque in that city.

By this bridge I paſſed into the tallook of Budruc, where I found deep marks of the Mahratta claws on the fine tract of land, formerly well peopled, where a human creature is not now to be ſeen, except, perhaps, a ſolitary herdſman, attending a large drove of buffaloes, or other horned cattle.

From this part of Oriſſa, come all that people improperly called by the Engliſh, Ballaſore bearers; a circumſtance which contributes in ſome meaſure to the depopulation of the country. Seven thouſand of the ſtouteſt young fellows go into Bengal, and are employed as chairmen, leaving their families behind. Now, although theſe people ſtretch the Levitical law ſo, that a brother not only raiſes up ſeed to another after his deceaſe, but even during his abſence on ſervice, ſo that no married woman lies fallow; and although very few of thoſe who go to Bengal ſettle there, yet as they all return with ſome money, and with hands ſoftened by the luxury of Calcutta, they rather chuſe to loiter after an herd of cattle, than to apply to the labour of the plough; and a tract of land to ſupply that herdſman with paſture, would be ſufficient to ſupport thirty families, if applied to the purpoſes of agriculture.

The bearers in Calcutta form a commonwealth, the moſt politic in the world. They might take for their motto, *Concordia res parvæ crescunt*; for by concord they have made themſelves maſters of the conquerors of Hinduſtan. They have a preſident, and hold frequent councils, in which every thing is ſettled for the good of the community; and when any reſolution is formed, neither ſtripes nor bonds muſt cauſe any member to recede; if he does, he is baniſhed *ab aris et focis*. The air of Bengal has a ſurpriſing effect on them; for at home they are reported by their neighbours to be the greateſt thieves on earth, whereas in a foreign country they are truſted with every thing. It is true they have by-laws, which make it almoſt impoſſible to detect them in caſe of robbery; for, firſt, a bearer is to perjure himſelf rather than accuſe another, ſave to the preſident and council; and, ſecondly, they will ſuffer none but brethren to enter their houſes, pretending that the profane will defile them; whereas it is well known an European may go into the cook-room of a Brahmin, with no other conſequence than obliging him to throw away the water there, and to ſay a few additional prayers. They have gained their preſent aſcendance by taking advantage of the heat of the climate and the indolence of the Engliſh; for if a perſon incurs the diſpleaſure of this worſhipful ſociety, he may walk till he dies of a fever. I have known them carry their authority ſo far, as to fine a poor gentleman for accidently ſpitting in his ſervant's face, though it had no other conſequence than obliging him to waſh before he eat. But the ſociety regarding it as an inſult, he muſt ſubmit, neglect his buſineſs, or broil in the ſun. Many more abſurdities have they by their union made the haughty iſlanders ſwallow. Was that union and firmneſs more nobly engaged in defence of their native country, the Mahrattas would not be able to keep them in ſubmiſſion.

Six

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Six miles from Cauns Bauns Nulla is a tank or pond, which takes the name of Rannee ku Tollow, from the great-grandmother of the present Burdwan Rajah. This good old woman going on a pilgrimage to Jaggernaut, and finding her attendants suffered much for want of water between Shooroo and Budruc, sent money on her return to dig a pond just half-way between those two places. The people employed contented themselves with cleaning out part of an old pond, giving it the name of Rannee ku Tollow, and pocketing two-thirds of the money.

I halted this day at Budruc, containing a few weavers of fine muslin, but is particularly remarkable for its thieves, who are so dexterous, it is believed they have the power of enchanting. When the weary pilgrim goes to sleep in the mango groves, he frequently wakes stript stark-naked; nor can he account for this but by attributing supernatural powers to the stripper. It is well known there is an intoxicating preparation, possessed by the people of these parts, which they apply to the nostrils of the sleeper, and keep him in that state until the effluvia is exhausted. Between the end of the town of Budruc and the river Sollundee, is the tomb of Rajuram Hircarra: this was a servant of the Nabob of Bengal, but, dismissed by Shurajah Dowlat, joined Colonel Clive when he landed in Bengal in 1756, and was extremely useful for his extraordinary local knowledge of the country, so long as the English continued in an active state; but the inactivity of the succeeding government rendering him of no consequence, he became dissatisfied, and entered into a correspondence with the Mahrattas, for which he was obliged to fly, and died here in the way to Cuttac.

May 1.—I left Budruc early, and crossing the river Sollundee, three hundred yards broad, but at this time fordable, I marched only four miles, where I found a rivulet twenty-five yards broad; but so deep and rapid, I was obliged to provide floats to cross my baggage. It is called Toonda Nulla, and over it was a good stone bridge, now broken down at each end by the torrents.

May 2.—Having crossed this nulla, I entered the pergunnah of Daumnagur, and two miles farther crossed another nulla by a stone bridge much out of repair, but able to bear guns. This brought me to Daumnagur town, where lives Furrue Hussein, whose ancestors obtained the grant of a large tract of land from the Patan kings, which they held on condition they shall supply all travellers with provision. He holds the land, but does not comply with the conditions. Five miles hence I crossed the Gaintee; and two miles farther, crossing the Betrunnee, entered Jehazpoor. These two rivers joining the Sollundee, form a very large stream, and fall into the sea in Kunnika bay.

The ruins in Jehazpoor declare its former grandeur; and the extreme pleasant situation, the judgment of the founder Mahmud Tuckee Khan. The road lies through the ruins of the palace, of which only two gateways and the mosque remain entire. This is built in the style of the Turkish mosques, having a lofty mineret at each end of the front angles, which takes off their disagreeable acuteness, and, by being built airy and light, form a pleasing contrast to the disgusting clumsiness of the domes. In my opinion there is not a more disagreeable object in architecture than a dome without a lofty spire on it, except it be an useless pediment loading a flat roof, the common error of the Calcutta houses.

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This moſque is on the river ſide, and on the oppoſite bank is a taghurbarry, which has had better luck, having been lately thoroughly repaired. But why do I ſay, better luck? Theſe places of worſhip ſhare the fate of their different religions; the natural moral ſyſtem of the Hindûs is in a flouriſhing ſtate, while the confuſed jumble of the Koran requiring the moſt implicit faith, and aggravated by ridiculous tradition, is too evidently on the decline throughout all Hinduſtan.

Mahmud Tuckee Khan, who preferred Jehazpoor to Cuttac, was the natural adopted ſon of Shuja Khan, and many years older than Serferaz Khan, born in wedlock with the daughter of Jaffeir Khan, who firſt made the ſubah of Bengal hereditary. When Shuja Khan ſucceeded to that poſt, he left Meerzahee, his brother, viceroy of Oriſſa, but three years after ſent Mahmud Tuckee Khan from Moorſhedabad to ſucceed him, who continued till his death, which happened juſt before that of his father. He was ſucceeded by Moorſhed Kouli Khan, who, after the death of Serferaz Khan, fought Alliverdi Khan, the uſurper, near Ballaſore, and was defeated.

May 3.—The country beyond Jehazpoor is ſo interſected with rivers, that you croſs one every two miles. After croſſing the Betrunnee twice, I croſſed the Curſuah, ſix miles from Jehazpoor, and entered the Burway pergunnah. One mile from hence is the town of that name, in which are the ruins of a magnificent garden, planted by Meerzahee, of which only a tank, lined with brick, remains entire. Beyond this is a very fine plain, watered by the rivulet Luſſonea, over which is a handſome ſtone bridge, ſaid to have been built by a ſervant of Meerzahee. At the extremities of the piers are ſmall turrets; and as the bridge is built on marſhy ground, a ſtone cauſeway is carried on at each end of it to ſome diſtance; a precaution, for want of which moſt of the bridges in this country ſoon fall to decay.

Two miles beyond this bridge I croſſed the river Bommonee, and entered the zemindary of Arungabad. The country between the Gainee and this river is by much the fineſt part of Oriſſa. It is inhabited by a great number of weavers, who weave muſlins in pieces, chiefly for turbans. Manufacturers will always ſettle in thoſe parts where they are moſt free from oppreſſion; and for this reaſon, ſo many flock hereabouts; for Jehazpoor being a fouzdary or military ſtation, to the ſupport of which the rents of the neighbouring country is appropriated, it is, in other words, an official fief, and the country becomes the property of the fouzdar for the time being. Now it is the cuſtom of the Mahratta troops, to plunder as much in the zemindaries tributary to them, as in any enemy's country; the tenants of ſuch zemindaries, therefore, deſert their villages at the approach of an army, while the fouzdar, meeting the commander with a preſent, obtains an order to be exempted from pillage, the execution of which he attends to himſelf, and, if any inferior officer commits violence, fails not to repel force by force. The fouzdary alſo having continued ſome time in the ſame family, contributes to render the country populous. Jagoo Pundit has ſecured the ſucceſſion to his ſon-in-law Incoojee, who came to ſee me. He praiſed Sehoo Butt, the late governor of Oriſſa. I aſked him, "why people in general, preferred him ſo much to the preſent governor?" He anſwered in the ſtyle of a baron-bold: "Sehoo Butt ſupported the national troops with the plunder of foreign

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foreign countries; Bowannee Pundit, with the plunder of his own."

I halted this evening on the banks of the Kimmera, where I began to feel the inconveniences of travelling in the manner Europeans do in a country, where, certain of meeting with no resources on the road peculiar to their wants, they are obliged to carry all necessaries with them. This evil arises from the surly obstinacy of the English, and from the totally different mode of living between the natives and us. Their mode is better suited to the climate, being more limited; and I could not but observe, the ambassador who went with me knew not one twentieth part of the wants I did. His train consisted of an emaciated horse, and a slave fourteen years of age.

The ambassador and his boy rose early. While the master washed, and said his prayers, the servant put a linen quilt stuffed with cotton on the horse's back, and a small leather pillow; the remains of his bedding served as a pummel, the whole fastened with a circingle; thus, that which was used as a bed at night, served as a saddle by day. Just before we reached the end of our march, the boy, whose affection was equally divided between the horse and rider, slipped into a village, and either begged, bought or stole a wisp of straw, which, as soon as we halted, he threw before the beast. He took off the saddle, and spread it under a tree, and filled a small brass pot with water; then kneading two small cakes of flour, water and salt, and baking them on some coals, he put one of them, together with some water, at his master's pillow, who eat it, and composed himself to sleep. The poor boy then rubbed down the horse very carefully, and composed himself also. About four in the afternoon, he went to market, where he purchased rice, greens, and fish, if it was to be got. On a Friday they usually feasted on a fowl cut in pieces and stewed. The cooking began about five; the rice was boiled in a large pot, while a small one which contained the sauce, served as a cover to it, and was kept regularly hot by the steam. The meal was ready by sun-set, to which they sat down with a most hearty appetite. My God! how few things are necessary to the happiness of that mind which knows not abundance of wants! How miserable was poor I, compared to this rich Patan! My party consisted of Mr. Raby, a young gentleman that accompanied me, of an European servant, of three horses, two camels, three tents, thirty native servants, and twenty-six sepoys. My wardrobe was a great incumbrance, containing four suits of clothes, and forty shifts of linen, since I could employ my washerman only on halting days; while Surdar Khan, assured that he should find a washerman at every pond of water, who would wash and dry his clothes in half an hour, and a shop and a tailor at every principal town, who would equip him in six hours, kept up no wardrobe at all. Tobacco smoaked, supplied him with the refreshment which I derived from wine. I have given an account of his diet above, while an Englishman says, there is no dinner without roast meat, garden stuff, butter and bread, and I thought it an hardship to be confined to biscuit. My situation depending on so many circumstances, must be subject to many more disappointments than his, which rested on two; and I often went to bed in disgust, while he joined my attendants, who spent the evening in cheerful conversation, or assembled with silent attention round a story-teller, whom I entertained in my service for their amusement,

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and to improve me in the language and manners of the east.

May 4.—I entered most beautiful vallies, which lie between the Altee and Arungabad, and which, in spite of the present drought, retain a charming beautiful verdure, the vicinity of the hills affording them a supply of moisture. Through the last of these vallies runs the Nulla Gulgalla, or swampy rivulet, over which is a stone bridge in good repair. This road is so swampy, it is impassable in a wet season, or even after two or three smart showers of rain. At such times, travellers keep the river Commorea close on the right, till they come to the foot of the hills, which they ascend about half-way, and keeping on the brow, pass a fakeer's house; then descending again, fall into the other road at N. E. of the bridge. About a mile to the right of the road is the fort of Arungabad, situated among the hills, naturally very strong. In it is a Mahratta garrison, where the rajah is obliged to hold his court, that he may be immediately under the eye of the commanding officer. The highlanders might, in this pass, be troublesome to an army on its march, though it is scarce probable they would act in concert with the Mahrattas.

The plains continue to the Hurreepoor river, overgrown with long coarse grass, such as is usual in marshes. Crossing this river, came to Arrucpoor, which was formerly a village, but, being destroyed by the Mahrattas, on account of a riot, a good Hindû beggar built two sheds for the reception of travellers, to which the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages bring provisions for sale, in proportion to the number of persons who halt there. Many herdsmen from Cuttac drive such cows as are dry, and such bullocks as are out of work, to graze on the spacious plains, building themselves temporary huts at this place. Here, also, when the Mahrattas are not in the field, live those followers of the camp, which are plunderers by profession. These are under a chief, who accounts with the commanding officer. They carry each an iron rod, ten feet long, with which they probe the ground wherever they suspect money or effects to be buried. They smell the rod, repeating cabalistical words, and pretend they make their discoveries by the nose; but this is mere affectation; for they know by the ease with which the rod enters, whether the ground has been lately dug, however carefully the earth may have been thrown in again, or however artfully the surface may have been formed. As soon as the army takes the field, they make a feast, and burn their huts for joy.

May 5.—From Arrucpoor the land is arable, interspersed with bushes, but not thoroughly cultivated, and continues so for a mile and a half; you then enter thick woods, though you have usually the river close on your right. This is here called the Jipoor river, from a village of that name which stood on its banks. It is, however, only a branch of the Maha Nuddee, which separates from the main body above Cuttac, and, as it runs, taking the name of a neighbouring village, it goes near Arrucpoor, where I passed it by the name of Hurrepoor river, and falls into the Commorea, about two miles below the ford, where I crossed that river.

Indeed the rivers, both in this country and Bengal, change their names so often, as makes it very difficult for travellers to ascertain them; and as hircarras scorn to be ignorant of any thing, ask one of them the name of the river, he seeing it has no current, and being ignorant

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norant of the name of the next village, pronounces it a Connur Nuddee, or one-eyed river, a name common to all ſuch as do not run the twelve months. This the traveller ſets down as the proper name, on which account you meet with ſo many Connur rivers in the Engliſh ſurveys.

Keeping the river ſtill on your right, you come to the ſpot where ſtood the village of Mauſumpoor, on which two weekly markets are ſtill held; juſt beyond which the hills project into the river, and form a ſtrong paſs. The road, about three feet wide, ſtrewed with fragments of the rocks, runs at the foot of the hill, which is ſo ſteep, it, as it were, overhangs the way, while the river, in this part more than ordinarily deep, runs cloſe on the right. On the top of the hill is a fine taghurbarry, from whence troops might be much annoyed; however, as the Mahrattas have no reſpectable infantry, and as the cavalry could not act in this paſs, a company of ſepoys thrown into the taghurbarry, would be ſufficient to keep the enemy in awe while a road was making for the guns.

Beyond this you ſtill keep the river on your right for a mile, when the country begins to be more open, and you approach Puddampoor, here it is thoroughly cultivated. Puddampoor is a military ſtation, under the command of Futtee Khan, one principal officer in the ſervice of the nabob of Oriſſa, and may be called the advanced guard of the Mahratta camp. It is, in conſequence of being well protected, a conſiderable village, inhabited by a number of weavers. From hence to the Maha Nuddee, or great river, is a heavy ſand, which is ſometimes overflowed even unto this village.

May 6.—Cuttac appears from hence a noble city. The riſing ground on which it is ſituated; the ſtone wall by which it is defended from the force of the ſtream; the great number of moſques with which it is adorned, and the regular appearance of the citadel, ſtrongly reſembling the weſt ſide of Windſor caſtle, unite to make the perſpective view of the place extremely grand. It is true it has the advantage of being viewed from the oppoſite bank of a river two miles and a half wide, whoſe courſe is ſo ſtraight, that the eye takes in the whole city at one ſight. But when you have croſſed a long burning ſand, and forded the river, what a falling off is there! You find the ground is raiſed entirely by the rubbiſh of the ruins; the ſtone wall maintains itſelf by its original ſtrength; for people are ſuffered to ſteal the materials, though on the wall depends the very exiſtence of the city. Such moſques as are in repair, are dens of thieviſh beggars; and the citadel, on examination, proves a weak fortification.

To be more methodical, Cuttac is triangular, built on the neck of land formed by the ſeparation of the two rivers, the Maha Nuddee, and the Cotjuree. The Maha Nuddee, or great river, runs on the weſt by the north ſide, and keeping a courſe about E. by N. it is joined by the ſeveral ſtreams of the Sollundee, the Gaintee, the Bitrunnee, the Curſan, the Bommonee and the Commorea, and falls into Kunneka bay, in Ballaſore road. The Cotjuree, waſhing the walls of Cuttac on the S. S. W. ſide, and keeping about an E. by S. courſe, divides itſelf into two branches, one of which joins the Maha Nuddee again, while the other, taking the name of the Kouakai, runs into the Chilka, which bounds the province of Oriſſa to the ſouthward, and which falls into the

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ſea, twenty-five miles north from Jaggernaut, and about the ſame diſtance ſouth from Point Palmiras.

Each of the ſides of the triangle, on which Cuttac is built, is two miles, but that on the banks of the Cotjuree is beſt inhabited. On it is Lolbaug, the reſidence of the governor of the province, a large building, laid out in a number of courts, in the Moriſco taſte, but much out of repair; the governor, when one part is ready to fall, removing to another. From the principal entrance of this palace, runs the great ſtreet, formerly built in a ſtraight line, one mile and a half long, and ſtill the chief place of buſineſs in the town. On the right of it is the Engliſh factory, the meanneſs of which does no credit to ſo flouriſhing a company.

Cuttac is not fortified now, but on the ſide next the Maha Nuddee is a citadel, called the Barahbattee, becauſe it is ſaid to contain 12 battees, or 240 biggahs of land. But this muſt be underſtood not only of the fort itſelf, but of the official fief annexed to the command; for the fort itſelf did not appear to me above 800 yards in circumference. It is ſquare, with a ſmall baſtion at three angles; at the fourth, to the N. W. a very large one, evidently the improvement of an European engineer, to counteract a lofty moſque, which commands that quarter of the fort; the ditch is 20 yards wide, and 7 deep, lined with ſtone, and a perfect ſquare without; for the baſtions having been added ſince the fort was built, there are no projections in the ditch to anſwer the projections of the baſtion. The works are formed of two ſtone walls, each 18 inches thick, built perpendicular two feet from each other, which diſtance is filled up with rubbiſh. The outer wall being raiſed five feet higher than the inner, forms the parapet, which is only one ſtone thick. The entrance is defended by three gateways, ſo ſtrong, it would be impoſſible to force them, if they were manned by brave fellows; for the paſſage between them is narrow and winding, with a ſtone wall on each ſide, thirty feet perpendicular, from the top of which, if they were to let large ſtones fall, every man in the paſſage muſt be cruſhed. The fort is, however, too ſmall to make a long defence againſt an European enemy.

I found at this place Mr. Charles Alleyn, a gentleman employed by the government of Calcutta as poſtmaſter, to keep up the communication between Madras and that place. He waited on me to the court of Bowanee Pundit, the governor of Oriſſa, where I was received with more politeneſs than ſtate. I delivered him the letters from Lord Clive, which deſired him, in general terms, to pay all attention to what I ſhould ſay, as I was in his lordſhip's confidence. I began by opening to him my deſire of purchaſing diamonds at Sumbhulpoor, as the object of my journey thither. He looked at me with a penetrating eye, and ſaid, ſo trifling a matter could not be all the meaning couched in his lordſhip's letter, nor all the purpoſe of a man of my conſequence; for the diamond trade of Sumbhulpoor could not be carried on to any conſiderable amount. His ſuſpicions were, that I was employed to form alliances with the mountaineers, through whoſe territories my road lay. He explained to me the juſt demand Jannoojei, his maſter, had on the Company, for the arrears of the tribute of Bengal and Bahar. I ſeized this lucky opening, entered at once on the diſcuſſion of the point, and anſwered, I underſtood the revenues of Oriſſa were made over to Jannoojei, in lieu of the tribute of the

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the three provinces, and that the beſt mode which could be adopted, was to reſtore it to the Company, who ſhould pay a ſtipulated ſum, and ſend a reſident to the court of Nagpoor as an hoſtage. I urged, that by ſo doing, a mutual confidence would be formed between that court and the government of Calcutta, for the advantage of both.

Jannoojei's ſituation was at that time extremely critical. A bitter inveteracy had ariſen between him and Maddoo Row, the peſhwa, in effect the ſovereign of Poonah, while he became deteſted by the nizam of the Deccan, his only ally, for his treachery at the concluſion of the laſt campaign. The peſhwa reſolved to make him feel the weight of his reſentment. Bowanee Pundit was too good a ſtateſman not to comprehend the uſe which might be made of an alliance with the Engliſh. He caught the idea with the vivacity of a Mahratta, told me the intereſts of his court and ours were the ſame; that he would write what he had ſaid to Jannoojei, and deſired me to write to Lord Clive. Buſineſs being finiſhed, he became extremely cheerful, ſupplied me with guides, and promiſed me every aſſiſtance. I then paid a viſit to Laicmunjee Jazie, the commander of the citadel, who treated me with great civility.

May 10.—I left Cuttac the 10th, and croſſed the river Cotjuree, one mile and a half broad. I paſſed from hence through a country divided into ſmall zemindaries, from which the collections are made at Cuttac. They are moſt grievouſly oppreſſed by the jemidars ſtationed at that place, who daily ſend out their ſervants hither to forage. It is conſequently very thinly inhabited, overgrown with buſhes, and continues ſo for five miles, when you come to the banks of the Maha Nuddee. On the neck of land between this and the Cotjuree, is the fort of Ottagur, fortified with a ditch and bamboo hedge.

May 11.—Keeping along the banks of the river four miles, I came to a paſs formed by the projection of the rocks into it. The paſs is 200 yards in length, and ſtrewed with broken rocks. At the S. W. end is an excellent ſpot for a ſmall encampment, the rear of which to the N. E. would be covered by the paſs and the river, the right flank alſo by the river, and the left flank by the perpendicular hanging rock; in the front to S. W. a very pleaſant plain, the part by which alone an enemy could approach. At the S.E. foot of theſe hills, three-fourths of a mile from the road, is the town of Ghilobonk, defended by a bamboo hedge.

The river is here full of rocks, moſt of which are ſomething lower than the height to which the waters riſe in the rainy ſeaſon. This makes the navigation difficult, and obliges the natives to uſe ſmall boats to carry on their trade. The boats are very light, the plank being only an inch thick, and the timbers ſmall in proportion. They are built like Chineſe junks, with a flat bottom and perpendicular ſides, and carry from 60 to 100 maunds; the largeſt I have ſeen were 40 feet long, and 4 wide. In going up the river, during the ſeaſon of the floods, the following obſervations may be of uſe. The hills run always in regular ranges, from N. by W. to S. by E.; now from the place where they project into the river on one ſide, to where they project on the other, you may be ſure of finding a reef of rocks. But this holds no farther than Boad, beyond which, the country being totally mountainous, no regular ranges can be traced.

May 12.—Four miles from the paſs of Ghilobonk, I entered the zemindary

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zemindary of Bonkey, where the country begins to wear a different aſpect with reſpect to cultivation, the conſequence of more numerous inhabitants. The manner in which the ſmall villages are built, was alſo new to me. The houſes are placed in a regular ſtreet, cloſe to each other; and have neither door nor window, except in front. At each end of this ſtreet is a fence made of bamboos, knit together like cow-cribs in England. This ſerves to protect the inhabitants and their cattle from bears, wolves, and tygers, which come from the mountains every night to theſe plains in ſearch of prey. The large villages are not built in the ſame manner, becauſe the Mahrattas will not permit any thing that looks like a fortification in the grand road.

Near the village of Sumulpoor, ten miles from Ghilobonk, a rock of white marble appears above the ground, which ſomebody has made ſacred, by building a taghurbarry over it: from hence it is probable a vein of fine marble runs hereabouts; but tradition has prevented any one from working it, by aſſerting that under it lie a great number of venomous ſnakes. The rajah of Bonkey is named Seerec Chundeen, and reſides uſually at the town of Bonkey, one coſs inland from Chadgeka, but was at this time priſoner at Cuttac, on account of his revenues.

Chadgeka is a large village, remarkable for a handſome taghurbarry, or houſe of God, built on the ſummit of a rock, forty feet high, which is aſcended by a very handſome flight of ſtone ſteps. This place of worſhip is endowed with 20,000 biggahs of land, as the gardeners who officiated in it told me.

I cannot conceive how the gardeners, in this country, have ſtolen from the Brahmins the right of officiating in the temples of Roadur and Bowanee. Was a perſon of that caſt to do ſo in Bengal, all the Brahmins would riſe and thunder the moſt ſhocking anathemas againſt him. It is certain the Brahmins originally confined the prieſthood to their own tribe; it is as certain the prieſthood is beneficial, becauſe the prieſts hold every where large tracts of land, in the name of their God, rent-free; by what means, then, the laity have been admitted to ſhare this advantage with them, I am at a loſs even to gueſs. I inquired of a learned Brahmin; he told me Roadur and his family were ſo jealous, and puniſhed the leaſt omiſſion in their duty with ſo much ſeverity, that the Brahmins, not caring to ſerve them longer, gave up that office, reſerving to themſelves only the right of officiating to Kiſhnu and his wife. This is ſcarce probable; for the Hindûs being ſtrict manichees, actuated rather by fear than by love, are much more generous in their offerings to the god that hurts them, than to him who does them good. The ſervice of Roadur is much more profitable than that of Wieſtna. The Brahmins of this country, having thus loſt the means of ſupporting themſelves without labour, are much more illiterate than thoſe in Bengal, which has alſo an effect on their religion, in the practice whereof they are not near ſo ſtrict.

May 18.—Oppoſite this part of the Bonkey country, on the other ſide of the river, is the chucla of Tigorea, the rajah of which is named Chumput Sing. This rajah has taken great pains to improve his country, by keeping it in a ſtate of tranquillity. When Seccoo Butt laid waſte the zemindaries of Dinkanol and Burrumba, becauſe they did not pay their rents, Chumput Sing invited the weavers, who fled from thence, to ſettle in his capital; Nia Patna granted them extraordinary

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nary privileges, and has ſince given all poſſible encouragement to merchants. That place, therefore, bids fair to be a flouriſhing manufacturing town, if not nipped in the bud by the rapacity of the Mahrattas. Dinkanol is a large zemindary, which bounds Tigorea to the northward; Burrumba, a ſmall one, which bounds it to the weſtward. The latter is on the banks of the Maha Nuddee, oppoſite the weſterly part of the Bonkey country; in it is the town of Monneabund, formerly a conſiderable place of trade, but lately fallen to decay.

Keeping ſtill on the banks of the river, through a very pleaſant country, I came to Bidiſſur, a large village at the foot of a ſteep mountain, on the top of which is a plain, and a mango garden, to which the inhabitants of the village retire with their effects upon any alarm. The eminences I had hitherto paſſed were mole-hills compared with this mountain, the ſide of which lies on an angle of ſeventy degrees, and is half a mile high. The commander of the place deſired me not to go up to the top; and truly all the paths I could find were ſo overgrown with thorns, that, climbing only a little way to ſhoot peacocks, I tore my waiſtcoat and ſhirt off my back. Probably there was another path which I did not hit on. This mountain forms alſo a paſs, rendered ſtrong by a rivulet, which running at the weſterly foot of it, falls into the great river, and is not fordable even in the drieſt ſeaſons. I was obliged to croſs the ſtream of the river, and keep on the northerly ſide, till I had paſſed the mouth of the Nulla, and then to recroſs the ſtream, and aſcend the banks again. This paſs, therefore, muſt be of conſequence at any time when the river is not fordable.

In the middle of the river, oppoſite this mountain, is an iſland, a moſt romantic ſpot of ground. At the weſt end, a rock, thirty feet high, moſt irregularly ſhaped, breaks the force of the ſtream, echoes the ſound of the current, and preſerves the iſland from being waſhed away. The reſt of the iſland conſiſts of a grove of venerable mango trees, 600 yards long, and 300 broad. While the river is full, it muſt be the pleaſanteſt ſituation in the world.

May 14.—The Bonkey country reaches only five miles beyond Bidiſſur, when you enter the Cundea Parra chucla. Cundea Parra, the reſidence of the rajah, is three coſs S. E. from Coollo, where I halted two days to provide my ſervants with neceſſaries, as I underſtood they could not meet with another place where they could be ſupplied; the reſt of my journey being through a country thinly inhabited, mountainous, ill cultivated, and barbarous in every ſenſe of the word.

Coollo is a large village, the moſt conſiderable place for trade in this road. The merchants of Berar, and the inland parts of India, bring cotton and other goods hither on bullocks, which return loaded with ſalt, which is made at Cunter Bi, on the Chelka, and in the parts to the ſouthward of that river, which is the only kind of ſalt in conſumption; the rigid Hindûs thinking their purity would be doubted, if they ate ſalt made by an inferior tribe. The trade of Coollo is founded on the ſame principles as the fairs in Europe were, ere the increaſe of wealth gave riſe to merchants on ſpeculation. During the months of January, February, March and April, the traders of the inland parts of Hinduſtan form themſelves into caravans, for the better ſecurity of their property, and bring their goods on bullocks hither, where they are met by the traders from the ſea-coaſt with ſalt and

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and European commodities. Buſineſs is carried on by barter; ſo that very little money paſſes between them. They live in huts, with which they are furniſhed by the factors they employ, who furniſh them alſo, during their abode here, with food and neceſſaries at reaſonable rates, and for their trouble draw only one per cent. A month before the ſetting in of the rains, they take their departure; and the factors, who are by no means opulent, remain the only inhabitants of the place, in which condition I found it. Nothing could induce the inland merchants, who bring their goods five or ſix hundred miles, to carry them one hundred and twenty miles farther to the ſea; but this I attribute to the dread they have of the noxious effects of the ſalt air.

May 17.—Oppoſite this place, on the other ſide of the river, is the chucla of Nerſingpoor, whoſe capital of the ſame name is three coſs inland. It is bounded to the northward by the countries of Tolchair and Hindole, from whence only come the beſt bamboos uſed for palankeens, particularly from the mountains of Goorjang, and Rodgong, in the Tolchair chucla. They grow near the ſummits of the rocks, and ſpring in July, when the people who prepare them, culling the ſtrongeſt ſhoots in the clumps, tie them to ſtakes drove into the ground, and thus direct their growth to the proper ſhape. In this manner they grow twenty yards long by the ſetting in of the dry ſeaſon, when their tops are cut off, and they are ſent to market. If they are ſuffered to ſtand longer, the hollow part increaſing, and the wood growing thinner, they become ſo weak as to be unfit for ſervice. I believe no plant equals this for rapidity of growth, it being in five months 20 yards high, and 18 inches in circumference.

Three miles from Coollo, the road again paſſes at the foot of a mountain, with the river cloſe to the right. However, it is here two yards and a half wide, and not ſpread with fragments of the rock, as in the other paſſes. From hence the country, leſs populous, begins to be overgrown with buſhes.

Twelve miles from Coollo, I entered the Duſſpulla chucla, and came to Bailparra, where the rajah collects duties on travellers for paſſing the ſtraits of Bermule, which are 14 miles diſtant; ſo that if any perſon proves refractory, he has time to ſend orders to his people ſtationed there, to prepare for the reception of an enemy. The commanding officer of this place knew not in what manner to treat me, when I ſhewed him the edict of his majeſty Shah Allum, then reſiding at Allahabad, concerning me. I was ſurpriſed to obſerve the reſpect with which he received it; for the gentle conquerors of the race of Timur are ſtill beloved by tradition, even in parts where they have ceaſed near a century to reign; he alſo paid attention to Lord Clive's letter, for his fame was then at the higheſt; but when I ſhewed him the Mahratta paſs which Bowanee Pundit had given me, he laughed at it, and ſaid the Mahrattas always made him preſents when they paſſed that way. He aſſumed the bully, demanded bills on Cuttac for a large ſum; but finding, by his frequent changing his note, that he was irreſolute, I was apprehenſive, leſt if I ſubmitted to his extortions, his people ſhould behave treacherouſly when I was entangled in the ſtraits; I, therefore, aſſumed a ſuperiority, ordered the ſepoys to ſeize him, and him to attend me through them myſelf, at the end of which, if he behaved well, I would make him a preſent. I ſerved my ſepoys out with freſh ammuni-

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ſion in his preſence. His people outnumbered mine five to one; but, ſtruck with my firmneſs, although they at firſt put on a threatening appearance, ſubmitted to let him eſcort me with twenty men. Indeed theſe people are far more neceſſary as guides than formidable as enemies; for a ſmall body might, in ſpite of ſuch ill-armed troops, force its way if it could but find it.

May 18.—I marched early with my new companion, and found the country indifferently cultivated. The mountains alſo, which began to ſurround me more cloſely, formed ſeveral vallies, which at any other ſeaſon had appeared pleaſant. At preſent the extraordinary heat had the effects of froſt, and robbed the trees, which ſprung from the crevices of the rocks, of their leaves. The rocks, deprived of the ſcreen which ſheltered them from the ſun, were affected by his fiery rays, particularly in his deſcent, and reflected them on the vallies with ſuch redoubled force, as rendered the air pent up in them almoſt ſuffocating. At this time alſo, I was ſeized with a mountain fever, which held me the reſt of the journey. This ſhed a browner horror on the woods, and aggravated the heat by occaſioning an inſatiable thirſt. The thermometer was, at three in the afternoon, at 112 in my tent.

I halted this day at Burmule, where is a ſomething called a fort. It might, with more propriety, be called a fenced village, being only ſome thatched houſes ſurrounded with a fence made of dry bamboos wove together, ten feet high. The fence is faſtened to rough hewn timbers, irregularly ſtuck in the ground, like piles. The timbers in thoſe parts near the entrance of the village are only twelve inches diſtant from each other, but in other parts three or four feet; ſo that when the bamboo fence was deſtroyed by fire, or otherwiſe, two men might enter abreaſt. The gateway is in the form of a gallows, to the horizontal timber of which is tied the gate, made alſo of bamboos, wove together in the manner of a cow-crib. At a diſtance equal to the height of the gate is another gallows, by which it is drawn up. This is certainly the moſt ſimple, and conſequently the original of all portculliſes.

May 19.—I left Burmule early, and entered the grand paſs, which is the key of Oriſſa. The whole way from this place to Khuſſumgur, may, with ſtrict propriety, be called a paſs, ſince it is every where defenſible; but that part called Burmule Gautee is more particularly ſtrong. The entrance is 600 yards from the fort of Burmule, and it continues near a mile. It is formed by two very lofty mountains, almoſt perpendicular, 200 yards from each other, between which the road lies.—Through this valley runs a deep rivulet with a very muddy bottom. The ſtream being at firſt cloſe under the ſouthern mountain, I was forced to diſmount my horſe and climb the crags a little way, ſince the conſequence of a falſe ſtep either of man or horſe, would probably be either a broken neck, or ſuffocation in the mud of the rivulet. Beyond this the river glides acroſs the valley from the foot of the northern mountain, and forms a beautiful plain 500 yards long and 200 wide; at the end of which the ſtream is again cloſe under the ſouthern mountain, where the path is better than the former, being ten yards wide, but ſpread with craggy rocks. This valley is therefore a very ſtrong paſs; and if the ſtraits of Thermopylæ were as ſtrong, we muſt acquit Leonidas and 300 Spartans of temerity.

From hence I aſcended from rock to rock for ten miles. Whether the road

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road, or rather path, was originally formed by the course of the water from the top of the mountain, or whether, as a road the labour of man, it has since become a channel for the water, I cannot determine; the regularity of its direction seems to countenance the latter opinion, but the roughness of the way strongly indicates the former; for man would surely never leave a piece of work so imperfect in all its parts as this is, considered as a road; while, considered as a water-course, it is a perfect work of nature. This path is quite impassable for wheel carriages, nor could it be made passable but at a very great expence. The trees which grow on the rocks are mango, saul, and such other sorts as are common in the plain country; but their roots being limited to a narrow space of soil, furnish a very slender supply of nutritive juices, so that the trees are stinted in their growth, and never rise to the sizes of the same kinds of trees planted on the plains: the face of the country, therefore, resembles a forest of three or four years growth. The mangoes may be called crab-mangoes, being small, sour, and full of strings. If any body of men refuse to make the mountaineers a present, they fell the largest trees, and lay them across the road, so as to obstruct the passage of horses; and this obliges the travellers to buy their assistance for removing them; so that they pay at last. Whether, however, you pay them or not, they will plunder any part of your baggage that straggles, if they can master it. I was protected from any thing of this kind, by having the commandant of Bailparra in my company; and every hour we travelled together, he became more conversable as we became better acquainted.

As nothing refreshes the people of this country so much as a whiff of tobacco, which fire is necessary to the preparation of, the mountaineers whenever they see a withered tree, put a little fire to the stem of it; which burning slowly near a month, affords travellers a supply. This accounts for a circumstance Mr. Marriott mentioned. He said, that on the Neelgur hills were many volcanoes, and that from the top of the factory at Ballasore he saw, during the months of April, May, and June, pillars of smoke issuing from them. These volcanoes I judge to be nothing more than burning trees, as well such set on fire by the mountaineers for the above purpose, as such as take fire of themselves; for, during those months, the sap being down in some measure, and the wood being more inflammable, if one tree is by the wind rubbed against another, the friction will cause it to take fire. From observing this, mankind were probably taught to kindle a fire, by rubbing two pieces of dry wood against each other; a mode in practice from Kamschatka to the Cape of Good Hope.

I reached the summit of the mountain at two o'clock, after a very fatiguing march; and halted on the banks of a large pool of water, where once stood the village of Puddumtolah. At night there was an alarm of a tyger, and the next morning we missed a great dog; I therefore suspect it was an hyæna, that beast being particularly fond of dog's flesh.

May 20.—I was too much fatigued in the evening to look much about me; but flattering myself that I was at the summit of the highest mountains, I pleased myself with the hopes of commanding by the break of day all the flat country; to trace the road I had come; and to count over the various precipices I had passed: but, getting up a tree, the mountains to the south still rose so considerably above me, that they seemed to touch the skies; while the

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ground was so overgrown with trees, I could not see above half a mile from me, save when one of those mountains intervened. I expected, in the interval between the nearest of these and that I was upon, to find a promontory commanding a beautiful prospect; but after scrambling among the bushes a mile, I found only a deep chasm, which probably afforded a grand cascade in the rainy season, but now resembled the descent of Avernus.

I then commenced my descent, which I found more difficult than the road up, though not quite so rugged. But first I dismissed my conductor, with a present of a piece of scarlet broad cloth, a fusee, and a pair of spectacles, with which he was highly pleased, and vowed an eternal friendship for me. I now entered the province of Boad. The descent was, by my calculation, nine miles and a half, which took me up the major part of the day. I halted in the evening at Khussumgur, a small village in a dreary valley, overgrown with underwood. The descent did not appear by the measurement as great as the ascent had been; so that the ground I was now upon must be higher than that on the other side the straits.

The face of this whole country is mountainous, interspersed with vallies from four to sixteen miles in circumference, in each of which are from 300 to 700 acres of rice grounds, surrounding a village:—whenever, therefore, you come to any tilled land, you may depend on finding a village near. The villages are all fenced with bamboo and rough hewn timbers, as I have already described Bermule, to protect the inhabitants and their cattle from wild beasts. Here I was first struck with the sight of women ploughing, while their female children drove the oxen; but this is the practice through the whole mountainous country, while the men, strolling through the forests, armed with a spear and hatchet, plunder every thing they can master. This abuse of the fair sex is characteristic of a barbarous people. They grow no grain or pulse, but such as ripen in the rainy season. Such as ripen in the other months are entirely neglected, because the inhabitants expect the Mahrattas to overrun the country in those months.

May 21.—The policy of the Mahrattas in the government of this country appears very strange to a son of liberty, taught that government was instituted for the protection of every individual, and that the meanest who feels himself oppressed, has a right to complain, and ought to be redressed, if such redress is not inconsistent with the common weal; while the people of this country, endowed by nature with a stoical indifference which blunts all sensibility, and finding in their own hearts a dastardly mean perfidy, which bars all confidence in their neighbours, and forbids an alliance with them who might protect them, submit to every thing the individual cannot resist, who, in the midst of his misery, impiously pronounces the visitation the will of God.

When Ragoojee entered Orissa, at the instigation of Meer Hubbeeb, who had fled disgusted from Alliverdi Khan's service in 1738, he found these parts divided into small zemindaries, dependent on the rajah of Pooree, at whose capital is the famous temple of Jaggernaut, near the Chilka lake. This prince was regarded by his subjects in a religious light also, and appeared formidable to the Mahrattas, who, apprehensive lest he might seize a favourable opportunity to cut off the communication between Nagpoor and Cuttac, resolved to reduce his power

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power by dividing it. He made the petty zemindars independent of him, and formed the chucklas of Dinkanol, Bonkey, Nerſingpoor, Tigorea, Tolchair, Chundea Parra, Diſpulla, Hindole, Ungool, and Boad. On his death, a diſpute aroſe among his ſons reſpecting the ſucceſſion; and although Jannoojei ſecured Berar, Oriſſa, and all the mountainous zemindaries between thoſe two kingdoms, yet a jealouſy ariſing between him and Maddoo Row, the chief candidate for the office of peſhwa, which ſoon brought on an open rupture, he was too much employed to ſubdue the mountainous princes thoroughly, but was content to exact a tribute from them. This tribute is ſo ill paid, he is obliged to march his troops after the rains, and to extort what he can; for in conſequence of their default, he demands, moreover, the charges of the expedition againſt them. If this, like all other eaſtern armies, lives at diſcretion, the prince is only to be blamed for bringing ſuch vengeance on his people. But what wretches are they, not to depoſe ſuch a peſt to government!

May 21.—I left Khuſſumgur early, and, having travelled ten miles, came again to the banks of Maha Nuddee, which was deeper, narrower, and more rocky than where I left it. The mountains were not ſo high, and the vallies more extenſive than before. I made a long march, and halted at Ramgur, a conſiderable village on the banks of the river.

May 22.—I found my road to-day much more open. I paſſed from one valley to another by intervals in the hills, which ceaſed to be mountains. The villages were alſo planted more cloſely; for in the diſtance of fifteen miles which I travelled to-day, I paſſed three. The merchants who travel in theſe parts, apply to the rajah of the country they are paſſing through, and, making him a preſent, get a guard, who convey them into the territories of the next rajah. This certainly is more for the intereſt of the rajahs, than to plunder them, ſince, in ſuch caſe, the mountaineers would run away with the greateſt part of the booty, while the Mahrattas, getting intelligence of ſuch a prize, would immediately ſend a force to claim it, and oblige the government to refund the amount of the plunder, aggravated by fame to five times its real value.

I halted this day at Boad, the reſidence of the rajah, a large fenced village. I here was overtaken by letters from Bowanee Pundit, of Cuttac, acquainting me with the fate of his maſter and Goree Punt, a Mahratta of ſome conſequence, on his way from Nagpoor, who related to me all the circumſtances. The Mahrattas are divided into two parties, the brahmans, or religious order, and the khatory, or fighting men. The rajahs have been for many generations of the firſt order, until, about thirty-five years ago, during a weak minority, the power fell into the hands of the peſhwa, or miniſter, a khatory, whoſe grandſon, Maddoo Row, now holds it, and keeps his monarch a priſoner near Poonah. His rival is Jannoojei, the ſovereign of Berar and Oriſſa, who is a Brahman, a deſcendant of the old princes, who claims the ſovereignty, ſhould the preſent line fail. During the laſt year, Jannoojei had engaged himſelf in the pay of Nizam Allee, to attack the peſhwa; but at the concluſion of an unſucceſsful campaign, in June laſt, his troops being conſiderably in arrears, were left in charge of the Nizam's baggage, while his ally croſſed the Kriſtna, at that time ſwelled by the rains. This was too tempting

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tempting an opportunity for a Mahratta to miſs. He plundered the baggage, paid his troops with the plunder, and made Nizam Allee his inveterate enemy, who inſtantly clapped up a peace with Maddoo Row.

Jannoojei, thus left to the mercy of his rival, was attacked at the opening of the preſent campaign in November. He was defeated in a general engagement; his capital, Nagpoor, was taken and burnt in February, and he was glad to accept of ſuch terms of peace as Maddoo Row would grant him. Bowanee Pundit, therefore, wrote me, his maſter muſt give up all thoughts of an alliance with the Engliſh at preſent, and Goree Punt ſeemed of the ſame opinion. This reverſe of the fortune of Jannoojei obliged me to make a total alteration in my plan of operations, to give up all thoughts of a journey to Nagpoor, and to confine my ideas for the preſent to the diamond buſineſs.

May 23.—But this was not the deliberation of one day. I halted two here, as well to get information from Goree Punt, as to write my letters to Bowanee Pundit and Lord Clive. I found Goree Punt an active intelligent fellow, who, with the true ſpirit of a Mahratta, had adviſed his maſter not to give up the point of working the ruin of Maddoo Row, but to fall on other means, and to endeavour, as he expreſſes himſelf, to find a paſſage round a mountain, which was inacceſſible. During the halt, the rajah of Boad ſent me a preſent of proviſions, according to the cuſtom of the country; and at the ſame time gave me notice, that he propoſed doing himſelf the honour of paying me a viſit, but inſiſted I ſhould return it. I anſwered, that, as it was impoſſible, in my weak condition, to return the compliment, I muſt beg him to defer the intended favour till I came back. He ſent another perſon, privately, to examine if I was really ill, leſt his honour ſhould be hurt; and being ſatisfied on that head, came to ſee me. His train conſiſted of about three hundred men, ſome armed with bows and arrows, ſome with ſwords and ſhields, about twenty with matchlock pieces, but the greater number with ſpears and hatchets. I received him as he alighted from his palankeen. His dreſs was a cotton cloth about his loins, and another thrown over his ſhoulders; a large turban; two pearls and an emerald ſtrung on a gold wire ſuſpended to each ear; and ſome charms about his neck, incloſed in gold caſes, like the baubles of a lady's watch. Our converſation was ſhort, conſiſting of obſervations on the conſequences of the preſent drought with reſpect to the cultivation of the country, curſes on his tyrants the Mahrattas, and profeſſions of regard for each other. At going away I made him a preſent of a pair of piſtols.

May 25.—I here ſtruck out of the high road to Nagpoor, and, croſſing the river Maha Nuddee, ſaw it no more till I reached Sumbhulpoor. The dominions of the rajah of Boad continued fourteen miles, though the country was ſo mountainous, and overgrown with trees, it was ſcarce worth owning. This being a by-road, though with ſtrict propriety it could not be called any road at all, was almoſt impaſſable even for a palankeen. The firſt ten miles was among mountains, not ſo lofty as thoſe I had already paſſed, but overgrown with buſhes, and the ſame kind of dwarf-trees as before. As I underſtood there was a better road, I was diſguſted at my guide the ambaſſador, and I had reaſon ſoon to think he was treacherous.

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I halted this night in a vile foreſt, abounding with wolves and bears, and, the next morning, paſſed from the diſtrict of Boad into the Landacole country, in which the firſt village I came to was Koocheemool, from whence I found the villages more thick, till I reached Coogul, beyond which the road was among the mountains again.

May 27.—I halted here this night, and was alarmed towards morning by two large bears and their cubs, who attempted to come into my tent; but the ſentry firing at them, they made off. Theſe beaſts, when irritated by the natives, frequently carry them away, and with their file-like tongues have licked off their fleſh, and damaged the griſles of their joints, and then leave them in the foreſts, a helpleſs prey for the next wild beaſt that comes. I once ſaw a poor fellow begging in that condition, the joints of his arms having loſt all their power; ſo that he was a miſerable cripple. He told me, that attempting to drive a bear out of his garden, the beaſt turned upon him, carried him away, and treated him in that manner, but that ſome of his family ſeeking him, found him the next day in the wood.

May 28.—In the morning my ſervants told me the kelladar of the village was reſolved not to let me paſs unleſs I made him a preſent, and that Surdar Khan, the ambaſſador, who had ſupped with him the preceding night, had inſtigated him to this attempt at violence; for which purpoſe he had collected about one hundred men, armed with bows and arrows. Deſpiſing ſo mean a force, and reflecting that to ſubmit to an indignity of that kind, would make my character at Sumbhulpoor leſs reſpectable, I marched the ſepoys and drew them up in front of the village; telling the kelladar, I would pay him for any miſchief my people did, but that, if he oppoſed my march, I would burn every houſe to the ground. This menace had the deſired effect; he let me paſs without the leaſt moleſtation. Nine miles from hence I entered the province of Sumbhulpoor, which I found as mountainous and woody as the worſt country I had hitherto paſſed. I halted this night at Joojoomſoora, where I halted the 29th, next day, and ſent the ambaſſador before to the capital, to ſignify my arrival to the rajah. He ſent a perſon back to acquaint me that the rajah was dead, but that his ſon, Obbi Sing, who had ſucceeded him, would be very glad to ſee me. He deſired me to march the next day to Moniſur, within five miles of Sumbhulpoor, whither the rajah would ſend his brother to meet me.

May 30.—I did ſo, and encamped, as he requeſted, in a very pleaſant grove, for the day was intenſely hot, which was the ſignal for the change of the monſoon. In the morning, about nine, there came on a ſevere ſtorm of thunder and rain. I had a large ſpare tent, in which the baggage was put. The ſepoys and ſervants retiring thither for ſhelter, and faſtening it down as cloſe as poſſible, the lightning ſtruck the iron pin at the top of the tent pole, and the end of the bayonet of the ſentry, whom it inſtantly killed. It was conducted by the pole to the ſpare ammunition at the foot of it, which, by its exploſion, ſtruck every man ſenſeleſs who was on his legs, but had little effect on thoſe who were lying down. The lining of the tent being ſerge, the baggage took fire, and burnt all ſuch as were rendered ſenſeleſs by the rarefaction of the air. The pain rouſed ſuch as were not quite dead, who ran into the tent where I was lying very ill, in the dark, for the ſtorm had extinguiſhed all the candles. It was

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ith difficulty I got a light; but ien it came, never were my eyes uck with so terrible a scene! nceive thirty poor wretches, on ose black skins the livid marks the fire were most visible, stand- stark-naked round my bed, im- ring, with the most horrid eams, something to relieve their olerable pains, from a fellow- ature exhausted by a long fit of ess. Excess of agony had ba- hed respect; two or three of them l even thrown themselves upon bed. I rose; the tent was this time over shoes in water. ad their burnings anointed with . I sat myself on my elbow ir, and spent the most terrible ht of my life among the shrieks l groans of those miserable men, whom nine expired before morn- , and seven the next day.

Grant, O my God! that in every re distress I may be reduced to, ay, by a reflection of what I then ered, be prevented from falling the black abyss of despair.

My situation was at this time y critical. I was entering a e so remarkable for perfidy, that tain Mallock durst not stay nty-four hours in it; with a y reduced extremely low by a ous fever, and no medical as- nce at hand. The sepoys and r servants on whom I depended rotection against secret treach- but which, in their best state, insufficient to guard against violence, instead of marching ood spirits, were obliged to be ed on a hurdle on the heads ro men; for almost all my peo- were burnt, several of whom after I entered the town. These nstances presented to me in all terrors; but the state I found in at Sumbhulpoor prevented of the bad effects.

ay 31.—Jite Sing, one of the rajah's natural brothers, came to congratulate me on my arrival in the Sumbhulpoor territories. He was shocked at the sight of my maimed people, and supplied me with labourers, who placed their bedding on hurdles, and carried them into the town like dead bodies. My entrance appeared rather like a funeral, than the conclusion of a successful march. The distance was only five miles to the place the rajah had pitched on for me to reside in; it was an outwork which had been added to the town in the manner of a ravelin. It formed an irregular triangle, two hundred yards in circumference, defended on two sides by a deep ditch and high mud wall, and covered towards the town by a mud wall ten feet high. The part allotted for me was surrounded also by a mud wall, and contained two sheds, used before as stables, which I gave up to the sick, pitching my tents for myself and those in health, until I could build a thatched house.

I found the town in great confusion, on account of the state of the government, ever since the death of the late rajah. To explain this more fully, I shall give the history of the the last three years.

In the year 1763, Ajeet Sing was rajah, and Deccan Roy, dewan. This man, taking advantage of his master's indolence, acquired such an ascendancy, that he directed every thing according to his own will and pleasure. At length the rajah's wife roused him, by representing the extreme dependence of his situation. The rajah privately raised a party; for the dewan had obtained grants of so many villages, that his master durst not attack him openly. Assassination best suited the spirit of the government. The cowardice of the rajah, and the genius of the people, who were sensible, that in the midst

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of the disturbances consequent to such an act of treachery, the plunder of the dead, and of many houses, would fall to their share, came readily into the plan; and Ajeet Sing, on the 16th of June, ordered the public hall to be cleared of every body except Deccan Roy, on pretence that the Ranny would pass through it in her way to a temple, whither she was to pay her devotions, and would then speak to him. The dewan, not suspecting any violence, sat waiting for her, when eight or ten ruffians, who had been concealed for the purpose, rushed out and cut him to pieces. This was the signal for plundering his house, which the populace instantly did; and when the rajah sent a party to secure his share of the booty, they found nothing left. Peelo Roy was the principal actor in this tragedy; but Kascree, who had charge of the rajah's household, jealous lest he should become his master, by being appointed dewan, persuaded Ajeet Sing to keep that post vacant, sensible that when the rajah's indolent fit should come on, the administration of affairs would fall into his hands; and he judged right: for no sooner did Morpheus shed his poppies on his master's head, than Kascree became as powerful as ever Deccan Roy had been. But Peelo Roy, sensible that Kascree had stood between him and the desired post, did not suffer him to enjoy his master's favour long. He employed a villain, who cleft his skull as he was passing through the gateway of the rajah's palace.

Peelo Roy having thus removed the chief obstacle, was appointed dewan, and Ajeet Sing sunk into his usual insignificance.

In the year 1764, Akber, a relation of Kascree, finding Peelo Roy's advance was incompatible with his safety, represented to Ajeet Sing, how shameful it was, that he who had shaken off the fetters of so wise a man as Deccan Roy, should submit to be ruled by such a wretch as Peelo Roy. This representation had such an effect, that the rajah gave Akber a private order to murder him; however, the dewan being on his guard, no opportunity offered, until 27th August, a great holiday, when all the principal people of the town being assembled in the public hall with the rajah, at the dances exhibited on the occasion, and Peelo Roy retiring, Akber dispatched two or three ruffians after him, who murdered him as he was pressing through the crowd. In an instant the hall was cleared, every one running with the greatest alacrity to plunder his house.

Akber succeeded to all the influence of his predecessor, and continued until the death of his master. Ajeet Sing died the beginning of May 1766, not without strong suspicion of poison. It appeared he had resolved to destroy Akber, and, on his death-bed, recommended the destruction of him to his son, Obbi Sing. His son, therefore, as soon as the funeral of the father was over, refused to return him the seal, but gave it to Kissun Bur Mullic. Akber, being commander of the troops in the capital, retired to his own house, which was in the midst of the town, where he fortified himself. In this state was the country when I arrived.

On the 2d June I paid the rajah a visit, being introduced by Jeit Sing. Kissun Bur Mullic officiated as his minister. He told me his master would enter on business with me immediately. He complained much of the insolence of Akber, in defying his master in his capital; and gave a hint, that he expected my assistance. I heard all, but said little. The rajah, Obbi Sing, was fifteen

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ſixteen years of age, looked very ſtupid; his eldeſt natural brother, who had the command of the troops, was naughty and impetuous; his other brother, Jite Sing, of a ſweet, open diſpoſition.

The rajah returned my viſit, but ſcarce ſpoke two words, though he ſeemed pleaſed with the preſents I gave him. They conſiſted of two pieces of velvet, four of broad cloth, a fuſee, a brace of piſtols, a ſpying glaſs, and ſome other trifles. The next night Kiſſun Bur Mullic came, and repreſented to me, that the principal objection to entering on buſineſs, was the diſtracted ſtate of the town, on account of the rebellion of Akber; and hinted a wiſh that I would aſſiſt him in ſeizing him. I excuſed myſelf from giving my advice, as not being maſter of the ſubject; and my aſſiſtance, by ſhewing the terrible condition of the ſmall force I brought with me.

The town became daily more confuſed by mobs and riots, inſomuch that I forbade any of my ſervants to go out of my quarters in the night; but my poor cook, diſobeying that order, was next morning found murdered in the ſtreet.

Matters came to a criſis the 17th of June, at night, when Akber, having collected his people, marched from his own houſe to the palace, ſecured the perſon of the rajah, and murdered every one who offered to oppoſe him. A maſſacre followed in the town, where three hundred of the dependents of Kiſſun Bur Mullic were put to death. I doubled my guards, and kept all my people together. There were in the rajah's ſervice, two Germans, and two Frenchmen, who were employed in taking care of his guns; the two former were killed in the palace; the two latter, making their eſcape to me, were protected.

My ſteward having ſtraggled in the morning, was ſeized by Akber's people, and carried before him, who, without ceremony, ordered him to be put to death. The news flew to me. I ſent a man, acquainting Akber that I had as yet taken no part in the diſputes; but that if he did not inſtantly releaſe my ſervant, I would march my ſepoys, and join the rajah's brothers, who were then defending themſelves in their houſes. This threat had the deſired effect; the ſteward was ſent to me, ſo frightened, that he was not in his ſenſes.

Akber was appointed dewan, and confined Kiſſun Bur Mullic in a dungeon, the entrance to which was by a trap door, whereon Akber always ſlept.

In a country thus torn by diſſentions, I had little proſpect of doing any buſineſs; but the rains being ſet in, I could not return by land, nor could I get boats to tranſport me by water: ſo that I was obliged to ſit down as contented as I could.

The Sumbhulpoor province is ſo called from its capital; but the rajah takes the title of Rajah of eighteen forts. Such titles are common among the Hindûs; and I doubt, if the capital of the Mahrattas, which we call Sattarah-gur, or the ſtar-fort, is not Sattarah-gur, or the ſeventeen forts; for Sattarah is not a ſtar in any of the Hindû languages. There are two rajahs of thirty-ſix forts, one in the Allahabad province, the other to the northward of Lucknow.

Sumbhulpoor was founded by Bulram Dakee, of whom they relate the following hiſtory. About two centuries are paſt, ſince a company of Hindûs ſet out from the banks of the river Sommer, in the province of Azmir, on a pilgrimage to the temple of Jaggernaut. On

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their return the whole party was murdered, except one woman, who made her eſcape to Patna, a place thirty coſs ſouth from hence, at that time the capital of this part of the country. She ſupported herſelf with begging until her ſon grew up, who ſhewed ſuch a happy genius for learning, and ſuch dexterity at his exerciſes, that the rajah adopted him. When he ſucceeded, he built this place, and made it his reſidence, calling it Sumbhulpoor, from the country of his father. Had his family come from the Sommer, he would have called it Sommerpoor; whereas, I ſhould think, he came from Sumbhul, a large city in the Rohilla country.

The province extends from lat. 20° 20′ to 22° 15′ north, and from long. 83° 20′ to 84° 50′. It is bounded to the weſt by the countries of Boora Shumbur, and Rottunpoor; to the eaſt by Bimbera, Lundacole, and Boad; to the ſouth by Patna, and Coondon; to the north by Gungpoor, and Soorgooja. Rottunpoor is ſubject to Bimboojee, the eldeſt ſon of the late Roogojee, who tamely ſuffered his younger brother, Jannoojei, to ſucceed to the major part of his father's extenſive territories. In the year 1760, when Mr. Law was made priſoner, a party of French, conſiſting of 120, endeavoured to retreat from Bahar, through this country, to the Deccan. They halted here, and Bimboojee entertained them for a few days; but at the end of that time, put them all to death treacherouſly. Patna, which means, in the old Hindû language, what we call caravanſerai, or place of reception for travellers, is now ſo changed from its original name, that the people will not ſuffer a ſtranger to enter the country; and when the Mahrattas have attempted to do ſo, they have always been murdered. The reſt of the countries, mentioned above, are ſmall and inſignificant.

The air of Sumbhulpoor is very unwholeſome, owing to the great viciſſitudes of heat and cold; for the vallies, the only inhabited parts, are impenetrable to the breezes, which, during the hot ſeaſon, render the torrid zone tolerable, while, if a ſhower comes, ſuch a piercing wind comes with it from the mountains, that I have, within twenty-four hours, felt the weather hotter and colder than I ever felt it in Bengal within twelve months. This makes the inhabitants ſubject to rheumatiſms, and this occaſioned every perſon I carried with me to be affected with violent fevers.

The ſoil in the vallies is a rich loam, in which grain or pulſe thrive well. It is, perhaps, worſe adapted for rice than for any other crop that thrives beſt in a ſtrong clay, which holds the water a long time; whereas, in a light ſoil, the water ſoon failing, the corn ripens before the ear is full, and light grain only is produced. Yet rice is the principal grain cultivated, becauſe the harveſt of it is over before January, when the Mahrattas over-run the country.

The mountains abound with gold and diamonds; but the natives are deterred from working the mines by their indolence and fear of the Mahrattas, to whom their riches would only point them out as a more deſirable prey. They are, therefore, content to waſh the ſands of the rills which deſcend from them: nor is the quantity of gold they procure thereby deſpicable. The mountains are compoſed of the native rock, which forms the baſis, and of the bark (if I may ſo call it) which covers them.

The ordinary revenues of the country are paid in kind, and the regulation

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regulation of the collections is simple. Each village being rated at a certain number of measures of paddy, or rice, in the chaff, the ground is divided among the inhabitants in this manner. Every man, as soon as he is of proper age, is enrolled as a soldier, and allowed half a measure (about 6 pounds) of rice per day for his subsistence, and three rupees per annum for cloathing. As much arable land is then made over to him, as is supposed to produce 242½ measures. He is to deliver to the rajah, or his order, 60½ measures, and the remainder is for his own use. The land is given in charge to his wife, who feeds him, and provides for paying the rent; if the ground produces more than it is rated at, it is her profit; if less, her loss. The reserved rent of three or four villages, being one fourth the produce of the land, is applied to the use of the rajah's household. The reserved rent of the rest is given to his relations, or principal servants, who by these means have all the inhabitants dependent on them.

The extraordinary revenues consist of duties on merchants and others passing through the country, and of fines. The former are not settled, but depend on the conscience of the rajah; and indeed, within three years, since his people robbed and murdered a considerable Nagpoor merchant near this place, none have passed this way. The latter, also, are entirely arbitrary; nor is it necessary to find a man guilty of any crime in order to fine him, in a country where money cannot be acquired but by means prejudicial to society.

The government of Sumbhulpoor is strictly feudal, the fiefs of which being originally official, are, by the weakness of the sovereign, become hereditary; and indeed the feudal governments tended rather to an aristocracy than to any other form, since it was natural for a man possessing an official fief, to wish to make it hereditary, and for the possessor of an hereditary fief to be jealous of his sovereign, who was alone able to deprive him.

The principle of a feudal government is self-preservation, which is ever accompanied by a watchful suspicion. It is the interest of the sovereign to foment dissentions among the lords. The lords are attended by large bodies of guards, which they call state; these frequently produce quarrels between their masters, the which if the sovereign can aggravate so as to bring them to blows with each other, he has only to take the part of him who has best interest among his compeers, and resume the fief of the other; so that during a long reign the sovereign becomes opulent and powerful. On the other hand, during a minority, the estates which devolved to the crown being thrown away on favourites, or, what is worse, on uncles and brothers, a superior power is raised, like the cursed house of Lancaster, which involved England in troubles during upwards of two centuries. How miserable is that people, whose sovereign, instead of preserving the peace, is interested in the breaking it! It appears from the history I have given, that all the evils attending the feudal system were centered in this government; for such is the danger of degrading a man from an office, that it is seldom effected without murdering him; for, if he can fly to his fief, he is able there to raise an opposition dangerous to the sovereign. The former dewans were possessed of villages at a distance from the capital, and were of course liable to surprise; but Akber the present dewan's power lay in the capital itself, so that he was mayor of

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the palace, and made the rajah priſoner at laſt.

How much more pleaſing is it to reflect on the manners of a people in a ſtate of improvement, than in a ſtate of degeneracy! How diſagreeable then is the reflection on this people, deep in degeneracy! Under the old Hindû government, the inhabitants of the hills were more warlike, and of courſe claimed a ſuperiority over the lowland people; though fond of migrations, they were not ſo populous. The conquerors of the race of Timur demanded of them a trifling tribute, and a ſtrict attention to paſſports, and all other orders of government. They were therefore contented with what the country produced; and in a ſoil ſo fertile, ſupported with little labour, became inactive. When they fell under the yoke of the Mahrattas, the oppreſſion of that vile government broke their ſpirits, and their cuſtom of inactivity became a total averſion to labour. They threw the cultivation of the lands, and all other works of fatigue, on the ſex deſigned by nature for ſofter toils. The ſex, loving that gentle tenderneſs for which the women of England are famed, loſt all the power of pleaſing; while the men, becoming worſe than brutes, addicted themſelves to the moſt ſhocking of all vices. Even on this they have refined. Public dancing boys are as much encouraged as the poverty of the place will admit, and behave with as much inſolence as whores of faſhion in the polite aſſemblies of London. They often inſult the married women, who do not fail to exerciſe the female weapon on them with great volubility, and ſometimes proceed to blows, though then they come off with the worſt, becauſe the huſbands always take the part of their minions. This ſerves, however, as a ſpur to the induſtry of the women, by which they get the command of the purſe, and are enabled to buy the favours of their huſbands or of other men.

I have been more than once requeſted to join in effecting the deſtruction of the dewan. Had the women deſired my aſſiſtance to make a female dewan, I had granted it, ſince they form evidently the ſuperior ſex. So indelicate are the men with reſpect to the women, that I have been introduced, and obliged to ſhew reſpect to a man of conſequence in the morning, whoſe wife has in the afternoon brought a load of wood of her own cutting, as much as ſhe could ſtagger under, and ſold it me for a penny.

The natives in general are very abſtemious, eating only once in twenty-four hours, and that in the evening. Their meal is then two pounds of rice; and they keep the water in which it has been boiled for drinking the next day; raw water being apt to give them a flux. The men are low in ſtature, but well made, lazy, treacherous, and cruel. But to theſe ill qualities of the tyger, the Almighty has alſo, in his mercy, added the cowardice of that animal; for, had they an inſenſibility of danger, equal to their inclination for miſchief, the reſt of mankind muſt unite to hunt them down. They profeſs themſelves Hindûs, but practiſe only that part of the religion which conſiſts of external ceremonies.

They, as well as every other nation of the world, have muſic. The inſtruments conſiſt of drums and trumpets. The drums are larger at one end than at the other, and tied round their necks, ſo as to hang horizontally at their waiſts. The only beat they have is two gentle taps with the right hand on the ſmall end, and one hard ſtroke on the large end with the left hand. This is anſwered

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wered in the ſtep of their dance by wo ſhakes of the toe, and a briſk pring of the heel; ſo that the bells which are faſtened to their heels, ingle in uniſon with the hard ſtroke of the drum. They have alſo an nſtrument compoſed of a cane bent n a ſemicircle, both ends of which go through holes made in a ſmall niece of plank. At each end of the ane is a flat piece of wood; they old the plank in one hand, and lrawing the cane backwards and forwards with the other, the flat pieces of wood ſound againſt the plank omething like a cherry-clack, but nore like a pair of ſheers cutting a edge. In ſhort, the rajah's band always put me in mind of a number of children coming from a country fair. The pathics are the only dancers; but the dewan, underſtanding I would not admit them into my houſe, ſent twenty miles for two dancing girls to amuſe me. They ſing at the ſame time as they dance; but the ſongs are not at all in concert with the inſtrumental muſic. Their ſongs are prayers for the perſons they are dancing before. Their poetry conſiſts of ſongs, relating to the achievements of Viſhnû in his ſeveral incarnations. Painting is not practiſed among them. In their temples you find many pieces of ſculpture; but as the ſubjects are monſters, there is no rule to judge of the execution. That art alſo is now loſt among them. They have books in which eclipſes are calculated for 2800 years to come, at which period they ſay Viſhnû will return, and make all the inhabitants of the world of the ſame religion.

The common diſeaſe of the country is a violent fever, the firſt ſymptom of which is being light-headed. The doctor firſt enjoins the patient to vow a ſacrifice to Sumbhute, the deity of the place, to expiate her wrath. He then proceeds to exerciſe the patient gently if his fever be mild, but with greater violence if he be light-headed. They then employ five or ſix men to hold the patient in a fitting poſture, while the doctor jabbers over a form of words, blowing in his face at each period. This provokes him very much: he ſwears, abuſes, and curſes horridly; this is all placed to the account of the devil in him. They aggravate his rage by holding a burning horſe's hoof, ſo that all the ſmoke goes up his noſtrils. He grows outrageous, till, quite exhauſted by the ſtruggles he makes to extricate himſelf from thoſe that hold him, he falls down almoſt inſenſible; and a profuſe perſpiration ſucceeding, they cover him up cloſe to encourage it, which carries off the fever. He ſleeps uſually twelve hours, and awakes ſo much emaciated as is ſurpriſing. Thus he is cured of his madneſs, by means which drive a ſane man out of his ſenſes. If the patient is ſo much exhauſted that he cannot ſtruggle, the doctor pronounces the devil to be too much for him.

I was ſurpriſed to find among theſe people a trace of mechanics which ſeems to ſhow they have once known them. They uſe ſtilliards inſtead of ſcales. In every other reſpect we may ſay, that if a ſtate of ignorance is a ſtate of nature, the inhabitants of this country are perfect naturals, ſince they are as naked with reſpect to rational improvements as when they were born.

As ſoon as Akber had eſtabliſhed himſelf firmly in the Dewanee, I entered into a converſation with him in reſpect to the diamond trade; and here a great difficulty occurred; for Surdar Khan, who had returned with me, had reported to the dewan, that he had delivered the diamond

to

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to Lord Clive, who had ſent me to ſettle the price, and pay for it.

I had not brought more money with me than was neceſſary to pay my expences, but had eſtabliſhed a credit at Cuttac, whither I could ſend whenever it was neceſſary. This was a prudent precaution; for if I had had the money with me, Akber had undoubtedly plundered me, and paid himſelf. I anſwered, that the diamond had been valued by the vakeel at 3500 rupees, which ſum I was ready to pay. He inſiſted on 6000 rupees, and went away diſguſted.

I was a good deal ſurpriſed the next day to find, that a proclamation was iſſued, that no perſon ſhould ſupply me or my people with any proviſions, nor have any converſation with us. This was a whimſical order, to be ſure: however I put as good a face on it as I could, and acquainted the dewan by meſſage, that my ſepoys would bear any thing but ſtarving; that if his ſubjects refuſed to take their money for proviſions, I could not prevent their taking them by force. This matter was decided, like moſt other critical ſituations, by a circumſtance which had nothing to do with it. Akber wanting a ſum of money for other purpoſes, withdrew the prohibition, and ſent me a few more diamonds, the price of which we ſettled, and for which I paid him, having ſent for the money from Cuttac.

The above bears the appearance of a gaſconade: but I was ſenſible Akber was by no means firmly eſtabliſhed; for the rajah's two brothers maintained themſelves in their houſes, nor durſt the dewan enter the quarter of the town they inhabited; whereas civil meſſages paſſed between them and me. Beſides, my ſepoys being recovered, and trained, formed a reſpectable body on the parade.

Being now reconciled to government, I requeſted permiſſion to go to the places where the diamonds were found, but the miniſter made many ſcruples. He firſt ſaid, that the river was ſo full there was nothing to be ſeen; next, that the country was unſettled, the manners of the inhabitants of thoſe parts ſo rude in their diſpoſition, ſo miſchievous, they were not to be truſted. I perſiſted; and after various evaſions, catching him at length in a good humour, obtained his conſent.

He gave me his ſon-in-law as a guide, and a party of archers as a guard; for I was not willing to carry the ſepoys, leſt the novelty of their appearance ſhould cauſe an alarm. I ſet out with Mr. Raby, and a few ſervants, the 16th July. We travelled that day ten miles on the banks of the Maha Nuddee river, in which I frequently ſaw rocks peeping above the water, and halted at night at the foot of the hills. The next morning, having marched three miles, we paſſed the ſide of a rock which projected into the great river, and came to the mouth of the river Hebe, where the diamonds are found. A ſervant of the rajah, who had charge of this rich ſpot, met us with only three attendants. A countenance naturally moroſe, a voice ſtudiouſly rough, and ſentences affectedly ſhort, with a deſire of looking formidable, joined to form one of the moſt diſagreeable human creatures I ever ſaw. Raby was ſo much out of humour with him, as to propoſe to me to beat him into good manners; but this brute expreſſed much ſurpriſe at the curioſity which brought me hither; and, after I had worked him into good humour by a preſent of two yards of ſcarlet broad cloth,

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cloth, became more communicative. He told me it was his buſineſs to ſearch in the river Hebe, after the rains, for red earth, waſhed down from the mountains, in which earth diamonds were always found. I aſked him if it would not be better to go on the mountains and dig for that earth. He anſwered it had been done, until the Mahrattas extorted a tribute from the country; and to do ſo now would only increaſe that tribute. He ſhewed me ſeveral heaps of the red earth, ſome pieces of the ſize of ſmall pebbles, and ſo on till it reſembles coarſe brick-duſt, which had been waſhed, and the diamonds taken out. I was deſirous of going towards the ſource of the river, but my guide told me it was impracticable during the rainy ſeaſon. Where the river Hebe diſcharges itſelf into the Maha Nuddee, it is 200 yards wide. I went into it in a boat, and found a bay, near a mile in diameter, the banks of which were overſhadowed by thick underwood. I with great labour got the boat forward about two miles to where the river poured from the mountains; then, convinced that what my guide had told me was true, I returned, not a little diſſatisfied.

The great Boyle advances, that the generality of tranſparent gems have been once liquid ſubſtances, ſhot into the form of cryſtals, by the ſupervenience, or the exalted action, of ſome already *inexiſtent* petreſcent liquor, or petrific ſpirit, which he ſuppoſeth may ſometimes aſcend in the form of ſteams. This hypotheſis is ſupported by the doubts of Joneherus of the diamond's hardneſs, by an ingenious French author, who reduces it to a phoſphorus, and by ſome noble experimentaliſts, who think they have cauſed it to evaporate. Tavernier, and others, ſay, that the matrix in which it is formed is a cavity in a flint; but as I had ſamples of the ſtrata in which it was found, both here and from Bundlecund, and obſerved it was a clay which appeared burnt red, nearly to the degree bricks uſually are, I think the diamond was formed not without the interference of fire, perhaps of a volcano, but that a greater degree of heat than that which was neceſſary to the formation of it may affect the petreſcent liquor, or petrific ſpirit. This is a ſubject on which I have made ſome experiments, read much, and thought not a little. I may hereafter find time to collect my inferences.

July 19.—On my return from this place, I paid a visit to the Naik Buns, the great ſnake worſhipped by the mountainous rajahs, which they ſay is coeval with the world, which at his deceaſe will be at an end. His habitation was the cavern at the foot of a rock, at the opening of which was a plain of 400 yards, ſurrounded by a moat. I underſtood he generally came out once a week, againſt which time, ſuch as make religious vows carry kids or fowls, and picquet them on the plain. About nine in the morning his appearance was announced to me; I ſtood on the banks of the moat oppoſite the plain. He was unwieldy, thicker in proportion to his length than ſnakes uſually are, and ſeemed of that ſpecies the Perſians call Ajdha. There was a kid and ſome fowls picqueted for him. He took the kid in his mouth, and was ſome time ſqueezing his throat to force it down, while he threw about his tail with much activity. He then rolled along to the moat, where he drank and wallowed in the mud. He returned to his cavern. Mr. Raby and I croſſed the water in the afternoon, and ſuppoſed,

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poſed, from his print in the mud, his diameter to be upwards of two feet.

A few days after I returned from this trip, Raby was ſeized with the fever of the country. We ſat down to tea in the afternoon, when he looked and talked very wildly. I took him by the hand, felt him in a ſtrong fever, and adviſed him to go to bed, from whence he never roſe, but to the hour of his death, on the third day, continued light-headed. Charles Smith, my European ſervant, died with the ſame ſymptoms. When I read the funeral ſervice over him, I could not but ſeriouſly reflect there was no one left to perform the ſame duty over me.

Having now no European with me, I wiſhed to leave a place where I was likely to do no buſineſs; but the rain prevented me. I found the people of the country tampered with my ſepoys, and prevailed on one of them to deſert. Conſcious I was in their power, I thought it beſt to put a confidence in them. I paid them to the end of July; then muſtering all my eloquence, I contraſted to them the horrors of the country we were in, with the charms of that we had left; and told them the only chance of ever ſeeing that dear country again, reſted on their adherence to me; that I ſhould conduct them thither as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit. They were ſtruck with my frankneſs, unanimouſly declared a perfect confidence in me, and not a man deſerted afterwards.

Sehoo Butt, the former governor of Oriſſa, having been ſent a priſoner to Nagpoor, made his eſcape from thence on pretence of a pilgrimage to Dehoogur, and, flying to Sujah Dowlan's country, endeavoured to procure an audience from Lord Clive, but, meeting with no encouragement, came back with thirty men. In Oriſſa, ſeveral of the diſcontented zemindars flew to his ſtandard. He fixing his head quarters at Coonjur, where the Maha Nuddee falls into the ſea, ſent detachments from thence in boats up the river, and ſet fire to the ſuburbs of Cuttac. In order to make himſelf of conſequence, Sehoo Butt aſſured the zemindars he was promiſed the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, and wrote me a letter, telling me he was come to take poſſeſſion of Oriſſa by order of Lord Clive, and that I muſt act in conjunction with him. This letter was intercepted by Bowanee Pundit, who ſent it to me with an expoſtulation. I ſaw my danger, and inſtantly anſwered that I was ſure Sehoo Butt's aſſertions were falſe, as he would find by an application to Lord Clive. Bowanee Pundit had, before the receipt of my anſwer, wrote to his lordſhip, who not only aſſured him of the falſity of Sehoo Butt's aſſertions, but alſo offered him any troops he wanted to reduce him.

My time grew daily more burthenſome, and I looked with anxiety for the day when I ſhould leave Sumbhulpoor, where I was obliged to be always upon my guard. The beginning of September, Baboo Khan, detached by Jannoojei, to the aſſiſtance of Bowanee Pundit, encamped near Sumbhulpoor with 800 cavalry. He demanded forage and money of the rajah; but not being ſupplied immediately, blocked up the town, and threatened to attack it. He applied to me. I adviſed Akber to diſpatch him as ſoon as poſſible, and cautioned Baboo Khan not to attack the part of the town I was in, where I had put two guns I found into good order. The rajah delaying, Baboo Khan reſolved to attack. He armed an elephant with a wooden

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ſhield on his forehead, from whence projected a ſtrong iron ſpike. The driver, who was protected by a large wooden ſhield, attempted to drive him againſt one of the gates, in order to force it open; but the rajah's people throwing a great quantity of fire-works from the gate, frightened the beaſt ſo that he could not be brought to the charge. A few days after, Baboo Khan marched.

At length, at the end of September, the clouds which had covered the tops of the mountains from the time the rain ſet in, diſperſed themſelves, and the ſeaſon was pronounced at an end. I prepared for my departure. The firſt of October, the rajah came to ſee me, and begged every thing he ſaw; and it was with great difficulty I could ſave my compaſs. On the 2d, in the morning, I went to take leave of him. He and Akber made great profeſſions of their attachment to the Engliſh, and of their deſire of being dependent on them; at parting he preſented me with a rough diamond ſet in a ring. I believe they were all glad to part with me; for the rajah and his brothers were convinced I would not aſſiſt in turning out the dewan, while Akber feared I would change my mind. I marched in the afternoon through the town and ſuburbs, and encamped at the rajah's garden, three miles beyond it. Some of the principal people waited upon me in the evening, and adviſed me to be on my guard againſt the treachery of Akber, who had ſent a force after me to cut me off. I anſwered, in ſuch caſe Lord Clive would ſend forces to revenge my death, by deſtroying all the country with fire and ſword.

October 3.—I was not alarmed by theſe inſinuations, but at the ſame time took every precaution. I kept near the banks of the river, and embarked ſuch part of my baggage as I had not immediate occaſion for in boats. I armed all my ſervants with ſpears. I took into my ſervice twenty men, inhabitants of Ballaſore, with match-locks. I roſe at four, ſent on my breakfaſt apparatus, which I ordered to be prepared at Garey. The tents were ſtruck, and thirteen ſepoys ſent with them; the kitchen furniture followed, and after it the reſt of the ſepoys. As ſoon as they were at a little diſtance, I mounted my horſe, or got into my palankeen, attended by the match-lock men. I paſſed all my people, and came to the breakfaſt table, where I ſat till all my people paſſed me again. I then puſhed by them; and, going through ſeveral cultivated ſpots, came to the village Whoamah; and ordered the tents to be pitched in a grove without the town.

Whoamah is a large village on the banks of the Maha Nuddee, ſurrounded with a live bamboo fence. The commander would not ſuffer any of my people to go into the town, nor would he come to ſee me; but he ſent ſhopkeepers with neceſſaries to ſell to me. In the evening they all returned into the town; and although I did not like the ſullenneſs of the commander, yet as I found it was tempered with fear, I was under no apprehenſions.

October 4.—The march this day was through a mountainous uncultivated country. Twelve miles from Whoamah, I paſſed the bounds of the province of Sumbhulpoor, and entered that of Jonepoor. I marched 13 miles farther, and encamped near Sindole, at the opening of a paſs, where I could get no proviſions of any kind; but as I had plenty on board my boats, I ſupplied my attendants from thence. We were diſturbed this night by the howling of wolves, which abound

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in this pass. However they did no mischief; nor could I, from the intelligence of the inhabitants, understand they ever hunted in parties, as they are said to do in other parts of the world. The male and female usually accompany and assist each other, and, when they have young ones, are very dangerous.

I early entered the pass of Sindole, formed by the projection of the mountains into the river. It is half a mile long, craggy and steep. I ascended the top of the rock to the westward, and had a romantic view of the river, across three-fourths of which runs a chain of black rocks, over which the water descends ten feet in a cataract. The eastern side of the river was for a quarter of a mile free from rocks; and here was the passage for the boats, where the water was very rapid. Some men who came with me as guides from the fort of Sindole, told me, that in a month's time, the water in the river decreasing, would cease to fall over the rocks, and that in the height of the rains the rocks were not visible. They told me farther, that the rocks were the remains of a bridge built in the age of the giants. I made this day a long march, for want of a convenient place to bring my boats to, and halted opposite the town of Jonepoor.

October 6.—Jonepoor is a large town, situated at the conflux of the Maha Nuddee and Tail rivers, the rajah of which is dependent on Jannoojei. The rajah took no notice of me, nor I of him, but proceeded the next morning on the banks of the Maha Nuddee, in the midst of which is an island covered with high grass. Past through a country flat and woody, but interspersed with spots well cultivated. I had left the wolves in the mountains, but found these parts much infested with bears, tygers, and wild boars. My dog attempting to worry one of them, he was followed, and, skulking under my palankeen, the bearers, apprehensive for themselves, let it drop, and the boar ran away. Fortunately I was on horseback, and the palankeen not broke. I halted near the village Gurdunnesser, where there is a principal fort.

October 7.—A little money does a great deal in a country so poor. I hired all the boats I could find, and crossed my people at once, the river being a mile and a half wide, into the Boad country, and, having marched 12 miles, arrived at that town again.

October 8.—I halted here one day. The rajah was indisposed, and busy in providing his annual tribute for the pagoda of Jaggernaut. This used to consist of provisions, fruit, and money; but the Mahrattas now seize the latter, and suffer him only to send the former in small quantities.

Oct. 9.—I proceeded from hence to Cuttac, the same road I had come, and found no alteration, save that there appeared very little trade at Collo, the merchants having dispersed during the season of the rains.

Oct. 19.—I reached Cuttac this day, and found that Bowanee Pundit, having taken the field against Sehoo Butt, was encamped three miles from the town. He sent to pay his compliments, and desired to see me the next day.

I went early to the Mahratta camp, which I found very unlike an eastern one, even inferior to an English camp in India, in point of luxury; the tents very small and low, save that in which the hall of audience was held; the bazar contained only necessaries, and the baggage bullocks were few in number.

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ber. I found Bowanee Pundit looking at his horſes, which were picketted in the open air. This he told me was the firſt morning duty of a Mahrátta. We walked to the tent of audience, where we ſat together on the muſnud. His converſation was lively, no more reſembling that of the Moguls I had been accuſtomed to in Bengal, than the livelineſs of a Frenchman does the ſolemnity of the Spaniard. Perhaps the natives think it neceſſary to keep up that affected gravity, that they may be on their guard in the preſence of their maſters. He congratulated me on the eſcape I had had in paſſing through ſuch villainous countries, and repeated many ſtories of the treachery of the rajahs. He then led me into his ſleeping tent, ten feet long, five broad, and four high, where we ſat down on the carpet. He began by ridiculing the machinations of Sehoo Butt, who endeavoured to incite a jealouſy of the Engliſh, for whom he expreſſed a great regard, though he ſaid an alliance with them was at that time incompatible with the ſituation of his maſter, Jannoojei. I ſaid, that the beſt means of forming a cloſer connection with Lord Clive, would be to cede to him the province of Oriſſa for a ſtipulated annual ſum. He meditated, and ſaid that ſhould be diſcuſſed at our next meeting. I returned with him to the audience tent, where I obſerved a fine horſe stood bridled and ſaddled, like a Diſeſbio, ready for ſervice on any ſudden emergency. This I underſtood was relieved every two hours.

I went again to the Mahratta camp; found Bowanee Pundit had conſidered what I had advanced at the laſt meeting. He ſeemed convinced it was more for the intereſt of Jannoojei to cede Oriſſa to the Engliſh, provided the payment of the ſtipulated ſum was ſecure. I anſwered, as a gentleman muſt be ſent to Nagpoor, his reſidence there would be the beſt ſecurity. He had, according to the cuſtom of the country, given me a dreſs of muſlin, ſtained yellow. In the warmth of converſation, he declared, if I was ſent to Nagpoor, he would go with me; and exchanged turbans with me, by which we became ſworn brothers.

Oct. 23.—I left Cuttac, and reached Budnee the 26th, which being a place remarkable for thieves, I ordered the ſepoys to be particularly upon their guard. The ſentry at my tent having obſerved a man ſkulking among the trees, who never would anſwer when challenged, pointed him out to the ſepoy who relieved him at two o'clock. The ſepoy obſerving him advancing in the dark towards the tent, and neglecting to give him an anſwer when challenged, fired upon him; the poor fellow ran a few paces, and dropped down. I ſent for the cutwall to examine the body; he pronounced him a notorious thief, whom he had long been in ſearch of.

I reached Ballaſore the 28th, and croſſed the Shoobunreeka the 2d of November, overjoyed at having once more ſet foot on Engliſh ground. I now contemplate, that, after ſo perilous a journey, I had carried no one point I wiſhed; but having reſided during the moſt unwholeſome ſeaſon among a perfidious people, thought myſelf happy in having eſcaped with my life. The opening the diamond trade was prevented by the indolence of the inhabitants, and by their wretched dependence on the Mahrattas. The alliance with Jannooji was obſtructed by the very critical ſituation of his affairs, and by the

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the diſtracted ſtate of his family. The very ſevere illneſs Lord Clive laboured under, prevented him from purſuing the plan for the ceſſion of Oriſſa, though he entered on it with great alacrity; and the only ſatisfaction I had, was a promiſe to be employed in the negociation, ſhould it ever be reſumed.

TRAVELS *in* CASHMIR. *By the late* GEORGE FORSTER, *Eſq. in the Civil Service of the Hon. the Eaſt India Company.*

THE following accurate account of the moſt beautiful country in Aſia, is extracted from the 2d volume of Mr. FORSTER's very entertaining Travels from Calcutta to England, through the northern part of India, Caſhmir, Afghaniſtan, and Perſia, and into Ruſſia by the Caſpian ſea.

Theſe Travels are extremely intereſting throughout. They exhibit faithful pictures of vaſt regions in Aſia, and of various deſcriptions of the human race, that are little known in Europe but by name: and they diſplay ſo many inſtances of equanimity, fortitude, and perſeverance, that they fill the mind with a ſalutary admiration, by inſpiring us with a due ſenſe of the dignity of our own nature, by ſhewing us what patience and courage may enable us to perform, by adding ſtrength to our reſolution, and ardour to our virtue. Under this impreſſion of the general utility of Mr. FORSTER's Travels, we truſt no apology will be required for the length of the extract we have made; more eſpecially as the bulk and price of the work deter many readers from peruſing it.

THE northern part of the Bannaul-hill is about one mile and a half ſhorter than that of the ſouthern ſide; not that this difference ariſes from the level of the lowlands of Bannaul and Caſhmir, but from the greater declivity of the ſouthern face of the hill. Yet it is evident, from the precipitated current of the rivers of this quarter of India, that the valley of Caſhmir is conſiderably more elevated than the Panjab plains. This height of ſituation, ſurrounded alſo by mountains, whoſe lofty ſummits are covered with ſnow during a great part of the year, imparts a coldneſs to the air of Caſhmir, which its immediate line of latitude would not otherwiſe poſſeſs.

Veere Naug was the firſt village we halted at within the valley, where our party was ſtrictly examined; but from the reſpect ſhewn by all claſſes of people to Zulphucar Khan, we were permitted to paſs untaxed and unmoleſted;—a rare uſage at a Caſhmirian cuſtom-houſe! It ſhould have been before noticed, that our patron, from the lameneſs of his hand, and a general infirm ſtate of body, was obliged to travel in a litter; a ſpecies of carriage different from any ſeen in the ſouthern quarters of India. The frame, of four ſlight pieces of wood, is about four feet and a half long, and three in breadth, with a bottom of cotton lacing, or ſplit canes interwoven. Two ſtout bamboo poles project three feet from the end of the frame, and are faſtened to its outward ſides by iron rings. The extremities of theſe bamboos are looſely connected by folds of cords, into which is fixed, by cloſely twiſting and binding at the centre, a thick pole three feet long; and by theſe central poles the litter, or, as it is here called, the ſampan, is ſupported on the ſhoulders of four men. This conveyance, you will ſee, affords no ſhelter againſt any inclemency of weather, which

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is braved at all ſeaſons by theſe men of the mountains.

In the paſſage of ſome of the ſteep hills the Khan was obliged to walk, and it ſeemed to me ſurpriſing that the bearers were able to carry the litter over them. The Caſhimirians, who are the ordinary travellers of this road, uſe ſandals made of ſtraw rope, as an approved defence of their feet, and to ſave their ſhoes. On leaving Sumboo, I had been adviſed to adopt this practice; but my feet not being proof againſt the rough colliſion of the ſtraw, I ſoon became lame, and threw off my ſandals. From a glaring deficiency of method in the arrangement of my remarks, I am often fearful that but faint traces of a general chain will be exhibited. It is not that my ideas flow ſo thick and ſtrong, as in confidence of their ſuperior excellency, to contemn reſtriction, or that obedience to order which is ſo eſſential to their utility; it is an habit, perhaps an idle one, that impells me to note at the moment the train of thoughts which occur; and it becomes neceſſary, I ſee, to plead this excuſe, for having ſo abruptly dragged in the ſtory of the Khan's litter, and my ſtraw ſhoes, when I ſhould have been laying before you ſketches of this beautiful country, which, in the language of Perſia, is called *Caſhmir be Nazeer* *.

In the vicinity of Veere Naug is ſeen a torrent of water burſting from the ſide of a mountain with impetuous force, and immediately forming a conſiderable ſtream †, which contributes, with numerous other rivulets, to fertilize the valley of Caſhmir. On the ſpot where this piece of water reaches the plain, a baſon of a ſquare form has been conſtructed, it is ſaid, by the emperor Jehan Gheer, for receiving and diſcharging the current; and the trees of various kinds, which overſpread the borders of the baſon, at once give an ornament to the ſcene, and a grateful ſhade to the inhabitants of that quarter, who, in the ſummer ſeaſon, make it a place of common reſort.

The road from Veere Naug leads through a country, exhibiting that ſtore of luxuriant imagery, which is produced by a happy diſpoſition of hill, dale, wood, and water; and that theſe rare excellencies of nature might be diſplayed in their full glory, it was the ſeaſon of ſpring, when the trees, the apple, pear, the peach, appricot, the cherry and mulberry, bore a variegated load of bloſſom. The cluſters alſo of the red and white roſe, with an infinite claſs of flowering ſhrubs, preſented a view ſo gaily decked, that no extraordinary warmth of imagination was required to fancy that I ſtood at leaſt on a province of fairy land. Except the mulberry, I do not believe that this country produces any ſpices of the fruits of India, and but few of its vegetables; ſuch is the change effected within a ſpace of two degrees of latitude. This ſudden revolution of climate cannot be aſcribed to the northern ſituation of Caſhmir, which is little more than 200 miles from Lahore, where many of the fruits of ſouthern India come to maturity, but to the ſurrounding ſnowy mountains, and an highlyelevated land, which the Hindûs ſay, though very widely, is three perpendicular miles higher than the Panjab.

On the 26th of April at Durroo, or Lurroo, a ſmall but very populous

* Unequalled.

† It is called *Vhait*, or *Bahat*, in the Caſhmirian language; and in the Sanſcrêet *Vetaſtah*.

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populous town, seven cosses from Bannaul, where our Khan and his suite were hospitably received by the chief, and lodged that night at his house. Our entertainment, and the cordial behaviour of the host, made us a general recompense for the fatigues of the journey; and I, in an instant, forgot the pains of my bruised feet, in the pleasant comparison between a commodious shelter, and the boisterous weather of the mountains.

On the 27th at Islaamabad, five cosses, a large town situated on the north side of the river Jalum, which is here springing from the mountains, or penetrating them in narrow openings. At this place the Jalum, over which a wooden bridge is built, is about eighty yards across, and from the level surface of the country has a gentle current. Our party this evening hired a boat to proceed to the city, and had gone more than five miles, when a written order arrived, in an evil hour, requiring us to return and remain at Islaamabad, until a passport should be obtained from the court. This check infused a general gloom, and rendered our situation, already confined and irksome, almost comfortless. The boat, a very small one, was scantily covered with a slender mat; and the wind, current, and heavy rain, had set in against us. The rain continued incessantly the whole night; and though my bedding was drenched with water, I received no injury from having lain on it several hours. After expressing my grateful acknowledgments to a hale constitution, I am induced to ascribe a great share, of the prevention of sickness, on this as on other occasions, to the frequent use of tobacco, which manifestly possesses the property of defending the body against the impression of damps, and cold or impure air, which, from the thick ranges of wood and hills, is tainted with noxious vapours, produces fevers of a malignant kind, and I am prompted to attribute the good health I enjoyed in those parts to the common habit of smoaking tobacco.

Our party was greatly surprised at the receipt of this very unseasonable mandate, as we had, during the day, occupied one of the most public places of the town, where most of the principal people visited Zulphucar Khan, supplied him with provisions, and were apprised of his intention to depart in the evening. But it had been issued, I believe, by the governor of the town, in resentment of the Khan's not visiting him; and operated with a quick force on the minds of all the men, and even the children of Islaamabad, who, but the short day before, from treating us with a studied kindness, would now pass our quarters without a notice. In every region of the earth, the loss of power, nay the trivial crosses of life, too often cause the desertion of those whom the language of the world has entitled friends: but the averted looks of the prince are ever faithfully copied by the courtiers. The disgraced courtier of Asia, on he against whom the frown of the despot shall be pointed, becomes immediately infected, and all men, by intuitive knowledge, it should seem, shun him. A retreat is rarely made by an Asiatic statesman, who usually closes his political career in a dungeon, or on a scaffold.

In Asia, the principles of justice, honour, or patriotism, as they confer no substantial benefit, nor tend to elevate the character, are seldom seen to actuate the mind of the subject, who is constitutionally left to fix the tenure of life and property, and fame, on the will of his prince. Zulphucar Khan informed me,

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me, that the chief of Caſhmir, though a youth, ſtands in the foremoſt rank of tyrants, and that the exactions of a Hindû cuſtom-houſe will be ſoon forgotten in the oppreſſion of his government. The one, he ſaid, affects a trifling portion of property; the other involves fortune and life.

Two or three days after our arrival at Iſlaamabad, the dewan, or principal officer of the governor of Caſhmir, encamped in our vicinity; and being acquainted with Zulphucar Khan, obtained permiſſion for the procedure of our party to the city. It is here neceſſary to obſerve, that no perſon, except by ſtealth, can enter or depart from Caſhmir, without an order marked with the ſeal of government. The dewan, attracted, I ſuppoſe, by the appearance of ſo white a perſon, made ſome inquiry into the nature of my occupation and views. I told the old ſtory of a Turk travelling towards his country, with the addition, that to avoid the Seik territory, I had taken the route of Caſhmir, where I hoped to experience the benefit of his protection. My ſtory was favourably heard, and I received a very cordial aſſurance of every neceſſary aſſiſtance. Our party being directed to attend the dewan, and to form a part of his domeſtic ſuite, we proceeded by water, on the afternoon of the 3d of May, to Bhyteepoor, nine coſſes, a village ſituated on the northern bank of the Jalum; the evening was ſerene, and the variegated view of populous villages, interſperſed through a plain which was waving with a rich harveſt, and enlivened by the notes of a thouſand birds, filled the mind with harmony and delight.

In the vicinity of Bhyteepoor are ſeen the remains of an Hindû temple, which, though impaired by the ravages of time, and more by the deſtructive hand of the Mahommedans, ſtill bore evident marks of a ſuperior taſte and ſculpture. Caſhmir, having fallen a conqueſt to the followers of Mahommet, at an early period of their empire in India, when they furiouſly broke down every fence that barred the progreſs of their religion, felt the full force of a barbarous zeal; and its monuments of worſhip and taſte were thrown to the ground in ſhapeleſs piles of ruin.

The dewan taking Zulphucar Khan with him, went on the 5th of the month into the interior part of the country, and directed me to wait for him at the town of Pamper, ten miles farther down the river, where an order was ſent for my accommodation. This perſon of the Hindû ſect, poſſeſſed a more liberal diſpoſition than is uſually found in an Indian; though perhaps I am ſo much biaſſed by his indulgent treatment, that my opinion may be thought partial; but his deportment ſeemed uniformly benevolent to all claſſes of people; with his companions he was affable and good-humoured; he was humane to his domeſtics, and he exerciſed with a reaſonable temperance the duties of his office.

On the 7th the dewan came to Pamper, whence I went to the city, a diſtance of ſeven coſſes, in his boat, which, though in Caſhmir it was thought magnificent, would not have been diſgraced in the ſtation of a kitchen tender to a Bengal budgero. The boats of Caſhmir are long and narrow, and are rowed with paddles; from the ſtern, which is a little elevated, to the centre, a tilt of mats is extended for the ſhelter of paſſengers or merchandiſe. The country being interſected with numerous ſtreams, navigable for ſmall veſſels, great

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advantage and conveniency would arise to it from the water conveyance, especially in its interior commerce, did not the miserable policy of the Afghan government crush the spirit of the people.

The city, which in the ancient annals of India was known by the name of Sirinagur, but now by that of the province at large, extends about three miles on each side of the river Jalum, over which are four or five wooden bridges, and occupies in some part of its breadth, which is irregular, about two miles. The houses, many of them two and three stories high, are slightly built of brick and mortar, with a large intermixture of timber. On a standing roof of wood is laid a covering of fine earth, which shelters the building from the great quantity of snow that falls in the winter season. This fence communicates an equal warmth in winter, as a refreshing coolness in the summer season, when the tops of the houses, which are planted with a variety of flowers, exhibit at a distance the spacious view of a beautifully chequered parterre. The streets are narrow, and choaked with the filth of the inhabitants, who are proverbially unclean. No buildings are seen in this city worthy of remark; though the Cashmirians boast much of a wooden mosque, called the Jumah Mussid *, erected by one of the emperors of Hindustân; but its claim to distinction is very moderate.

The subahdar, or governor of Cashmir, resides in a fortress called Shere Ghur, occupying the south-east quarter of the city, where most of his officers and troops are also quartered.

The benefits which this city enjoys of a mild salubrious air, a river flowing through its centre, of many large and commodious houses, are essentially alloyed by its confined construction, and the extreme filthiness of the people. The covered floating baths, which are ranged along the sides of the river, give the only testimony of convenience or order; such baths are much wanted by the Indian Mahommedans, who, from the climate and their religion, are obliged to make frequent ablutions, and, in preventing the exposure of their women on these occasions, to adopt laborious precautions.

The lake of Cashmir, or, in the provincial language, the Dall, long celebrated for its beauties, and the pleasure it affords to the inhabitants of this country, extends from the north-east quarter of the city, in an oval circumference of five or six miles, and joins the Jalum by a narrow channel near the suburbs. On the entrance to the eastward is seen a detached hill, on which some devout Mahommedan has dedicated a temple to the great king Solomon, whose memory in Cashmir is held in profound veneration.

The legends of the country assert, that Solomon visited this valley, and finding it covered, except the eminence now mentioned, with a noxious water, which had no outlet, he opened a passage in the mountains, and gave to Cashmir its beautiful plains. The Tuckt Suliman, the name bestowed by the Mahommedans on the hill, forms one side of a grand portal to the lake, and on the other stands a lower hill, which in the Hindûee is called Hirney Purvet, or the green hill, a name probably

* Jumah is the sabbath of the Mahommedans, and Mussid the name of a public place of worship. In pre-eminence, the principal place of prayer in Mahommedan cities is termed Jumah Mussid.

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probably adopted from its being covered with gardens and orchards.

On the ſummit of the Hirney Parvet, the Caſhmirians have erected a moſque to the honour of a Muckdoom Saheb, who is as famous in their tales, as Thomas-à-Becket in thoſe of Canterbury. The men never undertake a buſineſs of moment without conſulting Muckdoom Saheb; and when a Caſhmirian woman wants a handſome huſband, or a chopping boy, ſhe addreſſes her prayer to the miniſters of this ſaint, who are ſaid to ſeldom fail in gratifying her wiſh. The northern view of the lake is terminated at the diſtance of twelve miles, by a detached range of mountains, which ſlope from the centre to each angle; and from the baſe, a ſpacious plain, preſerved in conſtant verdure by numerous ſtreams, extends with an eaſy declivity to the margin of the water.

In the centre of the plain, as it approaches the lake, one of the Delhi emperors, I believe Shah Jehan, conſtructed a ſpacious garden, called the Shalimar, which is abundantly ſtored with fruit trees and flowering ſhrubs. Some of the rivulets which interſect the plain, are led into a canal at the back of the garden, and, flowing through its centre, or occaſionally thrown into a variety of water-works, compoſe the chief beauty of the Shalimar. To decorate this ſpot, the Mogul princes of India have diſplayed an equal magnificence and taſte; eſpecially Jehan Gheer, who, with the enchanting Noor Mhal, made Caſhmir his uſual reſidence during the ſummer months, and largely contributed to improve its natural advantages. On arches thrown over the canal are erected, at equal diſtance, four or five ſuites of apartments, each conſiſting of a ſaloon, with four rooms at the angles, where the followers of the court attend, and the ſervants prepare ſherbets, coffee, and the hookah. The frame of the doors of the principal ſaloon, is compoſed of pieces of a ſtone of a black colour, ſtreaked with yellow lines, and of a cloſer grain and higher poliſh than porphery. They were taken, it is ſaid, from an Hindû temple, by one of the Mogul princes, and eſteemed of great value.

The canal of the Shalimar is conſtructed of maſonry as far as the lower pavillion, from whence the ſtream is conveyed through a bed of earth, in the centre of an avenue of ſpreading trees, to the lake, which, with other ſtreams of a leſſer note, it ſupplies and refreſhes. The other ſides of the lake are occupied by gardens of an inferior deſcription; though two of them, the property of the government, deſerve a diſtinct notice for their ſize and pleaſant appearance; the Baugh Nuſſeem lying on the north-weſt, and the Baugh Niſhat on the ſouth-eaſt quarter of the Shalimar. The numerous ſmall iſlands immerging from the lake, have alſo a happy effect in ornamenting the ſcene. One, of a ſquare form, is called the Char Chinaur *, from having at each of the angles a plane-tree; but one of them, and a pavillion that was erected in the centre, has gone to decay, as have all the monuments of the Moguls, except the Shalimar, which is preſerved in good order, and is often viſited by the governor, whom I have ſeen there, with his officers, and the principal inhabitants of the city. Since the diſmemberment of Caſhmir from the empire of Hinduſtân, it has been ſubject to the Afghans †,

* The Oriental plane.

† This event happened about the year 1754.

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ghans, who, poſſeſſing neither the genius nor liberality of the Moguls, have ſuffered its elegant ſtructures to crumble into ruins, and to hold out againſt them a ſevere teſtimony of the barbarity of their nation.

Amir Khan, a Perſian, one of the late governors of Caſhmir, erected a fortified palace on the eaſtern ſide of the lake; but the materials have been ſo unſubſtantial, that though of not more than eight years ſtanding, it cannot now with ſafety be inhabited. He uſed to paſs much of his time in this retreat, which was curiouſly adapted to the enjoyment of the various ſpecies of Aſiatic luxury; and he is ſtill ſpoken of in terms of affection and regret; for, like them, he was gay, voluptuous, and much addicted to the pleaſures of the table. There is not a boatman, or his wife, who does not ſpeak of this Khan with rapture, and aſcribe to him a once abundant livelihood. This governor, like many of his predeceſſors, truſting in the natural ſtrength of the province, and its diſtance from the capital, rebelled againſt his maſter *. The force ſent againſt him was ſmall and ill-appointed, and might have been eaſily repelled by a few reſolute men ſtationed in the paſſes. But in the hour of need, he was abandoned by the puſillanimous, fickle Caſhmirians, who reconciled their conduct to the Perſian, by urging, that if he had remained in Caſhmir, he would have converted them all to the faith of Ali, and cut them off from the hope of ſalvation. A Caſhmirian muſt have been grievouſly embarraſſed to juſtify his conduct, when he aſcribed it to any principle of religion; for he is a Hindû, a Mahommedan, and would become a Chriſtian, if a prieſt were at hand, according to the faſhion or intereſt of the day.

The environs of the town, to the eaſt and weſt, are laid out in private gardens, which, ſkirting the banks of the Jalum, or ſupplied with canals from the lake, afford a various retreat of pleaſure to the inhabitants. The plane-tree, that ſpecies termed the *Platanus Orientalis*, is commonly cultivated in Caſhmir, where it is ſaid to arrive at a greater perfection than in other countries. This tree, which in moſt parts of Aſia is called the Chinaur, grows to the ſize of an oak, and has a taper ſtraight trunk, with a ſilver-coloured bark; and its leaf, not unlike an expanded hand, is of a pale green. When in full foliage, it has a grand and beautiful appearance; and in the hot weather, it affords a refreſhing ſhade. But I may venture to claſs in the firſt rank of vegetable produce the roſe of Caſhmir, which, for its brilliancy and delicacy of odour, has long been proverbial in the eaſt; and its eſſential oil, or attar, is held in univerſal eſtimation. The ſeaſon, when the roſe firſt opens into bloſſom, is celebrated with much feſtivity by the Caſhmirians, who reſort in crowds to the adjacent gardens, and enter into ſcenes of gaiety and pleaſure, rarely known among other Aſiatic nations. There, all that exterior gravity which conſtitutes a grand part of the Mahommedan character, is thrown aſide; and the Turk, Arab, and Perſian, as if fatigued with exhibiting the ſerious and guarded deportment of their own country, give a licentious ſcope to their paſſions.

The valley of Caſhmir is of an elliptic form, and extends about ninety miles in a winding direction from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt.

* Timur Shah, the reigning Emperor of the Afghans.

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weſt. It widens gradually to Iſlaamabad, where the breadth is about forty miles, which is continued with little variation to the town of Sampre *, whence the mountains, by a regular inclination to the weſtward, come to a point, and divide Caſhmir from the territory of Muzzufferabad. To the north and north-eaſt Caſhmir is bounded by what is here termed the mountains of Thibet; a branch, I apprehend, of that immenſe range, which, riſing near the Black Sea, penetrates through Armenia, and, ſkirting the ſouth ſhore of the Caſpian, extends through the north-eaſt provinces of Perſia, to Thibet and China. On the ſouth-eaſt and ſouth, it is bounded by Kiſhtewar, and on the ſouth and weſt by Prounce †, Muzzufferabad, and ſome other independent diſtricts.

The Jalum, the weſtern of the Panjab rivers, having received the numerous rivulets of the valley, and the overflowing water of the lakes, becomes a ſpacious ſtream, and is diſcharged through the mountains near the town of Baramoulah, where its current, from the declivity of the land, runs with rapid force ‡. At Baramoulah the Caſhmirians ſay that Solomon rent the mountains, and gave a paſſage to the waters, which, from the beginning of time, had floated on their plains.

About eight miles to the weſtward of the city, the Jalum is joined by a ſmall river called the Chote, or little Scind, which I was informed by a Caſhmirian pundit ariſes in the Thibet mountains, and is the only ſtream not produced within the valley. Previouſly to the Mahommedan conqueſt of India, Caſhmir was celebrated for the learning of its Brahmans, and the magnificent conſtruction of its temple. The period of its ſubjection to the Mahommedans is not recorded in any hiſtory that I have ſeen; but we may believe, that a country containing a valuable commerce, and a profuſion of natural beauties, would at an early date have attracted their notice, and invited their conqueſt. It was governed, in a long ſeries of ſucceſſion, by a race of Tartar princes of the Chug or Chugatay tribe, until the year 1586, when Acbar ſubdued it; aided more, it is ſaid, by intrigue, than the force of his arms. Caſhmir remained annexed to the houſe of Timur for the ſpace of 160 years, after which it was betrayed by the Mogul governor to Aſhmed Shah Durannee, who formed it into a province of the Afghan empire.

The valley of Caſhmir has generally a flat ſurface, and, being copiouſly watered, yields abundant crops of rice, which is the common food of the inhabitants. At the baſe of the ſurrounding hills, where the land is higher, wheat, barley, and various other grains, are cultivated. A ſuperior ſpecies of ſaffron is alſo produced in this province, and iron of an excellent quality is found in the adjacent mountains. But the wealth and fame of Caſhmir have largely ariſen from the manufacture of ſhawls, which it holds unrivalled, and almoſt without participation. The wool of the ſhawl is not produced in the country, but brought from diſtricts of Thibet, lying at the diſtance of a month's journey to the north-eaſt. It is originally of a dark grey colour, and is bleached in Caſhmir by the help of a certain preparation of rice flour. The yarn of this wool is ſtained with ſuch colours as

* About twenty-five miles to the weſtward of the city.
† Through this diſtrict lies the paſs of Bember, minutely deſcribed by Bernier.
‡ See Bernier.

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may be judged the beſt ſuited for ſale; and after being woven, the piece is once waſhed. The border, which uſually diſplays a variety of figures and colours, is attached to the ſhawls after fabrication, but in ſo nice a manner, that the junction is not diſcernible. The texture of the ſhawl reſembles that of the ſhalloon of Europe, to which it has, probably, communicated the name. The price at the loom, of an ordinary ſhawl, is eight rupees; thence in proportional quality, it produces from fifteen to twenty; and I have ſeen a very fine piece ſold at forty rupees the firſt coſt. But the value of this commodity may be largely enhanced by the introduction of flowered work; and when you are informed, that the ſum of one hundred rupees is occaſionally given for a ſhawl to the weaver, the half amount may be fairly aſcribed to the ornaments.

A portion of the revenue of Caſhmir is tranſmitted to the Afghan capital in ſhawl goods, which I had an opportunity of ſeeing, previouſly to the diſpatch; and from the information then received, I am reaſonably confirmed in the accuracy of this ſtatement I have given. The ſhawls uſually conſiſt of three ſizes, two of which, the long and the ſmall ſquare one, are in common uſe in India; the other, long and very narrow, with a large mixture of black colour in it, is worn as a girdle by the northern Aſiatics.

A wine is made in Caſhmir, reſembling that of Madeira, which, if ſkilfully manufactured by age, would poſſeſs an excellent quality. A ſpirituous liquor is alſo diſtilled from the grape, in which, and the wine, the people of all kinds freely indulge.

The Caſhmirians fabricate the beſt writing-paper of the eaſt, which was formerly an article of extenſive traffic; as were its lacquered ware, cutlery, and ſugars *; and the quality of theſe manufactures clearly evince, that were the inhabitants governed by wiſe and liberal princes, there are few attainments of art which they would not acquire. But the heavy oppreſſions of the government, and the rapacious temper of the bordering ſtates, who exerciſe an unremitting rapacity on the foreign traders, and often plunder whole cargoes, have reduced the commerce of Caſhmir to a declining and languid ſtate. In proof of this poſition, the Caſhmirians ſay, that during their ſubjection to the Mogul dominion, the province contained 40,000 ſhawl looms, and that, at this day, there are not 16,000. In Caſhmir are ſeen merchants and commercial agents of moſt of the principal cities of northern India, alſo of Tartary, Perſia, and Turkey, who, at the ſame time, advance their fortunes, and enjoy the pleaſures of a fine climate and a country, over which are profuſely ſpread the various beauties of nature.

The dreſs of the Caſhmirians conſiſts of a large turban, awkwardly put on; a great woollen veſt, with wide ſleeves; and a ſack, wrapped in many folds, round the middle; under the veſt, which may be properly called a wrapper, the higher claſs of people wear a pirahun, or ſhirt, and drawers; but the lower order have no under garment, nor do they even gird up their loins. On firſt ſeeing theſe people in their own country, I imagined from their garb, the caſt of countenance, which is long, and of a grave aſpect, and the form of their beards, that I had come among a nation of Jews. The ſame idea alſo impreſſed Mr. Bernier, who, carrying

* The raw ſugar is imported from the Panjab.

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carrying it farther, has attempted, by the aid of some proofs, more specious than substantial, to deduce their origin from the Jewish tribes that were carried into captivity.

The dress of the women is no less awkward than that of the men, and is ill adapted to display the beauties they naturally possess. Their outward, and often only garment is of cotton, and shaped like a long loose shirt. Over the hair, which falls in a single braid, they wear a close cap, usually of a woollen cloth of a crimson colour; and to the hinder part of it is attached a triangular piece of the same stuff, which, falling on the back, conceals much of the hair. Around the lower edge of the cap is rolled a small turban, fastened behind with a short knot, which seemed to me the only artificial ornament about them. You will be pleased to notice, that I speak of the dress of the ordinary women, such only being permitted to appear in public. The women of the higher classes are never seen abroad; nor is it consistent with the usage of any Mahommedan nation even to speak of the female part of a family.

The Cashmirians are stout, well formed, and, as the natives of a country lying in the 34th degree of latitude, may be termed a fair people, and their women in southern France or Spain would be called brunettes. But having been prepossessed with an opinion of their charms, I suffered a sensible disappointment; though I saw some of the female dancers most celebrated for beauty, and the attractions of their profession. A coarseness of figure generally prevails among them, with broad features, and they too often have thick legs. Though excelling in the colour of their complexion, they are evidently surpassed by the elegant form and pleasing countenance of the women of some of the western provinces of India.

The city of Cashmir once abounded with courtezans, equally gay and affluent; but the rigorous contributions of the Afghans have greatly reduced their number, and driven most of those that remain into a languid poverty. The few that I saw afforded me much pleasure, by their graceful skill in dancing, and voices peculiarly melodious. And here let me observe, lest I should afterwards forget, that the women of Cashmir are singularly fruitful: be the government ever so oppressive, or fortune at all points adverse, no baneful effects are seen to operate on the propagation of the species, which is maintained with a successful perseverance. I will not presume to investigate the physical cause of a virtue so copiously inherent in the men and women of this country; but will simply intimate to you, that its waters are well stored with fish, which is thought to be a generative stimulus, and constitutes a principal article of the food of the people.

The language of Cashmir evidently springs from the Sanscrêet stock, and resembles, in sound, that of the Mahrattas, though with more harshness, which has probably induced the inhabitants to compose their songs in the Persic, or adopt those of the Persian Poets. Yet, in despight of the unpleasant tone of their speech, there is scarcely a person in the country, from youth to old age, who has not a taste for music.

The Cashmirians are a gay and lively people, with strong propensities to pleasure. None are more eager in the pursuit of wealth, have more inventive faculties in acquiring it, or who devise more modes of luxurious expence. When a Cashmirian, even of the lowest order,

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der, finds himself in the possession of ten shillings, he loses no time in assembling his party, and, launching into the lake, solaces himself till the last farthing is spent. Nor can the despotism of an Afghan government, which loads them with a various oppression and cruelty, eradicate this strong tendency to dissipation; yet their manners, it is said, have undergone a manifest change, since the dismemberment of their country from Hindustân. Encouraged by the liberality and indulgence of the Moguls, they gave a loose to their pleasures, and the bent of their genius. They appeared in gay apparel, constructed costly buildings, and were much addicted to the pleasures of the table. The interests of this province were so strongly favoured at the court, that every complaint against its governors was attentively listened to, and any attempt to molest the people, restrained or punished.

In the reign of Aurengzebe, when the revenue of the different portions of the empire exceeded that of the present day, the sum collected in Cashmir amounted to three and a half lacks of rupees, but at this time, not less than twenty lacks are extracted by the Afghan governor, who, if his tribute be regularly remitted to court, is allowed to execute with impunity every act of violence. This extreme rigour has sensibly affected the deportment and manners of the Cashmirians, who shrink with dread from the Afghan oppressions, and are fearful of making any display of opulence.

A Georgian merchant, who had long resided in the country, gave me the most satisfactory information of Cashmir. He said, that when he first visited the province, which was governed by a person of a moderate disposition, the people were licentious, volatile, and profuse: but that, since the administration of the late chief, an Afghan of a fierce and rapacious temper, they had become dispirited, their way of living mean, their dress slovenly, and, though of a temper proverbially loquacious, they were averse from communicating ordinary intelligence.

During my residence in Cashmir, I often witnessed the harsh treatment which the common people received at the hands of their masters, who rarely issued an order without a blow of the side of their hatchet, a common weapon of the Afghans, and used by them in war as a battle-axe. Though the inhabitants of this province are held under a grievous subjection, and endure evils the most mortifying to human nature, being equally oppressed and insulted, the various testimonies brought home to me of their common depravity of disposition, made me the less sensible of their distress; and in a short time, so faint was the trace of it on my mind, that I even judged them worthy of their adverse fortune.

In viewing the manners of a people at large, it were at once a sacrifice of truth and every claim to historical merit, to introduce passionate or fanciful colouring; yet the coolest reflection does not withhold me from saying, that I never knew a national body of men more impregnated with the principles of vice than the natives of Cashmir. The character of a Cashmirian is conspicuously seen when invested with official power. Supported by an authority which prescribes no limits to its agents in the accumulation of public emoluments, the Cashmirian displays the genuine composition of his mind. He becomes intent on immediate aggrandizement, without rejecting any instrument

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nſtrument which can promote his purpoſe. Rapacious and arrogant, he evinces, in all his actions, deceit, treachery, and that ſpecies of refined cruelty which uſually actuates the conduct of a coward. And it is ſaid, that he is equally fickle in his connections, as implacable in enmity. In behalf of humanity, I could wiſh not to have been capacitated to exhibit ſo diſguſting a picture, which being conſtantly held out to me for near three months, in various lights, but with little relief, impreſſed me with a general diſlike of mankind.

The Caſhmirians are ſo whimſically curious, that when any trivial queſtion is propoſed to them, its intention and purpoſe is inquired into with a ſtring of futile interrogatories, before the neceſſary information is given; and a ſhopkeeper rarely acknowledges the poſſeſſion of a commodity, until he is appriſed of the quantity required. In examining the ſituation in which theſe people have been placed, with its train of relative effects, the ſpeculative moraliſt will perhaps diſcover one of the larger ſources from whence this caſt of manners and diſpoſition has ariſen. He will perceive, that the ſingular poſition of their country, its abundant and valuable produce, with a happy climate, tend to excite ſtrong inclinations to luxury and effeminate pleaſures; and he is aware, that to counteract cauſes, naturally tending to enervate and corrupt the mind, a ſyſtem of religion or morality is neceſſary to inculcate the love of virtue, and eſpecially to impreſs the youth with early ſentiments of juſtice and humanity. But he will evidently ſee, that neither the religious nor the moral precepts of the preſent race of Mahommedans contain the principles of rectitude or philanthropy; that, on the contrary, they are taught to look with abhorrence on the faireſt portion of the globe, and to perſecute and injure thoſe who are not incloſed in the fold of their prophet. Seeing then the Caſhmirians, preſiding as it were at the fountain-head of pleaſure, neither guided or checked by any principle or example of virtue, he will not be ſurpriſed, that they give a wide ſcope to the paſſions of the mind and the enjoyments of the body.

An HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of the ISLAND of CEYLON.

(From the Preface to the Second Volume of Mr. Boyd's Works.)

The iſland of Ceylon, or, as it is called by the natives, Silan, beyond all doubt, I think, the Taprobana of the Greeks and Romans, has been celebrated in all ages for its riches and beauty. But it ſhould ſeem that the neighbouring Hindû nations, on the coaſts of the Indian peninſula, were contented to admire, and felt little inclination to have much intercourſe with it: For there has not yet been diſcovered, in the archives of Hindû literature, notwithſtanding the ſhining talents, profound learning, and unwearied aſſiduity, that have been employed to inveſtigate them, any legendary poem whatever, far leſs any hiſtorical narrative, that gives a particular account of Ceylon: though we find it noticed in the aſtronomical work of Paraſara, under the name of Lancâ; and though we know from oral tradition, that ſome trade had been carried on between it and the ſea-port towns of Hinduſtân, from time immemorial. It is therefore

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to the writings of European, and of one or two Arabian travellers, and to the commercial ſpirit of the Portugueze and Dutch, that we are indebted for all the information we poſſeſs reſpecting this iſland. Theſe travellers, however, for the moſt part, only viſited its ſhores, or the narrow vicinage of a few miles round the European ſettlements; and thoſe among them who penetrated into the interior of the country, were chiefly men of confined views, and little education. The wars in which the Portugueze were perpetually engaged with the kings of Candy, from their firſt invaſion of the iſland, until they were attacked by the Dutch, and the perſecuting zeal with which they wickedly, fooliſhly and vainly endeavoured to propagate the Chriſtian faith among the Cingaleſe, utterly precluded them from making thoſe inquiries into the religion, laws, and civil government of the country, and from ſtudying the character of its inhabitants, which alone could convince them of the wretched policy they purſued, and ſecure to them that trade which it was their original object, as well as their intereſt, to cultivate. The Dutch, again, after they had finally reduced all the Portugueze ſettlements, and firmly eſtabliſhed themſelves in the iſland, for a while conducted their affairs, if not with the liberal views, at leaſt with the foreſight and prudence, of able merchants. Their ſound ſenſe ſuggeſted to them the commercial advantages that would ariſe from conciliating the minds of the Cingaleſe; and they concluded a treaty of amity with the king of Candy, in which their right to the territory they had conquered was recognized, and permiſſion to cultivate the cinnamon was granted. But the immenſe wealth which they were thereby enabled ſpeedily to acquire, ſoon deſtroyed that enterpriſing ſpirit which had animated their commerce; and inſtead of making themſelves acquainted with the hiſtory, and of extending their views to the general politics of the country, they confined them to the partial intereſts of their ſeveral factories. The governors who were ſent from Holland to adminiſter their affairs, inſtead of being able ſtateſmen or enlightened merchants, were men of low habits and coarſe minds, accuſtomed to the trammels of a counting-houſe, and as incapable of forming any generous and extenſive ſcheme of policy, as of encouraging the reſearches of learned men in the arts and ſciences of the Cingaleſe. Hence the hiſtory of the Dutch ſettlements in Ceylon, conſiſts ſolely of a ſeries of details ſo loathſome, that every well-framed mind would be diſguſted at the bare recital of them. A gluttonous rapacity, generated by the rapid acquiſition of riches, rendered the Dutch alike regardleſs of the faith of treaties, and the obligations of friendſhip; and ſpurred them on to make encroachments on the dominions of the king of Candy. This conduct gave birth to a ſucceſſion of petty wars, in which, though the Dutch were always ſucceſsful, the Candians were never ſubdued. In theſe wars, the Dutch treated their priſoners, of whatever rank or age, with the harſheſt rigour; and heaped upon them every mark of degradation which the moſt ingenious cruelty could furniſh, or the moſt brutal barbarity inflict. The Cingaleſe, though living under a monarchy entirely abſolute, and without any idea whatever of political freedom, being nevertheleſs protected in their perſons and properties

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properties by wholesome and moderate laws, which they consider as sacred, and with which few of their kings have materially interfered, and proud of their immemorial independence, they were naturally shocked and exasperated at the enormities of the Dutch. They, therefore, incessantly provoked hostilities, in order to revenge the injuries they had sustained; and though they were unable to drive their enemy from their island, they often succeeded in repulsing him from their mountains.—The implacable hatred they bore the Dutch, deterred the Cingalese, in times of peace, from having any communication with them; and although the court of Candy did not refuse to receive their ambassadors, they were treated with cold distrust, and watched with jealous vigilance. And the remembrance of the Portugueze, and the shameful and impolitic conduct of the Dutch, at length induced the kings of Candy to forbid their subjects to have any intercourse with any European nation whatever; and they instructed them to hold in eternal abhorrence a race of people, whom, as they appeared to them, no ties of honour could bind, and against whose treachery no prudence could guard. These facts sufficiently account for the island of Ceylon being less known than any other equally celebrated part of India.

Of the general line of conduct that has been pursued by each of those European nations who have risen to any consequence in India, it should be observed here, that the Portugueze, shortly after the time of the great Albuquerque, became so infatuated with their favourite idea of converting the nations of Asia to the Catholic religion, that it absorbed every other consideration, whether of policy or fame. A knowledge of the languages, customs, politics, arts and sciences, of Hindustân, so essential to the well-being of their own establishments in that country, they totally neglected to acquire.

The Dutch were no less indifferent to these important objects, Confining all their views solely to the interests and extension of their commerce, they never aspired to the elevated rank of a Sovereign People in the East. Even their trade was conducted on narrow principles; and from the state of literature in their mother-country during the present century, we need not wonder at their having felt no desire to gather the laurels of India.*

The discernment and penetration of the French very early perceived the utility that must result from their studying the characters and history of the people of Hindustân, and the spirit of the different states of which it is composed. Their acuteness and address enabled them to gain much information on these subjects; and the names of Dupleix, Labourdonnais, Bussy, Bailly, and Gentil, stand deservedly high in Indian politics and science. But the continued dissentions, in which their intrigues involved them, as well as the distraction that prevailed in the councils of their E. India Company, which deterred men of science from accepting any employment in their service, prevented them

* It were, however, uncandid not to mention here, that a printing press was established at Columbo, by the Dutch Company, about fifty years ago; at which there have been printed a grammar of the Cingalese language, by Johannes Ryell; and one or two translations from the Scriptures, into Cingalese, by different authors. Some of these books, particularly the grammar, was afterwards reprinted at Amsterdam; but, it would seem, have not been productive of the least utility.

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them from attaining that accurate and profound knowledge in Oriental politics and learning which might have been expected from their talents. And it has been reserved for the enlightened genius of Britain, at once to explore the sources of the opulence, and to unlock the repositories of the literature of Asia.

The island of Ceylon is situated between 5° 46′ 10″ and 9° 50′40″ of north latitude, and between 79° 36′ 50″ and 82° 10′ 00″ of longitude, east from Greenwich. The length of the island, from Dondra-head, south to Tellipeli, north, is 270 miles; the greatest breadth is, from Columbo to Trincolé, 160 miles. From Dondra-head, as far north as Trincomallée, its direction is due north and south; from the latitude of Trincomallée to that of Tellipeli, it runs north by west, and south by east. The shores of Ceylon are washed on the north and north-east by the Bay of Bengal, and on the east-south-east, south and south-west, by the great Indian Ocean: on the west it is bounded by the Gulph of Manâar, which separates it from Cape Comorin and the coast of Madura; and on the north-west it is divided from the coast of Tanjore and Marawar, by Palk's Passage. This straight is celebrated for the extensive pearl fishery * which was carried on in it, on both shores, by the Dutch, and which is now carried on by Great Britain. It is only navigable for small vessels; and at the narrowest place, called Adam's-bridge, from the small island of Manâar, on the coast of Ceylon, to the still smaller one, on the opposite coast, of Ramisuram, about twenty miles across, can only be passed by the boats employed in the fishery, or vessels of nearly the same size.

The northern part of the island is flat, and in some places swampy; but on that account extremely favourable to the growth of rice, large fields of which are divided by lofty woods, covered with perpetual foliage, abounding with all the fruits common to tropical countries, and plentifully stocked with all the animals that are to be found in the forests of India. The north and north-west shores of the island, from point Pedro to Negombo, are indented by inlets of the sea, some of which, were it not for the shallowness of the water, would form commodious harbours. The largest of these arms of the sea extends almost across the island, from Mulipatti, on the east-side, to the town of Jaffnapatam, on the west, and forms that district which takes the name of the latter place. But all the other shores of the island are bold and rocky; and, excepting a few reefs on the south-east side, present no dangers to the mariner. Sailing along the southern shores of Ceylon, from Trincomallée to Negombo, the face of the country exhibits to the eye of taste, a variety of landscapes, at once beautiful and grand. With a good telescope you distinctly perceive the land in some parts rising gradually, in others abruptly, from the shore,—every where cloathed in verdure, inter-

* In the year 1771, Marrua, a small place, within a few miles of Tutucorin, was taken possession of by the Nabob of the Carnatic, who immediately laid claim to the pearl fishery, and to which demand, the Dutch, for whatever reasons, thought fit to accede. Van Imhof, in his elaborate memorial respecting the state of the Dutch possessions in India, considers Marrua as the most important frontier place of Ceylon.

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interſperſed with villages, ſhaded by ſtately trees,—divided into corn fields, in many places incloſed with quickſet hedges—Farther back in the country you behold plantations of coffee, and whole woods of cinnamon, and various other aromatics, frequently overtopped by the lofty tamarind and the palm, occaſionally giving way to the majeſtic banyan, and intermixed throughout with trees bearing their bloſſoms and their fruit together. The eye at length loſes ſight of theſe woods on the acclivities of ſtupendous mountains, whoſe broken precipices, tufted with old trees, overlook the plains, and whoſe ſhaggy tops tower above the clouds. It is ſcarcely poſſible for the imagination to picture ſcenery more magnificent and delightful.

The territory which the Dutch acquired in Ceylon, and which now belongs to Great-Britain, extends along the whole of the ſea-coaſts of the iſland, except about ten miles of the eaſtern coaſt, in the diſtrict of Seavara, which the king of Candy ſtill retains. In the cinnamon country, on the weſt and ſouth-weſt ſide of the iſland, from Columbo to Maturo, our poſſeſſions ſtretch about twenty-four miles inland, where they border on the king of Candy's dominions. On the eaſt ſide, at Batticola and Trincomallée, they do not extend into the country above twelve miles. On the north ſide, at Jaffnapatam and Marrua, about the ſame diſtance.

Columbo, the principal town in the Engliſh territory, and the reſidence of the governor, is prettily ſituated, in one of the moſt fertile, though not the moſt populous parts of the iſland, in which rice fields, meadow ground, and cinnamon groves, are beautifully mingled. The town of Columbo is neatly built, large, populous, and extremely clean. It was tolerably well fortified by the Dutch, but, from its natural advantages is, capable of being made a very ſtrong place. There is a ſchool here for the propagation of the Chriſtian religion. And the native Chriſtians, Roman Catholics, and Proteſtants, alone, have been computed by the Dutch to amount to no leſs than 300,000. Admitting, however, this calculation to be juſt, theſe Chriſtians unqueſtionably conſiſt of the deſcendants of the Portugueze, the offspring of the Dutch by Malabar women, and perhaps a few converts from among the Parriahs or Chandalas, a claſs of people rendered infamous in every country where the Hindû religion prevails, from being Hindús, who have been driven from ſociety, and debarred all intercourſe with their ſeveral ſects, for having violated the ſanctity of thoſe cuſtoms which the faith of Brahmâ enjoins. There is no evidence whatever, of either Mahommedan or Chriſtian zeal having ever made any conſiderable number of proſelytes from any of the great eſtabliſhed tribes of the Hindû race.

Contiguous to Columbo there is a botanical garden, which was eſtabliſhed ſeveral years ago, by the celebrated botaniſt John Gideon Loten, of Utrecht; and which, I truſt, will not now be neglected. The greateſt diſadvantage attending the ſituation of Columbo, is its open road, which is only ſafe during the months of November, December, January, and February; it being too much expoſed for ſhips to ride in with ſecurity, during the changing of the monſoons; and it being altogether impracticable for any veſſel to withſtand the violence of the ſouth-weſt monſoon, from its blowing directly on this coaſt.

About fifteen miles north of Columbo, on the ſea-coaſt, is Negombo,

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gombo, an inconſiderable fortreſs, but the diſtrict in which it is ſituated produces the beſt cinnamon in our poſſeſſions. The next place of conſequence on the coaſt, is Jaffnapatam, which is ſituated at the north end of the iſland, oppoſite to the coaſt of Tanjore. It is ſtrongly fortified. On the eaſt-ſide of the iſland, the harbour of Trincomallée is the firſt object that claims our attention; a ſpacious and noble bay, which the whole navy of England may enter with eaſe, and ride in at all ſeaſons with perfect ſafety. The harbour is guarded by two fortifications, Trincomallée fort, and fort Oſtenburg; the laſt of which ſtands upon a cliff, projecting about 1500 paces into the ſea; but it does not, in its preſent ſtate, ſufficiently cover the ſhipping. It was originally built by the Portugueze, with the materials of an auguſt pagoda of exquiſite workmanſhip, which ſtood on the ſame ground that this fortreſs now occupies, and which their frantic bigotry prompted them to demoliſh.

This noble harbour, undoubtedly of great political conſequence to Britiſh India, has, however, two material diſadvantages. The tide does not riſe to a ſufficient height to admit the conſtruction of wet-docks, except for veſſels of an inconſiderable ſize: and the harbour is ſituated in the only barren part of the iſland. The country about Trincomallée has never been cultivated, and its arid ſoil yields no ſpontaneous productions, not even any paſturage for cattle. The neareſt farm villages are upwards of twelve miles diſtant, from which the garriſons of Trincomallée and fort Oſtenburgh are ſupplied with proviſions.

Eighteen leagues to the ſouthward of Trincomallée, at the head of a deep bay, lies Batticola, ſituated in the diſtrict of that name. It is a ſmall fortreſs built by the Dutch; but of great importance, on account of the extreme fertility of the adjacent country, which, during a war, or times of ſcarcity in the diſtrict of Trincomallee, can amply ſupply the garriſons there with all kinds of proviſions.

Punto Gallo is ſituated at the ſouthern extremity of the iſland, in the rich and beautiful province of Matura. This is a very ſmall and is far from being a ſecure harbour; and would not deſerve any notice here, but from its being the place where all the products of Ceylon are ſhipped for Europe.

Such are the ſituations of the different places in Ceylon, now flouriſhing under the Britiſh flag; and which, if governed by that enlightened policy which has for a conſiderable period guided the adminiſtration of our Indian affairs, will be productive of many political, if not commercial advantages.

The whole of the interior of Ceylon, excepting the ſmall province of Coylot, of the country of the Wanees, in the northern part of the iſland, is peopled by the Cingalele, the aboriginal inhabitants. and under the government of the king of Candy. His dominions are ſaid to be regularly divided * into provinces and diſtricts; but as neither their number nor ſize has been accurately aſcertained, I ſhall not run the riſk of miſleading the reader by adopting the diviſion of Mr. Knox, as it appears to me to be extremely fanciful, and as I am not ſufficiently informed on the ſubject, either to decide where it is accurate, or to correct its miſtakes. It ſhould ſeem, however, that the kingdom

* Knox on Ceylon.

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kingdom of Candy is divided into about thirty diſtricts, of which the principal is Candy-Uda, a name ſignifying the "top of the hills," and appropriate to that part of the country. Theſe diſtricts are incloſed by lofty and almoſt impenetrable woods, which are preſerved by the king, and reverenced by the people as the natural bulwarks of their country; and which, therefore, it would be accounted ſacrilege to fell. There are guards regularly ſtationed at all the different paſſages throughout the woods.

The general aſpect of the interior of the iſland, as has been already deſcribed of its ſhores, is extremely picturesque. High mountains, covered with old wood, and wide vales fertilized by innumerable rivulets, every where cultivated, and divided by thick rows of fruit-trees, that interſect, and thereby ſecure the beautiful little hamlets that lie ſcattered around from the ferocious inhabitants of the foreſt, preſent on all ſides the moſt diverſified ſcenery and enchanting proſpects, while they fill the mind with a long train of the moſt pleaſing reflections.

The moſt conſiderable mountain in the iſland is called Hamallel, or Adam's Peak. It is ſituated on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of Candy-Uda, and is of a pyramidical form. On the top there is a large flat ſtone, with an impreſſion on it, ſomething like the ſhape of a man's foot, but conſiderably longer, being about two feet long. There is a tradition among the Cingaleſe that Addha, the great author of their religion, left the print of his foot on this ſtone when he aſcended to heaven! on which account it is eſteemed ſacred, and people of all ranks and ages perform annual pilgrimages to it.

Moſt of the rivers in the iſland have their riſe in this mountain, the largeſt of which is Mavalagonga, that falls into the ſea at Trincomallée. It is about a gun-ſhot in breadth, and is chiefly from ten to twelve feet deep, for ſeveral miles up from its mouth; but the numerous rocks which intercept its courſe, render it altogether unnavigable for veſſels that are conſtructed for a ſea voyage, though the Cingaleſe have boats upon it, and it might in many places be made ſerviceable to the purpoſes of trade. Of this river, Mr. Knox gives the following account: "It is ſo deep, (ſays he,) that unleſs it be very dry weather, a man cannot wade over it, except towards the head of it. They uſe canoes to paſs over it; for there are no bridges built over it, being ſo broad, and the ſtream in the time of the rains (which in this country are very great) runs ſo high, that they cannot make them; neither, if they could, would it be permitted; for the king careth not to make his country eaſy to travel, but deſires to keep it intricate. This river runs within a mile or leſs of the city of Candy. In ſome places of it, full of rocks; in others, clear for three or four miles."

The ſeaſons in Ceylon, as at Cape Comorin, are entirely under the influence of the monſoon winds; the ſouth-weſt monſoon bringing conſtant rain to the weſtern, and dry weather and a ſerene ſky to the eaſtern parts of the iſland; the ſouth-eaſt monſoon, on the contrary, producing the oppoſite effects. "The rains and dry weather," (ſays Mr. Knox,) "part themſelves about the middle of the iſland, as often times I have ſeen, being on the one ſide of a mountain called Cauras-king, rainy weather, and as ſoon as I got on the other, dry, and ſo exceeding hot, that I could ſcarcely walk on the ground, being, as the manner there is, barefoot."

The iſland produces ſome uſeful minerals, and a variety of gems.

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Iron, copper, and black-lead, are found in great abundance: and one of the mountains in Candy-Uda is said to contain a gold mine, the working of which is prohibited, by the prudent policy of the king. All the precious stones in Hindustân are to be met with in Ceylon*.

With regard to the vegetable kingdom, this island may very truly be denominated the garden of Asia, for, excepting the tea-plant, and the mangusteen of the Malay islands, all the trees, plants, and flowers, of that great and fertile region of the globe, seem collected here: besides the celebrated plant peculiar to itself. Of this last only it were necessary to give any description in this place. But as the far-famed bread-fruit is generally supposed to belong exclusively to Otaheite, and the neighbouring islands in the Pacific Ocean, it is essential to inform the reader, that it has grown in Ceylon from time out of memory, where it is certainly indigenous, as has been very satisfactorily proved, twenty years ago, by Dr Thunberg; a fact with which our government appear to have been unacquainted, by having sent Capt. Bligh twice to Otaheite, for that which might so easily have been procured in Ceylon. Of this plant there are two species; one the integrifolia, the other the incitus of Linnæus †. Mr. Knox mentions both of them. He calls the integrifolia, by the Ceyloneſe name, warragah. The other kind he calls vellas. This species is called jacca by the Portugueze. It is found in Sumatra, as well as in some parts of Tanjore, and the Carnatic. Dr. Thunberg's account of these fruits is to be found in Vol. LXIX. of the Transactions of the Royal Society, under the general name of tfidadium. He brought with him from Ceylon, some hundred shrubs of both species, with the intention of transplanting them in Holland: but he unfortunately lost them all in a severe gale of wind, when he was within a few days sail of his destined port. The Cingaleſe use the vellas as bread, and, in times of scarcity, instead of rice.

The laurus cinnamomum, or cinnamon, which is a species of laurel, that grows to the height of twenty feet, and which, notwithstanding the opinion of Mr. Taylor White, Mr. Combes, ‡ and even Mr. Pennant himself, I am inclined to think, is peculiar to Ceylon, and a species of the laurus, totally distinct from the Cassia. And were this a fit place to discuss the question, I could support my opinion on the authority of a botanist § of great talents and research, who is at present employed in exploring the interior of Sumatra. The ardent and adventurous philosophy of this gentleman, not content to purſue fame in cultivated regions, and through beaten ways, has led him to forego the comforts of society, to encounter the most imminent perils, to penetrate into an unknown country, and to mix with man in his rudest state; — and thus, by laying open new sources of information, to widen the sphere of useful knowledge, and to promote the interests of his country.

The cinnamon-tree grows spontaneously all over Ceylon, excepting the district of Jaffnapatam. In the districts of Columbo and Matura, the Dutch have improved the bark by cultivation. "The superfine cinnamon," says Dr. Thunberg, "is known by the following properties, viz. In the first place, it

* See a very scientific and particular account of them in Dr. Thunberg's Travels, Vol. IV. p. 218. † *Vide* Suppl. p. 412.

‡ A gentleman who resided some time in Sumatra.

§ Mr. Charles Campbell.

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t is thin, and rather pliable; it ught commonly to be about the ubſtance of royal paper, or ſome- hat thicker: Secondly, it is of a ght colour, and rather inclinable yellow, bordering but little upon rown: Thirdly, it poſſeſſes a weetiſh taſte, and, at the ſame me, is not ſtronger than may be orne without pain, and is not ſuc- eeded by any after-taſte. Cinna- on is barked in the woods at two ifferent ſeaſons of the year. The rſt is termed the grand harveſt, nd laſts from April to Auguſt: ie ſecond is the ſmall harveſt, nd laſts from November to the onth of January."* This being ie ſtaple commodity of the coun- y, the culture of it is attended to ith peculiar care.

The ſtate of agriculture in Cey- n appears to be as far advanced that of the neighbouring conti- nt; and the iſland produces all ie different grains that are to be und there,—though not in ſuch undance as the benignity of the imate, and fertility of the ſoil, ould lead us to expect; for it dom yields a larger crop of rice, an its inhabitants, in the courſe the year, can conſume. This is be attributed to a want of in- ſtry among the Cingaleſe; who, ough in many reſpects as highly ilized as any other race of Hin- , do in this inſtance, from their ular ſituation, and their living a mountainous country, ſtill re- n that diſtinguiſhing charac- iſtic of a paſtoral people.

The zoology of this iſland, as ll as of India at large, has been copiouſly treated, and ably treated by Mr. Pennant, who piled his intereſting works on ſubject from the obſervations and drawings of Mr. Loten, Dr. Thunberg, M. D'Abſonville, and other able naturaliſts, that it were equally preſumptuous and unne- ceſſary to offer any account of my own. I ſhall therefore deſcribe thoſe animals moſt worthy of no- tice, nearly in the words of Mr. Pennant.

The race of elephants in Ceylon are large, and more adapted for war than thoſe of the continent of India. They are at preſent taken in different ways, and, after being tamed, are ſent to the great annual fair at Jaffnapatam. The mer- chants of Malabar and Bengal have notice of the numbers and qualities of the elephants to be ſent up for ſale; ſometimes a hundred are ſold at one fair. A full-grown beaſt, 12 or 14 feet high, will be ſold at the rate of two thouſand dollars.

The method of taking the ele- phants † is by a ſnare, or elephant- toil, conſtructed of ſtout cocoa trees, almoſt in the form of a tri- angle. At one of the angles there is an opening, fortified with ſtakes, planted cloſe to each other, and held firmly together by ropes. This opening is ſo narrow, that only one elephant can enter at a time. When orders are given for an elephant chaſe, a great multi- tude of men are ſent into the woods, who encompaſs a certain extent of ground, known to be frequented by elephants. After this, they gradually draw nearer, beat drums, and contract the area of the circle; in the mean time the elephants ap- proach nearer and nearer the ſide on which the toil is placed Fi- nally, torches are lighted up, to terrify theſe huge animals, and to force them to enter the toil The laſt time that elephants were caught

Dr. Thunberg then proceeds to deſcribe, with ſcrupulous accuracy, the manner arking the cinnamon: but as the paſſage is too long to be quoted here, the reader ferred to the 4th vol. of his Travels, p. 199.

† This deſcription of the mannner of taking elephants is related by Dr. Thunberg, had been an eye-witneſs to theſe noble animals being drove into the toil.

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in this manner, their numbers amounted to upwards of a hundred, and on former occasions has sometimes amounted to one hundred and thirty. The first care of the captors is to bring the elephants out of the toil, and to tame them. For this purpose, one, two or more elephants are placed at the side where the opening is, through which such elephant is let out singly, when he is immediately bound fast, with strong ropes, to the tame ones, who discipline him with their proboscis, till he likewise becomes tame, and suffers himself to be handled, and managed at pleasure. This discipline is sometimes accomplished in a few days, by bringing the wild elephant under controul by hunger.

The horses of this island are descended from the Arabian breed.

Buffaloes are as common here as on the continent, and, as is the case in Sumatra,* are the only animals used for rural economy.

Monkies swarm all over the island, and are as large as those of Sumatra and Java.—The wanderow, a species mentioned by Knox, with a long white beard from ear to ear, a black face, and dark grey body, is, as far as we have information, peculiar to Ceylon.

Wild boars, bears, jackalls, and tigers, abound in the woods.

The naga, or, as the Portugueze call it, the cabra de capello, or hooded snake, is very common in Ceylon.

The vast snake, called boa, and anacandaia, by the Cingalese, is to be found here: though not of so large a size as those mentioned by Dr. Shaw.† It is, doubtless, the same monstrous serpent described by Quintus Curtius, and Arrian, which astonished Alexander in his march near the banks of the Indus.

The insects of Ceylon are of uncommon sizes; scorpions have been found there upwards of eight inches long; scolopendræ, seven inches in length; and of spiders, the aranea aricularia, with legs four inches long, and the body covered with thick black hair.

Of the birds of Ceylon, the only one I shall mention is the tailor-bird, because it is less known, and more singular, than any other bird of the east. It is thus described by Mr. Pennant, in his Indian Zoology:

"Had Providence left the feathered tribe unendowed with any particular instinct, the birds of the torrid zone would have built their nests in the same unguarded manner as those of Europe: but there, the lesser species, having a certain prescience of the dangers that surround them, and of their own weakness, suspend their nests at the extreme branches of the trees: they are conscious of inhabiting a climate, replete with enemies to them and their young; with snakes that twine up the bodies of the trees, and apes that are perpetually in search of prey; but heaven-instructed, they elude the gliding of the one, and the activity of the other.

"The brute creation in the torrid zone, are more at enmity with one another, than in other climates; and the birds are obliged to exert unusual artifice in placing their little broods out of the reach of an invader. Each aims at the same end, though by different means. Some form their pensile nest in the shape of a purse, deep and open at the top; and others, still more cautious, with an entrance at the very bottom, forming their lodge near the summit.

"But the little species we describe, seems to have greater confidence

* *Vide* Marsden's History of Sumatra, p. 94.

† *Vide* the Naturalist's Miscellany, in which these snakes are compared, for size, to the mast of a ship.

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fence than the others! it will not truſt its neſt even to the extremity of a ſlender twig, but makes one more advance to ſafety, by fixing it to the leaf itſelf.

"It picks up a dead leaf, and, ſurpriſing to relate, ſews it to the ſide of a living one, its ſlender bill being the needle, and its thread ſome fine fibres; the lining, feathers, goſſamer, and down. Its eggs are white; the colour of the bird, light yellow; its length, three inches; its weight, only three-ſixteenths of an ounce; ſo that the materials of the neſt, and its own ſize, are not likely to draw down an habitation that hangs on ſo ſlight a tenure."

The other birds of the iſland are deſcribed by Mr. Pennant with equal accuracy; but as moſt of them are known all over Hinduſtân, it would be wholly ſuperfluous to notice them.—In the fiſhes of Ceylon, there is nothing peculiar;—they are preciſely the ſame as thoſe found on the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, and among the iſlands of the Indian Archipelago.

Having thus taken a rapid ſurvey of the natural hiſtory of Ceylon, I ſhall now proceed to give a ſketch of the character, manners, religion, and civil government of that ancient people, who inhabit this diſtinguiſhed iſland.

The aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon conſiſt of two claſſes of people, the Cingaleſe and the Vaddahs. The Cingaleſe appear, from their language, letters, and ancient monuments, to have been, beyond time of memory, a race of Hindûs inſtructed in all the arts of civil life, nearly in as high a degree as the nations of the neighbouring continent. The Vaddahs are a people ſtill in the rudeſt ſtage of ſocial life; they live emboſomed in the woods, or in the hollows of the mountains;—hunting their ſole employment, and providing ſuſtenance for the paſſing day their only care. Whether the Cingaleſe and Vaddahs were originally one people, differing only in thoſe peculiar characteriſtics which diſtinguiſh the inhabitants of lowlands from thoſe of adjoining mountains in every part of the world, is a queſtion, which, if it were poſſible, would not be very material to reſolve. Equally fruitleſs and unneceſſary would it be to inquire, whether the firſt inhabitants of this iſland were indigenous, or adventitious ſettlers from the coaſts of Coromandel and Malabar. I ſhall not waſte the reader's time in ſo unprofitable a diſcuſſion. It will be ſufficient to remark, that if Ceylon was peopled from the continent, as it is certainly natural to ſuppoſe,—the operation of a phyſical, without the aid of any moral* cauſe, has in a long ſucceſſion of ages produced a wider and more ſtriking difference between theſe people and the race from which they are ſaid to be deſcended, than is any where elſe to be found in the hiſtory of mankind.

The Vaddahs ſpeak a dialect of the Cingaleſe language, and ſome of them acknowledge the authority of the king of Candy. Near Hourly, the moſt remote and mountainous part of the king's dominions, the neighbouring Vaddah families are not wholly unacquainted with the principles of barter. They exchange with the Cingaleſe, elephants' teeth, and deers' fleſh, for arrows, cloth, &c. This practice, however, is by no means general, for two-thirds of them hold no communication whatever with the Cingaleſe, and have an utter antipathy to ſtrangers. They are very robuſt and hardy:—in their diſpoſitions, reſo-

* For the principles and many of the forms of their religion, laws, and government, are the ſame as thoſe of other Hindû nations.

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reſolute and inflexible, but iraſcible and treacherous; in their manners they aſſume a courteſy hardly reconcilable with the character of any untutored people, far leſs with the other qualities of their own. With an almoſt brutal ignorance of all human acquirements, they however vindicate their own character, and preſerve the dignity of their kind, by a belief in God, and by a ſtrict obſervance of divine worſhip, endued with the ſolemnities of religion, though they be deformed by idolatry, and tarniſhed with ſuperſtitious ſacrifices. In ſome places they have erected temples; but for the moſt part they perform worſhip at an altar conſtructed of bamboos, under the ſhade of th banyan-tree. Their religious doctrine ſeems to conſiſt of ſome indiſtinct notions of the fundamental principles of the Braminical faith. They worſhip a particular God,* whom they believe to have deſcended from heaven many millions of years ago, to inſtruct them in the duties of life. To him they offer up ſacrifices at all their feſtivals; and through his favour they hope for eternal bliſs, or from his enmity they dread eternal puniſhment.—The Vaddahs live in families, or ſmall tribes, each of which is governed by a chieftain, ſelected from among the ſtrongeſt and moſt dextrous of their huntſmen. To have killed a certain number of deer, is at once the greateſt ambition and higheſt praiſe of a youthful Vaddah. It not only gains him the applauſe of the men, but alſo recommends him to the favour of the women.—When a youth ſolicits a girl in marriage from her parents, it is required of him to mention what ſucceſs he has had in hunting; and if he obtains their conſent, the portion they give their daughter is paid *in hunting dogs*, the number of which is equal to the deer he has ſlain. In this ſtate of life, there exiſt, in the mountains of Ceylon, ſeveral thouſands of the human race, in whom example hath called forth and embodied that ſpirit of religion, or belief in ſome preſiding Providence, which is implanted in the nature of man, without having inſpired that wiſh to meliorate their condition which is the living principle of civilization and improvement. Secured in their independence by their ſituation and their poverty, and ſupplied from their woods with all the neceſſaries of life that the climate requires, they look down from their rugged precipices, on the cultivated vales of their neighbours, with the moſt frigid indifference. The clothing and rich trappings, the comfortable dwellings and fruitful fields, the arts and luxuries of the Cingaleſe, excite no feelings of ſurpriſe, no ſentiments of admiration, no deſire of imitation, not even any emotions of envy, in the ſluggiſh boſoms of the naked and houſeleſs Vaddahs,—in whoſe ſtubborn minds no love of induſtry takes root, no emulation quickens—nothing, but the groſſer paſſions, grows. And this extraordinary race exhibits the phenomenon of a people practiſing a religion, rational and benevolent and mild in its principles, yet living for a ſeries of ages almoſt in a ſtate of quieſcent barbariſm, with the example of arts and civilization perpetually before them.

The Cingaleſe, who have already been ſo often mentioned, and who are the ſubjects of the king of Candy, are, perhaps, the moſt handſome, both in their perſons and countenances, of the whole Hindû race. Reſem-

* The name is not mentioned by Knox, the only writer who gives a faithful account of theſe people.

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Resembling the Hindûs of Bahar in their complexions, their features have the acuteness, and bespeak the intelligence, of Frenchmen. In height, the men are from five feet six inches, to five feet ten; the women, about five feet. The men, though not exactly straight, nor well proportioned in their limbs, are yet extremely nimble, active, and hardy. The women, though not fair, nor beautiful, are yet exquisitely delicate and graceful. The men wear a muslin cloth wrapped round their loins, like the Hindûs of Bengal, with a jacket buttoned at the wrists, and gathered at the shoulders like a shirt; on their heads a red cap, with flaps that cover their ears; they wear a handsome short hanger, and, on their right side, a knife of considerable length. The dress of the women is a waistcoat of white calico, embroidered with blue and red flowers, very prettily wrought; over which is loosely thrown a white muslin cloth, proportioned in fineness and length to the rank of the wearer: a piece of fancy-coloured silk is worn on the head, sufficiently large to cover the hair, which is done up with much neatness; and their ears, necks, arms, and ancles, are adorned with jewels.

The men are grave and dignified, yet courteous and elegant in their deportment; penetrating and sagacious in understanding, they are prompt, judicious and intelligent in public affairs; and sensible, temperate and prudent in private life; fertile and lively in imagination, they are ingenious, subtle, and eloquent. Calm, but resolute in their temper, it is equally difficult to provoke and to appease their anger; indolent in their dispositions, they are averse from labour:—languid in their passions, they are little susceptible of the delicacies and raptures of love, or of the sympathies and enthusiasm of friendship; but, therefore, moderate in their desires, they are even-minded, unassuming, and gentle.—Selfish in their principles of action, they are often goaded by avarice to the violation of their promises; but, filled with the most awful reverence for a religion which inculcates the most sublime sentiments of humanity, and which is interwoven with the whole system of their laws and civil polity, they are unchangeable in their worship to God, devout in their love for their country, and uniform in their charities to man.

The Cingalese women exhibit a striking contrast to those of all other oriental nations, in some of the most prominent and distinctive features of their character. Instead of that lazy apathy, insipid modesty, and sour austerity, which have characterised the sex throughout the Asiatic world in every period of its history; in this island they possess much of that active sensibility, winning bashfulness, and amiable ease, for which the women of modern Europe are peculiarly famed. The Cingalese women are not merely the slaves and mistresses, but, in many respects, the companions and friends of their husbands; for tho' the men be authorised by law to hold their wives and daughters in tyrannical subjection, yet their sociable and placable dispositions soften the rigour of their domestic policy. And polygamy being unknown,* and divorce permitted among the Cingalese, the men have

* "In this country," says Knox, "each man, even the greatest, hath but one wife; but a woman often has two husbands. For it is lawful and common with them for two brothers to keep house together with one wife, and the children do acknowledge and call both fathers."—*Vide* Knox *on Ceylon*, p. 94.

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none of that conſtitutional jealouſy, which has given birth to the voluptuous and unmanly deſpotiſm that is practiſed over the weaker ſex, in the moſt enlightened nations, and ſanctioned by the various religions of Aſia. The Cingaleſe neither keep their women in confinement, nor impoſe on them any humiliating reſtraints. "The greateſt *ladies* in the land," ſays Knox, "will frequently talk and diſcourſe with any men they pleaſe, although their huſbands be preſent."

The houſes of the Cingaleſe peaſantry reſemble the cottages of the Ryots of Bengal. They are either built of clay or rattans, and thatched very indifferently with a long rank graſs, which grows in the woods. In the front of theſe huts there is a piazza of about ſix feet wide, in which they generally ſit, according to the Aſiatic cuſtom, on mats, or carpets, in the mornings and evenings. Their furniture conſiſts of a few earthen pots, hung up in the middle of their houſes, four or five ſtools, ſome braſs baſons to hold their victuals, ſome mats and coarſe blanket rugs that ſerve them for bedding, ſome cooking utenſils and implements of huſbandry. The houſes of the prieſts, miniſters of ſtate, generals, and other great men, are built of ſtone; and though ſeldom more than one ſtory high, are always commodious, and the principal apartments ſometimes ſplendid. Their towns contain little more than forty or fifty houſes. The city of Candy is neatly built, and much cleaner than the generality of Indian towns. The king's palace is elegantly deſcribed in Mr. Boyd's account of his embaſſy.

In their perſons and houſes, the Cingaleſe are exceedingly clean; and in dreſſing their victuals, ſcrupulouſly nice. Their principal food is rice, with which they mix curries, made of fiſh, fowl, or the fleſh of mutton and goat; being, like all other Hindûs, inſtructed by their religion, rather to endure famine and ſuffer death, than eat the fleſh of the cow. The only ſpiritous liquor known among them is arrack: but their religion enjoins them to abſtain from all ſtrong liquors whatever, and their deſires ſeldom tempt them to tranſgreſs this ordinance.

The women are excellent houſewives; thrifty without meanneſs, and hoſpitable without profuſion. To be noted for economy and hoſpitality is their higheſt ambition; and it is accounted the duty of mothers to inſtill theſe virtues into their children. Hence the Cingaleſe unite the glowing liberality of a ſimple people with that prudence and foreſight which are the effects of cultivation and refinement. Yet many of their cuſtoms are barbarous and groſs. We almoſt ceaſe to admire thoſe generous feelings which have forbidden them to keep women in ſlaviſh privacy and bondage, which

A plurality of huſbands is alſo allowed and more extenſively and generally practiſed in Boutan and Thibet, where one wife ſometimes cohabits with all the males of a numerous family, without producing any jealouſy among them. But there is no other people in Aſia, beſides the Cingaleſe, who do not, in a greater or leſs degree, practiſe polygamy. It is permitted by the religion and laws of Brâhma, though it has in all ages been leſs common among the Hindûs, than any other people on the continent of Aſia. Polyandry, however, is directly contrary to one of the fundamental principles of the Hindû law of marriage, which not only poſitively forbids women to marry twice, but recommends them to burn with their deceaſed huſbands; a ſacrifice which, as well as ſome other of the rites and ceremonies of the Braminical religion, is unobſerved by the Cingaleſe, who condemn the practice as abhorrent to humanity, and who ſay they were inſtructed to do ſo by their God, Buddha, who deſcended from heaven to reform and to purify the doctrines of the Vedas.

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which have prompted them to deſpiſe the practice, and enabled them to withſtand the example of neighbouring nations, and which have therefore allowed the ſex to move in their natural ſphere, when we are informed, that, with them, the virtue of female chaſtity is not held to be a principle of honour. Mr. Knox tells us, that it is a common practice among them, "to permit their wives and daughters to lie with other men; and that they do not conceive there is the ſmalleſt impropriety in ſo doing, provided they be of the ſame caſt with themſelves;" and farther, that "men do not conſider it a matter of any conſequence, whether their wives, at the firſt marriage, be maids or not." Such practices and ſentiments are ſo diametrically oppoſite to the uniform and immemorial obſervances of all other Aſiatic nations, and to the ſtanding maxim of the Hindû law, which enjoins, that the indubitable virginity of the bride ſhall be the indiſpenſable and invariable preliminary condition of all contracts of marriage, as well as ſo poſitively ſubverſive of that moral order and decency which are eſſential to the well-being of civilized ſociety, that I am inclined to think Mr. Knox has ſomewhat diſcoloured this part of his picture, with the fancies of an unphilolophic mind, diſguſted at a ſyſtem of manners equally adverſe to that to which it was habituated, and to the early notions it had imbibed. I ſhall, however, ſuſpend my obſervations on theſe extraordinary cuſtoms, which even ſurpaſs in ſenſuality thoſe of the luxurious ſavages of Otaheite, until our farther acquaintance with the Cingaleſe ſhall have enabled me to rectify, or to prove, the account of Mr. Knox. In the mean while it muſt be admitted, from the facts that have been already ſtated, as well as from the circumſtance of there being no public concubines allowed by law, and forming a diſtinct claſs in the community, as in other Hindû countries, that female frailty is here unavoidably expoſed to innumerable dangers; and that therefore, if it be not armed with that high ſenſe of honour which is its natural guardian, the manners of the women, notwithſtanding their ſeeming modeſty, muſt neceſſarily be extremely lax. Mr. Knox gives a very minute deſcription of their licentious habits, which would be too groſs, if it were not too tedious, to cite.

The Cingaleſe do not marry until the age of puberty; yet, according to the eaſtern cuſtom, the matrimonial union is neither propoſed nor ratified by the parties themſelves, but by their parents, who often conclude the agreement, and even appoint the nuptial day, without the previous conſent of the youthful couple. Hence their firſt marriages are rather ties of mutual convenience than bonds of affection and love; but as theſe may be diſſolved at pleaſure on the ſame principles, they are ſelf-deſtructive in their nature, and moſt pernicious in their conſequences. Second marriages, therefore, are ſoon contracted by reciprocal choice, which, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid of the women, are often attended with the permanent felicity, that the ſacred inſtitution, when founded on natural principles, is ſo well calculated to produce.

The religious ſyſtem of the Cingaleſe is nearly the ſame in its great fundamental principles as thoſe of China and Japan, of Tibet and Boutan, of Siam, and of the different ſtates of the Pegue, or Burmahn empire.*

The

* Of this country we have at preſent a very limited knowledge. No account of it has yet been publiſhed, (except a ſhort one in Hamilton's voyages,) which deſerves to be men-

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The general principle of the theology of these nations, is a firm belief in the supreme God, and of his Being and special Providence. Their great lawgivers and philosophers have demonstrated the truth of this principle, "from the perfection of the celestial bodies, and the wonderful order of nature in the whole fabric of the visible world." In this universal truth they agree with the Brahmans, on whose doctrines the religion of the Cingalese is undoubtedly founded, and from whose religious opinions and rites the different systems of superstition which obtain in the above-mentioned countries, in all probability, were originally derived. "The Buddha of the Hindûs," says Sir William Jones, "was unquestionably the Foe of China,† nor can we doubt that he was the Wod or Oden of Scandinavia." According to the Puranas, Buddha was the ancestor of that military tribe, whom the Hindûs denominate the Children of the Moon, or the genius of the planet Mercury. He is said to have been the offspring of the nymph Rohini, by Soma, or the Moon; and to have married Ila, whose father was preserved in a miraculous ark from an universal deluge. This Buddha is celebrated in the poems of Jayadèva, as the great reformer of the Vedas; and is supposed to have lived about two thousand seven hundred years ago. His religion was imported into China so late as the first century of the Christian æra: But at what time, or by what means, it was received among the natives of Ceylon, our most diligent inquiries have hitherto been unable to ascertain. An endeavour to discover the channel thro' which the doctrines of Buddha were conveyed to Ceylon, might amuse a philosophic mind; but as such an investigation would necessarily occupy a considerable space, and as it could be productive of no essential benefit to the generality of readers, it were both ostentatious and useless to introduce it here.

The Cingalese believe Buddha to be endowed with the attributes of an all-wise and beneficent Deity, and to have descended from heaven to correct their wickedness and errors, and to purify and prepare their souls for a future state of eternal bliss. They, therefore, adore him as the great author of their religion, and saviour of their race; from whose favour they can alone hope to avert the vengeance of the evil deities who inhabit the infernal regions, or expect mercy and salvation from the supreme Creator and Governor of the universe. They believe in the transmigration of the soul, which they extend even to the inanimate creation; and they conceive that the Divine Spirit pervades the vast body of nature, and gives life to all sentient beings.

This exalted conception of an eternal mind, was the vital principle of the Pythagorean and Platonic

mentioned, much less to be perused; although both French and English factories have at different periods been established at Rangoon, the sea-port of the Burmahn dominions, and although British vessels have traded there for upwards of a century and a half. The jealous policy of this government, which in many respects resembles that of China, would not permit our merchants and mariners to have any intercourse with the interior of the country, till the penetrating sagacity of Lord Teignmouth saw the utility of endeavouring to remove those scruples, and the commercial advantages that would result to British India from sending a special embassy to the Burmahn Emperor. Accordingly, in the year 1795, he deputed Captain Michael Symes to the court of Umarahpurah. The result of that mission is said to promise every advantage that could be expected from it, and to reflect much credit on the talents of the gentleman to whose conduct it was entrusted.

† See Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. p. 376, where the Hindû account of the flood is fully explained.

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tonic philoſophy, which is ſo well deſcribed in the ſublime language of Virgil:

Principio cœlum, ac terras, campoſque liquentes,
Lucentemque globem Lunæ, Titanique aſtra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamque infuſa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno ſe corpore miſcet.*

The Cingaleſe mode of worſhip is more ſimple than that of the followers of Brâhma, although they reſemble each other in all their material parts. Polytheiſm is the ground-work of both; but the Cingaleſe comparatively pay devotion only to a few gods, though theſe are to be found under different names in the Hindû mythology. The Cingaleſe worſhip images only as the ſymbols of their particular deities; like all other Hindû tribes, they have no idol or repreſentation of the ſupreme God. To Him they offer up their prayers and thankſgivings before the image of Buddha, in their pagodas or temples of public worſhip, where theſe religious ceremonies are performed on particular occaſions by the Tirinanxes, or the firſt claſs of the eccleſiaſtical order, but for the moſt part by Gounis, or the loweſt order of prieſts. Before they begin their devotions, they perform their ablutions in the tank, or pond, that belongs to each pagoda, and which is either ſituated in the front or in the centre of the building. Theſe ponds are ſuppoſed to be filled with ſacred water, and are therefore appropriated to the ſervices of religion.

As the Brâhmans worſhip the Ganges, ſo the Cingaleſe alſo worſhip the river Mavelagonga, already deſcribed, as an hallowed ſtream that can waſh out the blackeſt crimes.

For the ſun, but more particularly the moon, on account of the fable of the birth of Buddha, they profeſs the moſt devout reverence; and to the moon they offer up ſacrifices, at their two annual feſtivals, which, in point of time, as well as in many of the ceremonies, pretty nearly accord with the great Hindû feſtivals in June and November. But beſides theſe two ſolemn feſtivals, the Cingaleſe have another ſtill more magnificent than either, which is the anniverſary of the aſcent of Buddha to heaven. This laſt is held in March.

The Cingaleſe are repreſented by Mr. Knox as not being zealous in the practice of their religious duties, and as having, in truth, no reverence for any of their gods but Buddha: and he mentions one or two inſtances in which he ſaw them even revile their inferior deities, and laugh at the ſuperſtitions of their own worſhip. It is, however, certain, that if they be leſs fervent, they are not leſs regular than the true Hindûs; and that if they ridicule their gods, their affected, but profane pleaſantry, is infinitely more ſuperſtitious, than the grave and ſincere bigotry of the Brâhmans. Among all ſavage people, it is a common practice to revile their gods, and to deface their idols, when their moſt ardent adoration has not availed to quiet thoſe fears which prompted them to perform it,† or to ſatisfy thoſe hopes which "ſpring eternal in the human mind." The impious abſurdities of

* *Vide* Æneid, L. 6. l. 724.

† O adoration!
Art thou nought elſe but place, degree, and form,
Creating awe and fear in other men?
Wherein thou art leſs happy, being feared,
Than they in fearing.—
What drinkeſt thou oft, inſtead of homage ſweet,
But poiſon'd flattery?— *Shakeſpeare's Henry V.*

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of the Cingaleſe, therefore, are nothing more than a remnant of that barbariſm which the doctrines of Buddha were deſtined to ſubdue.

Some time previous to Mr. Knox's impriſonment by the king of Candy, a man of conſiderable talents and intrepid courage had appeared among the Cingaleſe, called himſelf the prophet of a new god, and pretended to be gifted with divine power. He is ſaid to have gained many proſelytes; but the king at length dreading his civil ambition, rather than his ſpiritual influence, ordered him to be excuted. The converts to his opinions were, doubtleſs, from the Pariahs, or outcaſts; for there is no ground to ſuppoſe that the religious ſyſtem of an upſtart prophet, could have made any laſting impreſſion on the votaries of Buddha.

The civil government of the Cingaleſe is purely monarchical and deſpotic. But though their kings be veſted with abſolute authority over the lives and properties of the people, their paſſions being diſciplined by the forcible precepts and the wiſe reſtraints of a mild but awful religion, they have very ſeldom been guilty of that tyranny to which ſuch extenſive ſway naturally conducts. In the time of Mr. Knox, the throne of Candy was filled by an uſurper, who was a bloody and relentleſs tyrant; but who, like all all other uſurpers, was probably obliged to ſupport his power, by a continuance of that violence, oppreſſion, and iniquity, through which he had acquired it; and who, had he been a lawful ſovereign, might have reigned, like the other kings of Ceylon, in the hearts of his ſubjects, and according to the dictates of his faith.

The kings of Candy are cloathed in all the ſtate and ſplendour of other Aſiatic princes; but in their dreſs there is the peculiar diſtinction of a crown ſet with diamonds and pearls, and adorned with a plume of feathers, which is at once their ornament and boaſt, and which they flatter themſelves no other monarch is entitled to wear.

The ſovereigns of Candy are enjoined by their religion to make no alteration in the ancient laws of Buddha, but to govern their people in ſtrict conformity to them; and though they may, at times, tranſgreſs their rules, they never wantonly and openly violate their principles.

The adminiſtration of juſtice is veſted in the adigars, or governors of provinces, who, in civil authority, are next to the king; but who, of courſe, hold their ſituations by no other tenure than his will, and who, if guilty of any acts of delinquency or oppreſſion in their government, are amenable to the laws, and are tried, like all other capital offenders, before the king in perſon, who paſſes ſentence of death upon them, and orders it to be put into immediate execution in his own preſence.

Next to the king, in point of military rank, and to the adigars, in civil power, are the diſſauvas, or generals, who govern diſtricts; for every province and diſtrict in the country has its governor. The ſubordinate military officers, under the diſſauvas, are the roteraus and vindanées, who command detachments of the king's army in different parts of the iſland, and who, in fact, govern the provinces and diſtricts, as the adigars and diſſauvas reſide conſtantly at court; but whoſe particular duties are to ſee the revenues regularly levied, and to maintain due order throughout the kingdom. All theſe officers are appointed by the king: but the appointment of all the officers under

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under them, in the several departments, is left to their own choice.

In every village there is an inferior court of justice, for the purpose of taking cognizance of all complaints and differences, and with the power of punishing slight offences. From these courts there is an appeal to the governors of districts, and from them again to the adigars, as chief justices of the kingdom.

The Cingalese are divided according to the institutes of their law, into four distinct classes, which, in all respects, nearly correspond with those of the Hindûs. The first is the Tirinanxes, or sacerdotal class; the second is the Hindrews, or military class, to which the king, and all the great officers of state belong; the third is the inferior Hindrews, or merchants and artisans; the forth is the Poddahs, or servile class, to which husbandmen * and labourers belong. These four tribes never intermarry, but are subdivided into as great a variety of sects as there are trades and professions. To the Tirinanxes they all pay an equal reverence.

The Tirinanxes are, in truth, the Brâhmans of the Cingalese; they are endued with the same sanctity, they possess the same immunities, they receive the same homage, they are supported by the same inflexible constancy, and are warmed with the same intrepid virtue, for which that devout and extraordinary race of men are peculiarly distinguished.

This artificial inequality in society, which the geometrical division of the people into separate tribes has imposed, is carried by the civil polity of the Cingalese to as great an extent as the institutes of the Hindû law ordain it. Every class has its separate privileges and its appropriate laws. Unequal laws are, indeed, the most galling chains in which despotism can bind a people, and must, to Englishmen, above all other men, appear an intolerable grievance; yet many millions in the eastern world, from not feeling the influence of those high passions which purify and ennoble and sublimate the grossness of our mortal nature, live, at least, contented under them, and, according to their own measure of happiness.

The Cingalese have a digest, or code of written laws, which they say was composed by Buddha, and which the king keeps in his own possession, and will only permit his adigars, or chief justices, to peruse. The common courts of judicature have not the advantage of knowing it, and are therefore intirely guided in their proceedings by prescriptive usages. Of these I can only present the reader with a few leading principles, as it would fill a volume to give a particular detail.

These ancient customs, or rules for civil conduct, though in many essential points extremely defective, protect every individual in his person and property. Yet there are peculiar privileges and advantages attached to one tribe above another. The king is the ostensible proprietor and lord paramount of all the land in his dominions. All property in land is, consequently, held by a grant from the king. The landed tenures of the Cingalese, as well as of all other Hindû nations, in a great measure resemble those which the feudal system introduced into Europe. In their law

* Husbandmen, in the Brahminical division of society, belong to the Bhyse, or third class of Hindus. "The natural duty of the Bhyse is to cultivate the land, to tend the cattle, to buy and sell."—See the Bhagvatgeetah. It is singular, that a people, like the Cingalese, with few manufactures, and little trade, should rate artisans above cultivators of the land.

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law of inheritance, their right of primogeniture is recognized, but not preſcribed;—ſo that the father of a numerous family, although he has himſelf only a life intereſt in his own eſtate, may divide it among his children: but as the law does not admit of any alienation of property, it remains for ever in the family. When the eſtate is left ſolely to the eldeſt ſon, he is obliged to ſupport his mother, and his brothers and ſiſters, until they are able to provide for themſelves.

Of the Cingaleſe law of marriage, ſo different from that of other Aſiatic nations, I have already given an account; to which, however, it ſhould be added, that when a woman is divorced, no man is permitted to marry her, until her former huſband ſhall have married again.

With regard to civil juſtice, all cauſes are regularly tried upon this principle:—that as all men ſhould live in peace and amity with each other, no individual, however high his caſt or place in ſociety, can be permitted to treſpaſs on the rights of another, even of the loweſt caſt; but that, as the diviſion of the people into tribes is eſſential to their well-being, it is neceſſary that offences ſhould be eſtimated, not by their inherent culpability, or their pernicious effects, but by the rank and condition of the offender. It is perfectly obvious, that a judicial proceſs, conducted on a principle ſo erroneous, muſt often defeat its own purpoſe, notwithſtanding all the care that may be taken in examining evidence, and in ſubſtantiating facts. And juſtice, therefore, inſtead of preſerving due order in the community, by protecting aggrieved innocence, and puniſhing convicted guilt, muſt too frequently be compelled to allow the groſſeſt fraud to eſcape with the ſlighteſt penalty, and injured virtue to ſue in vain for redreſs. But the placable diſpoſitions of a mild and ſenſible people correct the errors of their juriſprudence. Controverſies and diſſentions are very rare among them; and when they do take place, they ſeldom apply to the courts of juſtice for a formal trial, but ſolicit permiſſion to determine the merits of their differences by ſwearing in oil. The purrekeh, or trial by ordeal, has been known and practiſed in all parts of India, from the remoteſt antiquity; and its infallibility in proving guilt or innocence, is ſtill implicitly believed. Of this inſtitute there are various modes. The one moſt in uſe by the Cingaleſe, is thus deſcribed by Mr. Knox, who was an eye-witneſs to the proceſs:—"Matters of great importance they are permitted to decide by ſwearing in hot oil. When they are to ſwear, each party has a licence from the governor of the diſtrict, written in his own hand. Then they go and waſh their heads and bodies, which is a religious ceremony; and that night they are both confined priſoners in a houſe with a guard upon them, and a cloth tied over each of their right hands, and ſealed, leſt they ſhould uſe any charm to harden their fingers.

"The next morning they are brought out; they then put on clean cloths, and purify themſelves, reckoning they come into the preſence of God. Then they tie to their wriſts the leaf wherein the governor's licence is, and repair under ſome * bogahah (god-tree), and all the officers of the county aſſemble, with a vaſt number of people beſides. Cocoa-nuts are brought, and oil is there extracted from them in the ſight of the people,

* A banyan-tree.

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ple, that all may see there is no deceit. Also they have a pan of cow-dung and water boiling close by: the oil and cow-dung being both boiling and thoroughly hot, they take a young leaf of a cocoa-nut-tree, and dip that into the oil, that all may see it is hot. For it singes and frizzles up, and roars as if you poured water into hot boiling oil. And so they do likewise to the cow-dung. When all are satisfied the oil is hot, the two men come and stand on each side of this boiling oil, and say, The God of heaven and earth is witness, that I did not do this that I am accused of; or, The four sorts of gods be witness, that this land in controversy is mine. And the other swears quite contrary. But first the accuser always swears. The accused also declares his own innocence, or his own right and title. The cloths that their hands were bound up in, are taken off; and, immediately upon using the former words, he dips his fingers into the hot oil, flinging it out three times; and then goes to the boiling cow-dung, and does the same; and so does the other. Then they tie up their hands again with the cloth, and keep both of them prisoners till the next day, when their hands are looked upon, and their fingers' ends rubbed with a cloth, to see if the skin comes off. And from whose fingers the skin comes, he is forsworn. The penalty of which is a great forfeiture to the king, and great satisfaction to the adversary."*

With respect to the administration of criminal justice, it is vested solely in the king, who is assisted by the adigars in defining the law, and in conducting trials. And although even the criminal law be founded on the absurd and abominable principle of rating and punishing crimes according to the rank of the criminal, not by the enormity of his guilt; yet as the Candian monarchs have, for the most part, been sensible and benevolent men, their interests and feelings unite to render their legal decisions always lenient and mild to the indigent, and often impartial to the rich; never inflicting the cruelties authorised by the practice of tyrants on culprits of the lower ranks, and seldom permitting delinquents, however high their cast, to escape unreproved. But the Tirinanxes, like the Brâhmans, are exempt from capital punishments. Upon the whole, while it must be admitted that the general principle of these laws is unjust, it can at the same time be confidently affirmed, that they are administered with moderation, and with strict attention to the interests of a people, who, believing them to have been enacted by divine authority, look up to them with mysterious reverence.

The vernacular language of the Cingalese, has no apparent affinity to any of the dialects that are spoken on the continent of India: but between their several idioms there is not any essential difference. That courtly phraseology, that strained hyperbole, and that constant recurrence of extravagant and mixed metaphors, which are, in truth, the characteristic features of all the languages of Asia, also distinguish and deform the Chingulay. This language, however, which in all probability is derived from the Sanscrêet, and which we may now hope to trace to that fruitful source, has a few peculiarities: but, upon the whole, it bears a strong resemblance to the Malay

* This account accords with the description given, in the Mitacsherà, or comment on the Dhermà Sàstra, of the Hindû trial by ordeal.

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Malay * language, which, on account of its melody, has been justly and elegantly termed, the "Italian of the East." The colloquial dialect of the Chingulay, is at once copious, energetic, and smooth, and its written or poetical style very harmonious and elegant.

The Cingaleſe are enthuſiaſtic lovers of poetry and muſic: and there are ſeveral allegorical ballads and ſongs in the Chingulay language, which breathe moſt exalted ſentiments, and which are no leſs popular from the genius of thoſe who compoſed them, than they are beneficial, by inſpiring that pious love for the Supreme Creator, and that ardent charity towards men, which, to uſe the language of the illuſtrious Barrow, "doth rid us from all thoſe gloomy, keen, turbulent imaginations and paſſions, which cloud our mind, which fret our heart, which diſcompoſe the frame of our ſoul, from burning anger, from ſtorming contention, from gnawing envy, from rankling ſpite, from racking ſuſpicion, from diſtracted ambition and avarice; and conſequently doth ſettle our mind in an even temper, in a ſedate humour, in an harmonious order, in that pleaſant ſtate of tranquillity, which naturally doth reſult from the voidance of irregular paſſions."

Beſides theſe poems, there are others on a variety of ſubjects, that have been written many ages ago, in a dialect of the Sanſcrêet, which the Cingaleſe call the language of Buddha, but which very few, even of their moſt learned Tirinanxes, or prieſts, fully underſtand. In this language all their books on religion, law and phyſic, are compoſed; but of theſe books, I have not yet been able to obtain any accurate account. No European, I believe, has ever ſeen them; but the ſame addreſs and perſuaſion that overcame the ſcrupulous and rigid ſecrecy of the Brâhmans, will now, I truſt, be ſucceſsfully employed, at the court of Candy, in procuring copies of theſe ancient manuſcripts.

The Cingaleſe, like all other Hindû nations, ſeem long ſince to have paſſed the meridian of their literature and ſcience. The preſent generation are not only ignorant of that ſkill in aſtronomical calculations for which their anceſtors were celebrated, but alſo deſtitute of that knowlege in the elegant arts, which although they have ſtill taſte enough to admire, they want the genius to imitate.

In all the mechanic arts they are greatly inferior to their continental neighbours. They have few manufactures. They make a ſufficient quantity of calico to ſupply the inhabitants of the iſland, but it is of a very indifferent quality. They make match-lock guns, and all kinds of iron and ſteel tools for the uſe of agriculture and houſe-building; alſo all ſorts of earthen-ware, goldſmith's work, painter's work, carved work, &c. But in making iron from the different calciform ores, with which their mountains abound, they are particularly expert. With regard to the current money of Candy, it is in ſilver, and of three kinds. The firſt is what the Cingaleſe call the tangom maſſa, which was originally coined by the Portugueze, and is valued at about ninepence ſterling; the ſecond is a ſmall piece of ſilver of the ſhape of a fiſh-hook, which all deſcriptions of people are permitted to coin; and the third is a piece of ſilver, of a larger ſize, called

* Mr. Marſden, in a very ingenious and learned treatiſe on the traces of the Hindû language and literature, extant among the Malays, has very ſatisfactorily proved, "that the Malayan language is indebted to the Sanſcrêet for a conſiderable number of its terms."—*Vide* Aſiatic Reſearches, Vol. IV. p. 227.

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called a ponnam, which, as it is the king's money, coining it is a capital crime. As the Cingalese have not, for upwards of a century, had any foreign trade whatever, these small coins sufficiently answer all the purposes of their domestic traffic.

To conclude — The Cingalese have in all ages chiefly subsisted by the peaceful labours of agriculture; and they undoubtedly possess much of that generous spirit, and many of those masculine virtues, which grow out of that condition of life. They are hospitable, frugal, sober, and brave; without any mixture of affectation, parsimony, coldness, or temerity. They are at once mild and firm in their general nature, and good-humoured and liberal in their particular dispositions. When the Portugueze landed on their island, they enjoyed the benefits of a pretty extensive commerce with the nations of the continent, and congratulated themselves on being protected by the sea, from the dreadful ravages and devastations with which Mahommedan fanaticism and tyranny were at that time scourging those devoted countries. But the appearance of Lawrence D'Almeyda's fleet and army afforded them a melancholy instance of the instability of human enjoyments. That coast, on which no hostile fleet had ever anchored, those fields, on which no hostile army had ever trod, those altars, which no unhallowed hand had ever yet prophaned, were now to be insulted, laid waste, and destroyed. This storm blew for a while over the island with pitiless fury, and tore up every thing sacred by the roots. Yet the calm that succeeded it was ultimately productive of more extensive evils. For in that calm came the Dutch, under the specious pretext of generosity and friendship, to rescue them from their oppressors; but who, in a few years, supplanted the Portugueze in their oppressions, as well as in their territory, and who far surpassed them in cruelty and Fraud. Yet—

Quid memorem infandus cædes? Quid facta tyranni
Effera? Di capiti ipsus generique reservent.

I have thus endeavoured to draw a few general outlines of the character, manners, and institutions of the Cingalese; and although, from the hurry in which they were executed, the performance is by no means satisfactory to my own taste; yet, as I am confident it is a just representation of facts, as well as a faithful delineation of men, I am not without hopes of its being serviceable to the public.

It remains just to notice the Malabars and Mahommedans, who form part of the inhabitants of Ceylon, and to say a few words on the general history of the island.

The Malabars, or, as they are called in Ceylon, wannees, inhabit the district of Coylot, in the northern part of the island. They are a sect of Hindûs who emigrated many centuries ago from the coasts of the Indian peninsula, and who still speak a dialect of the Malabar language. They live under the government of a despotic rajah, or prince, who is perfectly independent of the king of Candy; but from whom the Dutch, about the close of the last century, demanded an annual tribute, which they ever afterwards continued to exact.

The Choliars, or Mussulmen, are a sect of Mahommedans of the line of Hashêm. They are the descendants of that race of people who inhabited the sea-coasts of the island, at the time the Arabian voyagers first carried the doctrines of Mahommed across the Indian Ocean, and whom their pious industry very soon converted. They still inhabit

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the sea-coasts, and are the people whom the Dutch chiefly employed in the cultivation of the cinnamon.

The early history of Ceylon, like that of all other countries in India, is involved in darkness; and the glimmerings which Hindû mythology occasionally reflect upon it, instead of guiding our conjectures, serve only to dim our sight. But all fables and traditions agree, that Ceylon has in all ages been inhabited, chiefly by a race of Hindûs, who lived under the government of a king. With this part of its history, the Greek and Roman writers, who have been already mentioned, also accord. As to the tradition current among the Cingalese, which Baldæus seems implicitly to believe, that a Chinese vessel, having been shipwrecked on the eastern coast of the island, the captain and crew were not only received with the greatest hospitality, but were treated with the most extraordinary respect and confidence by the inhabitants, who, in a short time, *became so fond of the captain*, that they elected him as their king,—I cannot take upon me to contradict; but I am sure it were a waste of time to offer any observation upon it. And it ill became the good sense and gravity of Baldæus, to give this absurd tale to the world, as matter of history.

In the first century of the Christian æra, the Romans carried on an extensive trade with the western and southern parts of India. Every year a fleet of one hundred and twenty vessels sailed from Myhoshormis, a port of Egypt, on the Red Sea, to the coast of Malabar and Ceylon; and the island thereby gradually became the principal mart of the east.

After the fall of the western empire, the Romans intirely relinquished their commerce with Ceylon. Some vessels, however, still continued to arrive yearly from Egypt; and the Arabs, in the ninth century of our æra, appeared on the coasts of the island. They carried on a brisk trade with the Cingalese, for several hundred years, without a competitor. But in A. D. 1340, the Venetians concluded a treaty of commerce with the soldans of Egypt, by a bull from the Pope; and they soon opened a commercial intercourse with Ceylon, which they conducted with the wisdom and vigour that distinguished their character, but which, before the end of two centuries, the genius and discoveries of Vasco de Gama were destined to overthrow.

In A. D. 1505, the celebrated Lawrence D'Almeyda landed in Ceylon, with a considerable body of troops; and taking advantage of the civil commotions, which at that period shook the island to its centre, owing to the enormities of a bloody tyrant who had usurped the throne of Candy, he joined the insurgents; and although he was unable to depose the usurper, he succeeded, after many severe battles, in establishing himself, and completely reduced under his subjection, those districts which produce the best cinnamon.

The wars which followed D'Almeyda's conquest, as well as the general policy of the Portuguese government in Ceylon, have already been noticed. These enterprising invaders soon engrossed the whole of the cinnamon trade, expelled the Arabs from the island, and fortified their principal settlements. Though their fortifications were not constructed in the most skilful manner, they were sufficiently strong to baffle the tactics of the Cingalese. And the Portuguese, lulled by the idea of security, neglected

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glected to provide against the approach of a more formidable enemy. In the year 1602, nearly a century after their establishment in the island, the Dutch general Joris Spilbergen arrived at the king of Candy's court, on a special mission from the States General of the United Provinces. This ambassador was so favourably received by the king, that the year following, Sebal de Weert and Vibraads van Warwick, with a fleet of seven ships, arrived at Batticola, on the east coast of the island. But finding they had not a force adequate to the execution of their projects, they sailed to the Dutch settlement of Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, where they soon collected a sufficient number of troops, and returned to Ceylon in April 1603. De Weert was immediately invited to Candy, by the king, in order to consummate the treaty which they had previously negociated. But the reception he met with disappointed his expectations, and ultimately frustrated the expedition in which he had embarked. The king publicly charged him with breach of faith, in having released some Portugueze prisoners, whom he had intrusted to his care. De Weert admitted the charge, and made the most ample apologies. But rajah Lâarma Soree, who was a sagacious statesman, as well as a valiant soldier, still remained dissatisfied and suspicious; and the Portugueze, by frequent messages, did not fail to feed his suspicions with all the artful insinuations which fear and malice could suggest. At length the apprehension of some hostile design on the part of the Dutchman, emboldened the enmity of the king, and he took an opportunity of openly insulting him, which, when De Weert warmly resented, he instantly caused his attendants to seize him. To this disgrace he refused to submit, and drew his sword in his defence; on which one of the courtiers gave him a stroke with a scimitar, that laid him dead on the ground. This atrocious action filled the minds of the Dutch with a rancorous resentment, which afforded them some colour of pretext for their subsequent conduct; but which their crafty prudence taught them to suppress, until their foul and nefarious plans were ripe for execution.

Soon after this event, Lâarma Soree died, and was succeeded on the throne of Candy by a younger brother; who being a man of little understanding, and of a pliable disposition, was a fit instrument to forward the views of the Dutch. In the month of March 1612, Marcellus de Boschhouwer arrived at Candy, with a letter from the stadtholder, prince Maurice of Nassau, to the king, assuring him of his friendship, and offering him his assistance against the Portugueze. This letter produced the desired effect; and on May 11th of the same year, Marcellus concluded a treaty of commerce and alliance, between Cenuweirat Adaseyn, king of Candy, and the States General of the United Provinces, in which his majesty granted leave to the Dutch to erect a fortress at Cotiarum, near Trincomallée. The Dutch lost no time in following up the advantages they had gained. They urged the king to declare war against the Portugueze; and having supplied his army with abundance of military stores, and a considerable train of artillery, he obtained a series of victories over their common enemy, and compelled him to sue for peace at the gates of Columbo. The Dutch fleet having, nearly at the same period, totally defeated that of the Portugueze off Goa, the

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king, as well as the people of Candy, were filled with sentiments of admiration and reverence for the skill and bravery of their new friends. But that skill and bravery was soon to be turned against themselves.

Upon the death of Adaseyn in 1632, the succession of the crown was disputed by his three sons, whose mutual animosities and violence embroiled the kingdom in intestine dissentions. The Portugueze having by this time received ample supplies of men, and military stores, did not allow an opportunity so favourable for the recovery of their lost possessions, to escape them. They immediately took a decided part in the civil war, which continued to rage with increasing fury, and marched an army to the foot of the mountains of Candy Uda, against the reigning prince Rajah Singah, whose strength and influence had overpowered his brothers, and almost reduced them to subjection. On the approach of the Portugueze army, Rajah Singah formally solicited the assistance of the Dutch, who lost no time in granting a request which so fully met their own wishes. They sent a strong detachment of troops, under an able commander, to Candy, who arrived just in time to co-operate in the king's attack of the Portugueze, and to share the glory of the signal victory which followed. The Portugueze, finding themselves unable to withstand the united forces of the Dutch and Cingalese, sued again for peace, which, on account of his domestic feuds, the king was very well disposed to grant. A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded, contrary to the avowed desires of the Dutch, and on terms by no means disadvantageous to the Portugueze. The restless spirit and the artful machinations of the Hollanders, however, rendered it little more than a hollow truce. The king, confiding in the professions, as well as the superior prowess of the Dutch, and having an inveterate hatred to the Portugueze, easily yielded to the counsels of the former, and, by an infraction of the treaty of peace, provoked the latter to renew hostilities. The Dutch had by this time assembled an army fully adequate to crush their rivals; who, aware of the danger that awaited them, summoned up all their spirit and vigour to meet it. But the robust and dauntless soldiers of Holland were too powerful for the utmost exertions of troops, debauched and enervated by wealth and luxury; and the Portugueze, within a few months, lost all their possessions, except Columbo. To this place the Dutch laid siege; and the Portugueze, after an obstinate resistance of seven months, in which they displayed much of their ancient heroism, and often fought with almost incredible fury, being reduced to the last extremity, they were constrained to surrender, on condition of allowing themselves to be transported to Goa, and of resigning all their claims in Ceylon to the Dutch.

The Dutch had now, in effect, completed their original plan; but decency, as well as prudence, yet required them to preserve the semblance of good faith towards the king, and to perform some courteous ceremonies, before they finally threw off the mask. Hence they prevailed on the unsuspecting politicians of Candy to conclude another treaty of amity and commerce, in which they stipulated with the king for a grant of that part of the cinnamon country which the Portugueze had possessed. But the Dutch having at length procured all they could expect from the friendship, became desirous of trying what they could gain

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ain from the hostility of the Cinalese; and, unrestrained by any entiments of gratitude for that assistance and those favours which ad established them in the island, hey trampled in the dust all that is eld sacred among nations; and afer gradually and insidiously inringing the articles of the treaty, hey passed the line of demarkation hat it prescribed, and seized upon the whole of the cinnamon country, as far as the mountains of Candy Uda. This unprovoked and unprincipled aggression awakened the king of Candy from that peaceful slumber in which he vainly imagined he might securely indulge; and it ultimately gave rise to all those cruel wars and atrocious proceedings, which I have endeavoured to depict.

ILLUSTRATIONS *of some* INSTITUTIONS *of the* MAHRATTA PEOPLE. *By* WILLIAM HENRY TONE, *Esq. commanding a Regiment of Infantry in the service of the Peshwa.*

This account of the Mahrattas is taken from Mr. TONE's Letter to an Officer on the Madras establishment, published a few months ago; and the clearness and accuracy with which the subject is treated, reflect infinite credit on the Author.

I CONSIDER it as the duty of every British subject in this country, however situated, to contribute, to the utmost of his power, to the stock of general information. Our Asiatic connections, whether contemplated in a political or commercial point of view, render every attempt to illustrate the native character, at least an useful effort. If, in the observations which I have now the honour of submitting to you, I should be so fortunate as to develope any circumstance not hitherto remarked, or throw any light upon a subject of such general utility, every intention of mine will be fulfilled; but if, on the contrary, my matter should have been anticipated, or, which I am more apprehensive of, appear too superficial to be of importance, I flatter myself you will still consider the whole attempt as arising, upon my part, from a wish to be as useful as possible, and receive this humble effort with the candour and liberality which is inseparable from real genius.

On the subject of the Hindû mythology, in its full extent, I confess my information is very superficial. Sensible of the magnitude of the subject, I have allotted to myself but a very small portion of it —the particular institutions of the Mahratta people; and even on this topic shall confine myself to such circumstances as came under my observation, merely as a soldier. Perhaps it will be impossible totally to avoid digressing; but whenever this happens, it shall be for the purpose of forwarding the general subject, and never from the vanity of being flowery or verbose.

The Hindû theology, in all its parts, is certainly a subject of the most obscure and abstruse kind, and far beyond the comprehension of a mere observer. A doctrine so multifarious, embracing almost an endless variety of matter, moral and political, is doubtless a most interesting pursuit, and every way entitled to the most serious investigation: but though much has been written on this subject, and certain-

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ly many curious facts discovered, yet I am afraid, with respect to many parts of it, the metaphysical one in particular, we shall remain for ever in the dark. And here I cannot forbear observing, that it is generally believed that the Brâhmans have an insurmountable dislike to revealing the mysteries of their religion. I will not presume to say that this is not true; but can only declare, that I have never discovered any such backwardness in the Brâhmans whom I have had an opportunity of conversing with: I am rather inclined to think, that our ignorance upon this head partly arises from the great obscurity of the subject itself, and next, from our very limited knowledge of the language, which disables us from comprehending a system so abstract and mysterious. I do not pretend to have seen deeply into the subject; but in contemplating the Brâhmanical scheme, I have always had occasion to observe, that there seems in it a studied deviation from the ordinary purposes and convenience of human life. It appears not to comprehend a determinate and settled system of faith, but rather to consist in certain observances merely with regard to diet. These regulations are the most embarrassing that a malignant genius could possibly devise; and the penalty upon the slightest breach of them, the most terrible that could be inflicted on a rational being—a total excommunication from society. How a system, that militates in almost every instance against general convenience, could so long have subsisted, is sufficient to excite astonishment; unless it arises from the strange principle in the human mind, which prompts us to resist, with incredible obstinacy, the obvious dictates of reason and truth, and to adhere, with the most pertinacious infatuation, to that, the end, object, and design of which, it is impossible we should ever comprehend. But from whatever cause it arise, the Hindû theology has stood unimpaired through an unknown succession of ages, has survived the intolerance of Christian and Mahommedan bigotry, maintained its system entire in the midst of foreign invasion and domestic anarchy, and at this day holds up to philosophical inquiry the most extraordinary character in the moral world.

In the great scale of rank and eminence, which is one peculiar feature of the Hidû institutions, the Mahratta holds a very inferior situation; being just removed one degree above those casts that are considered as absolutely unclean. In this artificial climax he ranks next the Daira or Parvarry; but while the lowness of his cast may deprive him of respect from the higher orders, it has highly qualified him for the purposes of war, and may be considered as one of the sources of that astonishing success that has attended all the Mahratta expeditions. Other circumstances may have contributed to the same end; but there must have been some radical efficient cause, independent of adventitious incidents, to account for the sudden growth and present greatness of the Mahratta empire, especially when we consider that this stupendous government was established by a people, that, a century ago, were scarcely distinguished by a name.

I have already observed, that the institutions of the Hindûs chiefly advert to certain regulations respecting their mode of living. The superior cast of Brâhmans eat nothing that has had animal life. The other ranks, as they descend, are less restricted in this particular, until it reaches the lower degrees, who labour under no restraints, except merely

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merely being debarred from eating the flesh of the cow. In the higher tribes, they can eat only at particular times and under particular circumstances; their victuals must be cooked with their own hands, or at least by one of their cast, though this is not universally admitted; they cannot eat twice of the food dressed for one meal; they must eat that meal naked; and if a person of another cast come into the circle in which the Brâhman cooks, the entire victuals are destroyed. There are a variety of other regulations, such as washing, praying, &c. all equally trespassing upon convenience, and, in a military point of view, may be productive of the worst effects. From all these observances the Mahratta is happily free. He can eat of all kinds of food, with the exception of beef; can dress his meal at all times and seasons; can partake of all victuals dressed by any cast superior to his own: washing and praying are not indispensable in his order, and may be practised or omitted at pleasure. These advantages, contrasted with the various disabilities of the other tribes, point out the Mahratta as eminently qualified for a military life. His very cast, by which he must belong to the labouring class of the community, enures him to fatigue and the vicissitudes of weather, and his rank is just sufficiently respectable to permit his communicating with the Brâhmans, and availing himself of their talent; an advantage he could by no means have enjoyed, were he a single degree lower in the climax. Lastly, his numbers; the Mahratta being esteemed the most numerous of the Hindû people; which circumstance promises the most substantial hopes of success in every military undertaking.

Gibbon, in his admirable History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, in speaking of the Tartars, observes, that a pastoral people are, above all others, the most inclined and best calculated for war. This remark has both truth and novelty to recommend it; and may be farther confirmed by being applied to the Mahrattas, a people whose occupations are partly rural. The three great tribes that compose the Mahratta cast are, the Koonby, or farmer; the Dungur, or shepherd; and the Cowla, or cowherd. To this original cause, perhaps, may be ascribed that great simplicity of manners which distinguishes the Mahratta people. Homer mentions princesses going in person to the fountains to wash their household linen. I can affirm having seen the daughters of a prince (able to bring an army into the field much larger than the whole Greek confederacy) making bread with her own hands, and otherwise employed in the ordinary business of domestic housewifery. I have seen one of the most powerful chiefs of the empire, after a day of action, assist in kindling a fire to keep himself warm during the night, and sitting on the ground on a spread saddle-cloth, dictating to his secretaries, and otherwise discharging the political duties of his station. This primæval plainness operates upon the whole people. There is no distinction of sentiment to be discerned: the prince and his domestic think exactly in the same way, and express themselves in the same terms. There appears but one level of character, without any mixture of ardour or enthusiasm; a circumstance the more surprising, considering the great exploits they have achieved. But their simplicity of manners, uncorrupted by success, their courtesy to strangers, their unaffected politeness and easiness of

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access, must render them dear to every person that has had a commerce with them. Such a character, when contrasted with the insidiousness of the Brâhman, and the haughtiness of the Mussulman, rises as superior to them, as candour and plainness are to duplicity and deceit, or real greatness to barbarous ostentation.

The Mahrattas are, generally speaking, an unlettered people: this circumstance obliges them to employ Brâhmans in most of the departments of government and finance: these, from being the servants, are now become the masters in every durbar. The Mahratta ascendancy is no more; the original head of the empire is a prisoner at Sattarah, and the government is now managed by a cabal of Brâhmans in Poonah. It must, however, be acknowledged, that these latter are admirably qualified for public business. Their easiness of manners, specious politeness, the versatility of their genius, readiness of apprehension, and, above all, their astonishing equanimity of temper, point them out as eminently fitted for diplomatic business. This is, however, the best side of their character: in other particulars, they are destitute of every shadow of candour or of truth; lost to every feeling of social charity, unacquainted with gratitude even by name, the slaves of avarice; and, in one word, strangers to every sentiment that can ennoble the human mind.

It is a generally received opinion, that the Brâhmans possess an unbounded influence over the minds of the people. This supposition I have every reason to believe erroneous:—I can declare I could never discover any ascendancy of that kind. I have known them frequently punished very severely as delinquents, some even put to death by order of the prince. 'Tis true, the blood of a Brâhman is never shed, but they are dispatched by other means. The late Tuckojee Holkar, who was a Mahratta, put his minister (a Brâhman) to death, by wrapping him in clothes steeped in oil, and setting fire to them. The most common mode is, to keep the limbs immersed in cold water, until they swell, which carries the party off in a few days. Inferior persons are punished in various manners. Cutting off the nose and ears is commonly practised; but when death is inflicted, the criminal is sometimes dragged at an elephant's foot till he expires. Another mode is, to put the prisoner's head into a large bag, and pound it with a mallet, used for driving home the tent-pegs; but the most universal way is, to cut off the arms and legs of the delinquent, and leave him to languish in the woods until he dies. Executioners are low-cast people, who are employed in carrying the large camp ensigns; the operation is generally performed with a common country razor, which must produce the most excruciating pain. When a man has been a spectator of a punishment of this kind, I think he ought to hesitate a little before he subscribes to the popular opinion, "that the Hindû is not a sanguinary character."

Judging from the present aspect of things, I conceive it to be erroneous to consider the Brâhman in the light of a mere ecclesiastic. Doubtless there was a time when this order devoted themselves entirely to the ministry of religion; but this period of pristine purity is past, and at present the Brâhman is indifferently a merchant, a banker, or a soldier. The only known ecclesiastic which I have heard of among the Hindûs, is a character called a Gooroo; and such of this order

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order as I have met with, were not of the Brâhman, but of the Byrag cast.

Perhaps the most amiable part of the Brâhman character, is their great toleration, in respect to religious opinions; a particular feature of their cast, which every person, acquainted with their manners, has noticed. This is perfectly their sentiment: A Hindû cannot conceive the possibility of a rational being pursuing and destroying his fellow-creature, merely to establish a certain speculative point of doctrine. In Poonah, which is the metropolis of the empire, and the seat of Brâhmnieeal authority, there are many mosques, and one christian church, where the votaries of both religions may offer up their devotions without any hindrance or molestation. What a noble example of moderation is this, especially when contrasted with the bigotted and sanguinary principles of Christian and Mahommedan zealots! Some causes, however, have conspired to produce this freedom of opinion, independent of natural sentiment. For many centuries the Hindûs were in a state of subjugation to their Mahommedan conquerors, and their own religion just barely tolerated. The magnificence, splendour, and authority of the emperors, impressed upon the Hindû people a high idea of Mussulman superiority; a sentiment they have never been able to get the better of, even in their present state of political emancipation. They would therefore consider it a degree of profanation, to interrupt the particular worship of a people they have been for ages accustomed to look up to with awe and respect. The same opinion holds good with regard to Europeans: I suppose no outrage could tempt the natives to offer any injury to the person of a white man: nor is it till after a repetition of follies and excesses, that they lose that veneration with which they contemplate the European character. The force of prejudice may go a great way in establishing this general toleration; for certainly the division of casts into separate tribes of eternal incommunication, carries on the face of it a strong appearance of spiritual pride. It is, however, worthy of remark, that the same indifference to religious distinctions obtained among the ancient Greeks and Romans, who, like the present Hindûs, believed in the multiplicity of deities, and appears to be one striking feature of the doctrine of polytheism.

It has already been observed, that, a very few years back, the Mahratta name, as of a people, was unknown, notwithstanding their present importance even in the scale of European politics. Guthrie, in his grammar, published in the year 1764, thus describes their geographical situation: "The Mahrattas," says he, "are a kind of mercenaries, inhabiting the mountains between India and Persia." The very reverse of this is the case: the Mahrattas are a southern people; their original country is the provinces of Candeish and Baglana, in the Deccan, extending towards the north-west, as far as Guzurat and the river Nerbudda. Here commence the people called the Gracias and Beels, and you will scarcely ever see an original Mahratta a resident farther north. To the west, their country extends along the sea-coast, from Surat to Kanara, forming that narrow strip of land called the Kokan. On the south, Tippoo's dominions form the boundary, whose original inhabitants are of the Telingana cast. The nizam's territories form the eastern

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eastern frontier, peopled also by the Telinganas, an entirely different race, both in language and character. The original Mahratta state is comprised within the above-mentioned boundaries; a country of great natural strength, interspersed with mountains and defiles, all of which are defended by fortresses, that are reserved as depôts for treasure, or as retreats in the event of ill success or defeat. Perhaps no country on earth is better calculated for the purposes of defensive war; so that, whatever be the fortune of the Mahrattas in the field, we may safely pronounce, that in their own country, they will always be impregnable. I have counted, in a day's march through Candeish, nearly twenty fortresses, all in sight, in different directions: Chandore, Unky, Tunky, Saler Rouler, Nassick Trimmuc, Golna, and Mongy Tongy, are all places of this description. A country so strongly situated is unconquerable; and of this truth the Emperor Aurungzebe, who made some attempts to subjugate it, appeared latterly to be convinced; for, when acting in the Deccan, in the utmost plentitude of his power, he thought it more prudent to submit to the depredations of Sevajee, the great founder of the Mahratta empire, than attempt the pursuit, through a mountainous country, of a fugitive army, that he might possibly disperse, but could never defeat. Yet these were the people, when apparently inconsiderable, that were destined by Providence to overturn the empire he was labouring to extend; who, issuing from their mountains and vallies, have, in less than a century, levelled to its base the whole fabric of Mahommedan greatness, and erected for themselves an independent government, on the ruins of an empire of seven hundred years duration:—perhaps such a sudden accession of dominion, from so obscure an origin, is without a parallel in the annals of mankind. About thirty-five years ago, the Mahrattas were strong enough to contend with the Mussulmans for the supreme dominion of Hindustân. At the famous battle of Panniput, the collective strength of both parties contested for the empire. The Mahrattas were defeated, but they were neither dispersed nor subdued. Their steady policy moving progressively to its grand object of universal domination, was not to be diverted from its course by a single overthrow: but by the united force of victory and intrigue, they have annihilated the overgrown government of the emperors, already prepared for the event by its own extent, its distractions, and its vices.

It is perhaps owing to this splendid career of the Mahrattas, that some authors have been curious to investigate the etymology of the very name of a people so extraordinary, and so little known. Mr. Holwell, in his account of the political transactions of his time, describes them as being descended from Raaje Poote tribes; and, analysing the name, finds it compounded of two words—Maha, great; and Rattor, the name of the cast. Major Rennell, in his excellent Memoir, not liking, I suppose, this definition, derives their names from a district called Marat, an argument that he conceives is conclusive. Of these two opinions it is not necessary to say much, as I conceive both to be wrong. Mr. Holwell's hypothesis evinces a deplorable ignorance of Hindû institutions; as every person in the least conversant with the subject, must know that cast cannot be alienated or transferred. In whatever tribe you are born, in that tribe you and your posterity must

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must remain; so the idea of one cast of people being descended from another different cast, is totally incongruous and inadmissible. 'Tis true, you may lose cast altogether; but then you are degraded to the lowest station, and, in fact, considered as an outcast of all society: beside that there is nothing in appearance to support the supposition, no similarity of language or manners, no approximation of country; the Mahrattas being, as was before observed, a southern people, whereas the Raaje Pootes inhabit the northern extremity of Hindustân. The very exteriors of the two casts mark them of a different origin: the Raaje Poote is remarkable for the grace and dignity of his person; the Mahratta, on the contrary, is of diminutive stature, and, in general, badly made. The very character in which they write is different; the Mahratta using his own Deccan alphabet; whereas the Raaje Poote uses the Marwarry, or northern character. Of Major Rennell's opinion I can only say, I never heard of a district called Marat, nor can I find it discriminated in his own very excellent map. I have also never met with any people among the Hindûs, that derive their name as a zat, merely from the situation they inhabit: cast is therefore totally independent of locality, and lies entirely in that artificial climax and distribution which is doubtless coeval with the original institutions of the people; and in this arrangement the Raaje Poote holds a very high, and the Mahratta a very inferior situation. The Mahratta appears therefore to be a cast, separate, independent, and distinct from all other tribes: nor can I see any more reason for investigating their origin or name, than that of the Brâhmans, Beels, Jats, or any other cast into which the Hindû people are separated:—upon the whole, the disquisition appears to me both unnecessary and pedantic.

I know not under what precise head to arrange the form of the Mahratta government. It is not, strictly speaking, a complete monarchy: they have no titled nobility, of consequence it does not come under the definition of an aristocracy: the people have no weight, it is therefore no democracy. It would, perhaps, be best described, by resembling it to the circles of Germany, as a military republic, composed of chiefs independent of each other; acknowledging, as their supreme head, the peshwa, who is himself the supposed minister of the Sattarah Rajah. Their submission is, however, in many particulars, merely nominal. The unfortunate descendant of Sevajee, though worse than a cypher, has, from the mere force of prejudice, some occasional attentions paid him. No peshwa can be appointed without receiving the khelat * of investiture from his hands. Whenever the peshwa takes the field in person, he must previously receive an audience of leave from the rajah. The country circumjacent to Sattarah enjoys an exemption from military depredations of all kinds; and whenever any chief enters this district, all the ensigns of royalty are

* A khelat, in the sense above-mentioned, signifies a certain quantity of cloths, delivered from the hands of the rajah, to the peshwa; which act virtually invests and constitutes him in his office. This is its operation in transactions of importance; and khelats are universally given in all durbars, when officers are appointed to any particular situation: and without this public notification the nomination is considered as nugatory. In a more general sense, khelats are given from the prince as tokens of esteem and respect for particular persons; they commonly consist of shawls, or very rich cloths; but any thing received from the hands of the chief, as a ring, a necklace, or even a nosegay, is considered as a khelat.

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are laid aside, and the nagara, * or great drum of the empire, ceases to beat. These, I believe, form the only marks of attention paid to the nominal head of this powerful government: in other particulars, he is a close prisoner on a very moderate allowance. The present rajah was, some few years back, a private filladaur, or commander of horse; but being unfortunately of the blood of Sevajee, on the demise of his predecessor, he was exalted from a situation of happy obscurity, to the splendid misery of royalty and a prison.

Every thing respecting this extraordinary people becomes an object of curiosity, as they appear a kind of phenomenon in the world of Oriental politics. Their principles of government excite our attention, as they discover a mode of thinking and acting totally different from the regular system of European policy. The very local arrangements of empire are peculiar, the territory of the different chiefs being blended and interspersed with each other; part of the peshwa's dominions being on the sea-coast, and others to the northward of Delhi. It is also no uncommon thing for a purgunnah, sometimes a single town, to belong to two or three different chiefs; some are even the joint property of the peshwa and the nizam. A disposition so chequered, strikes me as having a tendency to weaken the combined strength of the whole; but whether this be the effect of policy or accident, I confess I cannot determine.

The peshwa, though the acknowledged head of the empire, has but very little territory in his own hands; the subahdarry of Amedabad, which is worth about sixty lacks a year, being the largest district he possesses. Some of the great personages of the Poonah sircar, hold jaghires from the state by right of office, and independent of the peshwa, that are very valuable. That lately held by Purseram Bow was worth thirty lacks annually. Rastia, Foncia, or, as he is termed, the Topekonna-wallow (an officer corresponding with our master-general of ordnance), Firkia, and many others, have very considerable revenues; but the mere landed income in the hands of the peshwa is very trifling: his resources depend on the contributions of the other members of the empire, which, every thing included, do not exceed four crores of rupees a year.

In the great durbar of Poonah all the higher offices are hereditary. The dewan, † furnavese, chitnavese, and even the commander in chief, or holder of the jerry-put, ‡ are all situations held by descent; and so much is this rule adverted to, that no peshwa has ever presumed to invade it. This custom, however, does not obtain in the inferior durbars.

It is one peculiar feature of the Mahratta government, that the empire

* The naggar, or nagara, is a pair of large kettle-drums, carried upon one of the state elephants, and are considered as one of the principal insignia of empire. They always compose part of the prince's sowarry, or cavalcade, and immediately precede him on the line of march. In all large forts, there are nagaras beaten over the gateways. They are sometimes given, as a superior mark of distinction, to particular officers who have signalized themselves, and a suitable sum allowed from the sircar to maintain the dignity.

† The Dewan, minister; Furnavese, chancellor of the exchequer; Chitnavese—the office of chitnavese is to read all letters or petitions which are presented to the prince, and answers exactly to an officer in the Mogul durbars, called the arz-beg, or lord of requests. Excepting the dewan, none of these situations exist in the inferior courts.

‡ The jerry-put is a small standard, made of cloth of gold, or, as it is called, jarre: it is cut swallow-tailed, and does not exceed the size of a common handkerchief. This is the ensign of the empire, and is never displayed but when the peshwa takes the field in person,

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empire always considers itself as in a state of war. This circumstance entirely results from the unsettled and fluctuating state of the internal government; their recent acquisitions in Hindustân, held only by the sword, and the necessity they are under of compelling the payment of the chout, always given with reluctance, and frequently extorted by actual force. But, independent of these motives, war is with them a source of revenue, as the different chiefs of the empire make annual campaigns, in the few districts which have not yet been brought to a state of subjection or actual servitude. These military excursions are denominated mul'uk-gheré, a compound of two Persian words—mul'uk, territory; and gheré, to take possession of.

This eternal warfare is naturally the cause of an enormous expence; to supply which, the Mahrattas have many modes of finance; but the most prevailing one is that of anticipating their landed revenues. It is unnecessary to enlarge on the defects of a system so obviously desperate. These mortgages upon the territorial income are negotiated by wealthy soucars (between whom and the minister there always exists a proper understanding), and frequently at a discount of thirty per cent. and then paid in the most depreciated specie.* This ruinous method of raising the supplies springs entirely from the unstable and unsettled state of the country, which makes government prefer an actual certain sum in their hands, though at the most enormous usury, to the possible receipt of a precarious revenue, at the expiration of three or four years, to which extent they are frequently anticipated. In such districts as remain in the management of the sircar, the taxes are raised according to usages of the highest antiquity; but generally very moderate—the duties on common commodities, on a gross estimate, never exceeding five per cent. except that on ghee, which is said to be fifty. The revenue resulting from the proprietary right to the soil, which is one half of the produce, the chout paid by the nizam, and the plunder raised by mul'uk-gheré, form the grand pecuniary resources of the Mahratta empire: but these, though amounting to an immense annual sum, are far short of their current expences. The conquered country in Hindustân, exhausted by continual depredations, is no longer able to furnish a rupee. The entire wealth of

* Depreciated specie.—Hindustân produces a great variety of rupees, generally differing in value from each other: every rupee is supposed to be worth 16 annas, each anna containing four pice; so that the rupee is estimated at 64 pice. The Pondicherry rupee however is allowed to be worth 84, whereas the Guzurat rupee is not changed for 50 pice in the bazars: the same difference in value exists in the ashrofee of gold mohur. The old Delhi gold mohur changes for 16 silver rupees; the common one struck at Poonah will only bring 13 rupees; and this valuation fluctuates very much, according to the want or plenty of gold and silver. This circumstance lays the public open to a variety of impositions, as a combination of shroffs can at any time create a scarcity of gold or silver, as best suits their purposes. The hoon, or pagoda, is a coin not current in the Mahratta territories; but is, notwithstanding, occasionally issued in payments: its estimated value is 3 rupees 12 annas; its real value as bullion, not 3 rupees. Of these coins there are a very great variety; the Masulipatam pagoda is the best, and that which obtains in the Carnatic by far the worst I have ever seen. It is no uncommon thing for the coins current in one town to have no circulation in the next: this is necessarily the source of uncommon inconvenience, which, however, the native powers have never endeavoured to remedy. It is altogether occasioned by every chief having a tocksaul, or mint of his own. All coins, however, are struck in the emperor's name, a strong instance of the force of prejudice. In money negotiations with the sircar, it is sometimes specified, that the lender is to be allowed 18 annas for every rupee. In these payments the least valuable coins are issued at the highest value; and this is what is meant by the loan being given in the most depreciated specie.

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of this once rich country is buried in the private treasuries of the different Mahratta chiefs, and lost to all the purposes of circulation. So great is the scarcity of specie in the upper provinces, that for these two years past, Scindeah has been obliged to extort money from the Poonah government, for the payment of his immense armies in Hindustân.

In the different governments of the native powers, as in most despotic ones, the prince, unless he possess very great talents, is merely a cypher; the dewan, or minister, has all authority in his hands. This office is universally bestowed upon the person who gives the greatest nuzzir,* or, more properly speaking, can furnish a fund to answer some particular exigency of the state; for an inability to supply money for current expences is always sure to displace a minister. The prince having taken the bribe, often amounting to many lacks of rupees, the object of the purchaser, upon entering upon office, is to reimburse himself. Here the great door to corruption is thrown open; every office is set up to auction, and knocked down to the highest bidder, without regarding any qualification but the price. Every situation, komisdaurs,† killadaurs, petels, are disposed of in public market. No check can be given to consequential peculation. He that should punish the delinquent, has himself set the example, and is equally implicated in the guilt. The very man that has bought his office is not certain of holding it a year: this consideration gives an additional keenness to his avarice, until it gets whetted to the highest degree of exacerbation; he extorts from the unfortunate ryot‡ the product of his labour, without "one compunctious visiting of nature," and plunders, without mercy, the very subject it is his duty to protect. If this tyrant be removed, the evil is by no means removed along with him; for his successor, if he buys his office (and on no other terms will he get it), will most certainly be equally rapacious and unprincipled.

It is from some causes of this kind that the bulk of the people are almost totally without property. Few under a Mahratta government have opportunities of acquiring wealth, except the powerful Brâhmans who hold offices in the durbar. Their avarice is insatiable; and if ever the madness of accumulation was marked with the highest degree of folly, it is in the present instance; for though the Brâhmun may be permitted to go on even for years in every practice of extortion, at last his wealth excites the attention of the prince; he is then obliged to disgorge, and perhaps ordered to a killa for life. If he happen to die while in office, his property is generally sequestered by the sircar; but in this case his family is provided for, either by a pension or otherwise; and the custom of plunder (which is called goonagaré,‖) forms

* Nuzzir—A nuzzir is properly an offering from an inferior to a superior, and may consist of money, or any other article: in a more particular sense, it signifies a certain sum of money (seldom more than 5 rupees) presented by the servants of the sircar to the prince, either upon entering his service, or other occasions. Presents are frequently sent from chiefs of equal rank; but these are never considerd as nuzzirs, as that would imply an idea of inferiority or dependence.

† Komisdaur, the receiver general of a district. Killadaur, the commandant of a fort. Petel, the principal officer of a village.

‡ Ryot, a husbandman; the tiller of the ground.

‖ Goonagaré:—this is a compound word, formed of goona, a crime, and garé, a penalty: generally speaking, it signifies a mulct or fine, the amount of which is arbitrary.

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forms one very considerable part of the contingent revenue.

Upon the whole, I believe there is not upon record an example of any government so little calculated to give protection to the subject as the fluctuating and unsteady system of the Mahrattas: an administration formed of rapacity, corruption, and instability, promises but little hopes of domestic happiness or public security. To this grand source may be ascribed the accumulated misery of the people; oppression, poverty, and famine; which last appears the appropriated curse of this country. When we reflect on the great fertility of Hindustân in general, it is amazing to consider the frequency of this dreadful visitation. As this is evidently not owing to any sterility of soil or climate, since there are many seasons that produce two and three crops, the evil must be sought for in some political cause; and it requires but very little penetration to discover it in the avarice and extortion of the various governments. In a country such as this, where revolutions are so common, the great spur to industry, that of security, is taken away: —the ryot, who cultivates his grounds this year, is by no means sure of possessing them the next; or if he should, it is highly probable that in a government that holds its supremacy only by the sword, some large detachment may be quartered in his neighbourhood; than which a greater blow cannot be given to industry; for a Mahratta army are more indefatigable and destructive than myriads of locusts. The property of friends or enemies falls equally a prey to their undistinguishing depredations. Hence it is that no man raises more than barely serves him, and the produce of the year is just equivalent to its consumption. The consequence is, as there are no public stores or granaries, that the first scarcity of rain, or too great a fall of it, produces a famine: the inhabitants abandon their fields, and either fly to the coast, or to some other place, where the scarcity has prevailed less: this new accession of people produces a famine there, and the evil becomes universal. It is at this period that the traveller beholds the greatest of all human miseries; hunger, nakedness, disease, and death, which in this case is the extreme of mercy: the street strewed with carcasses, the highways with skeletons, and every countenance the picture of misery, wretchedness, and despair. It is owing to the frequency of this dreadful calamity, that the Mahrattas are total strangers to charity, and possess an insensibility of heart with which other nations are unacquainted. The feelings get steeled by a repetition of distress, especially in a people whose ruling passion is avarice. A Mahratta will see his own brother expire before him, with the most phlegmatic composure.—Perhaps the man has beheld his whole family die who around him, without exciting one sentiment of compassion in his fellow-beings, will, when the returning evils come again, find his heart hardened against mankind, from a recollection of their barbarity, rather than softened into pity by a knowledge of their distress. Such is the effect of famine upon morals; but I believe it has never produced one rebellion against the government, that for the most part occasions it. The Hindû has but few passions; he considers misfortune as his fate, and submits without a struggle.

It is also owing to famine and its concomitant depopulations, that some parts of India are so thinly inhabited. I believe it may be safely asserted, that through the whole

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whole country (Bengal and Bahar excepted), one acre in fifty is not cultivated; and the quantity of tilled land will always bear a proportion to the number of people to be maintained by it. It is no uncommon circumstance for large cities, in the time of famine, to lose three-fourths of their inhabitants, and the country suffers in the same degree; frequently whole districts are swept away, and for years remain a jungle, notwithstanding the climate is so favourable to population. Upon the whole, what between an indolence in the people, and a rapacity in the government, famine appears to be the prime curse of this country; yet, incredible as it may seem, no provisions are ever made against it; but that the fault is not totally in nature or the natives, may be seen by turning to Bengal, which, enjoying a more steady and permanent administration, has not suffered by famine, I believe, since that which happened in 1770 or 1771, twenty-six years, although every other part of India has been frequently visited by it since that period.

Many methods might be devised by an active government, interested in the welfare of its community, to prevent the possibility of a famine, even in the worst of times. There is perhaps no country on earth so intersected with rivers as Hindustân: the Ganges alone, according to Rennell, receives into its bed eleven rivers, all larger than the Rhine. The Nerbudda, Tapty, Kistna, and Godovery, falling upon both sides of the peninsula, carry in themselves, if properly managed, inexhaustible sources of plenty. In the hands of an European, what canals, what ducts would not be cut, to promote a general distribution of water!—but here scarce any attempts of this kind have been made; so that every drop of water that disembogues itself into the sea, is lost to all the purposes of fertilization. But, dispensing with great and laborious undertakings, there are many ways, which, if attempted, might possibly contribute to mitigate the dreadful effects of famine. In the cold season the earth is often sufficiently saturated with the heavy nightly dews, and might, if the experiment were made, produce certain kinds of dry grain, probably without the assistance of rain.—Potatoes, carrots, and other roots, require but little moisture, and might perhaps be cultivated with success: on the coast, too, the sea is an inexhaustible store of provisions: this speculation may appear visionary, but it is worthy of experiment. In one word, presupposing economy on the side of government, and industry on the part of the inhabitants, a famine might be a scourge unknown to this country: but after all, it is highly probable that the best intended plans would be ineffectual: not only natural causes, but incurable prejudices, impede every effort towards improvement. The Hindû is naturally averse to innovation. His religious creed consists, in a great measure, in restrictions respecting his eating; and to these he adheres with the most superstitious infatuation; nor could famine itself induce him to taste of forbidden food. Perhaps there is no principle of the human mind so strongly rooted, as that which attaches itself merely to our palate, which prompts us to reject with disgust and abhorrence certain kinds of food, for which we can assign no reason but the effects of early prejudice: this is the foundation of the Hindû system, which has suffered less by time and circumstance than any other in the antient or modern

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modern world, as the religion of Brâmah is the same this day as it was at the invasion of Alexander.

But to return from this long digression: it has already been observed, that the Mahratta empire always considers itself as in a state of actual war. On the festival of the Dussera, which takes place after the conclusion of the north-west monsoon, the jhoonda, or the great ensign of the prince, is hoisted; the royal tents are pitched, and a camp is immediately formed. The operations of the ensuing year are now determined on, whether to act against an open enemy, to collect the permanent revenue or chout, or to go on mul'uk-gheré. The countries subjected to these depredations are those of the Jyepoor rajah, the Marwarry, and the north end of the peninsula of Guzurat, near the gulph of Cutch: the remainder of Hindustân is now entirely subjugated, and forms a part of the empire.

Whenever the united force of the whole Mahratta confederacy is in the field, as was lately the case in the war with the nizam, in the year 1794, the peshwa commands in person. On these occasions the army is divided into three great bodies, each of them distinguished by different names and situations. The advanced army, in which the whole of the infantry is included, is called the cherry fodge, or light troops: this party is under the orders of the holder of the jerry-put; though every chief commands his own distinct army. The centre division, which is called the beech lashkar, is considered as a body of reserve, and is unencumbered with unnecessary equipage or artillery. The rear army, in which the peshwa commands, is termed the boonga, and has in charge the grand park, or jensa, and all the baggage of the whole army.

The Mahrattas never come to action without having first endeavoured to negotiate; and if the business can possibly be settled by the purse, they always prefer it: They even very rarely engage when they come in sight of the enemy; but, unless attacked, will remain in their camp many days; during this time they harass their adversaries by cutting off forage and supplies, and destroying the circumjacent country; and never, except in the last extremity, come to close action.

The chief military force of the Mahrattas consists in their cavalry, which may be divided into four distinct classes: First, the kassey pagah, or household forces of the prince: these are always a fine well-appointed body, the horses excellent, being the property of the sircar, who give a monthly allowance to the trooper, to the value of about eight rupees: this species of horsemen are called baugeers. The second class are the cavalry furnished by the silladaurs* (literally armour-bearers), who make kowle, or contract with the sircar to supply a certain number of horse upon such terms as they can agree on, generally about thirty-five rupees a month, the troop's pay included. The third, and most numerous description, are volunteers, who join the camp, bringing with them their own horse and accoutrements: their pay is generally from forty to fifty rupees per month, mostly in proportion to the value of their horse. There is a

* Silladaur.—I apprehend, from the meaning of this term, that it was formerly the custom of the nation, as was the case in Europe, to appear in armour. I have frequently seen a kind of coat of mail worn by the Mahratta horsemen, which they call a beuta, and resembles our ancient hauberk; it is made of chain work, interlinked throughout, sits close to the body, and adapts itself to all its motions.

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fourth kind of native cavalry, called pindarins, who are mere marauders, serve without any pay, and subsist but by plunder, a fourth part of which they give to the sircar: but these are so very licentious a body, that they are not employed but in one or two of the Mahratta services.

The army collected in this manner are under no discipline whatever, engage for no specific length of service, but quit it whenever they please: they do no duty but in the day of battle, except furnishing a picket while in camp, which is called shabeenah, and of which I shall speak more fully hereafter.

The Mahratta cavalry is always irregularly and badly paid; the baugeer, who belongs to the sircar, scarcely ever receives money, but is furnished with a daily allowance of coarse flour, and some other ingredients from the bazar, which just enables him to exist. The silladaur is very nearly as badly situated. In his arrangements with the state, he has allotted to him a certain proportion of jungle, where he pastures his cattle: here he and his family reside; and his sole occupation, when not on actual service, is increasing his pagah or troop, by breeding out of his mares, of which the Mahratta cavalry almost entirely consist. There are no people in the world who understand the method of rearing and multiplying the breed of cattle equal to the Mahrattas: It is by no means uncommon for a silladaur to enter the service with one mare, and in a few years be able to muster a very respectable pagah. They have many methods of rendering the animal prolific: they back their colts much earlier than we do, and are consequently more valuable as they come sooner on the effective strength. I do not know, however, whether they attempt to improve the breed of their horses by crossing the strain, as we practise in Europe. It is this persevering industry and consummate knowledge, which is the true cause of the immense bodies of cavalry that the Mahratta states can bring into the field; a circumstance that has occasioned surprize in many, who have been at a loss to conjecture from whence such hosts could proceed. Independent, however, of this, there are great numbers of horses brought from Candahar and Thibet, and sold at the annual fairs in many parts of Hindustân; but these make a very small proportion in the gross strength of the Mahratta armies.

When called upon for actual service, the silladaur is obliged to give muster. Upon this occasion it is always necessary that the Brâhman who takes it should have a bribe; and indeed the hazree, as the muster is termed, is of such a nature, that it could not pass by any fair or honourable means. Not only any despicable tatoos are substituted in the place of horses, but animals are borrowed to fill up the complement. Heel-ropes and grain-bags are produced, as belonging to cattle supposed to be at grass; in short, every mode is practised, to impose on the sircar, which, in return, reimburses itself by irregular and bad payments: for it is always considered, if the silladaurs receive six months arrears out of the year, they are exceedingly well paid.—The volunteers who join the camp are still worse situated, as they have no collective force, and money is very seldom given in a Mahratta sircar without being extorted. In one word, the native cavalry are the worst paid body of troops in the world.

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But there is another grand error in this mode of raising troops, which is productive of the worst effects. Every man in a Mahratta camp is totally independent: he is the proprietor of the horse he rides, which he is never inclinable to risk, since without it he can get no service. This single circumstance destroys all enterprize and spirit in the soldier, whose sole business, instead of being desirous of distinguishing himself, is to keep out of the way of danger: for, notwithstanding every horseman, on entering a service, has a certain value put upon his horse, yet should he lose it, even in action, he never receives any compensation, or at least one proportioned to his loss. If at any time a silladaur is disgusted with the service, he can go away without meeting any molestation, even though in the face of an enemy. In fact, the pay is, in general, so shamefully irregular, that a man is justified in resorting to any measure, however apparently unbecoming, to attain it. It is also another very curious circumstance attending this service, that many great silladaurs have troops in the pay of two or three chiefs at the same time, who are frequently at open war with each other.

To recover an arrear of pay, there is but one known mode, which is universally adopted in all native services, the Mogul as well as the Mahratta: this is called dherna, which consists in putting the debtor, be he who he will, into a state of restraint or imprisonment, till satisfaction be given, or the money actually obtained. Any person in the sircar's service has a right to demand his pay of the prince or his minister, and to sit in dherna if it be not given: nor will he meet with the least hindrance in doing so; for no one would obey an order that interfered with the dherna, as it is a common cause; nor does the soldier incur the slightest charge of mutiny for his conduct, or suffer in the smallest manner in the opinion of his chief; so universal is the custom.

The dherna is sometimes carried to very violent lengths, and may be executed on the prince or his minister indifferently: however, the effect is the same; as the chief always makes it a point of honour, not to eat or drink while his dewan is in duress. Sometimes the dherna lasts for many days, during which time the party upon whom it is exercised is not suffered to either eat or drink, to wash or pray; and, in short, it is not permitted to move from the spot where he sits, very frequently bare-headed in the sun, until the money or security be given. So general is this mode of recovery, that I suppose the Mahratta chiefs may be said to be nearly one half of their time in a state of dherna.

There are other modes of dherna, beside the one described above, which may be put in practice either for the recovery of property or character. I will mention two other methods. The first is thus: the creditor goes to the door of his debtor, and demands payment or security; which if not given, he stands up in his presence, with an enormous weight upon his head, which he brings with him for the purpose; swearing never to alter his position until satisfaction be given: denouncing at the same time the most horrible execrations on his debtor, should he suffer him to expire in that situation. This seldom fails to produce the desired effect; but should he actually die while in dherna, the debtor's house is razed from the earth, and he and his

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family sold for the satisfaction of the creditor's heirs.

There is another mode of dherna still more desperate, but I believe not often recurred to; this is called raising a koor; which consists in erecting a large pile of wood before the house of the debtor, and after the customary application has been refused, the party ties on the top of the pile a cow or calf, or very frequently an old woman, generally his mother or other relation; swearing at the same time to set fire to it, if satisfaction be not instantly given: the old woman all the time denounces the bitterest curses, threatening to persecute the wretched debtor, both here and hereafter. I apprehend this dreadful practice is seldom carried to the extreme: it obtains principally in Hindustân, and I believe it has never found its way into the Deccan. These modes are the only known ones to recover a debt, as the Mahrattas have no idea of civil or criminal jurisprudence.

I shall now offer some observations on the state of the Mahratta armies, as far as respects their foot establishments. In the various Mahratta services there are very little more than a bare majority who are Mahrattas by cast; and very few instances occur of their ever entering into the infantry at all. The sepoys in the pay of the different princes are recruited in Hindustân, and principally of the Raaje Poote and Purvia cast. These are, perhaps, the finest race of men in the world, for figure and appearance; of lofty stature, strong, graceful, and athletic, of acute feelings, high military pride; quick, apprehensive, brave, prudent, and economic: at the same time it must be confessed, they are impatient of discipline, naturally inclined to mutiny, and, like other Hindûs, incapable of gratitude or affection. They are mere soldiers of fortune, and serve only for their pay: they migrate from Hindustân to the Deccan for service, where they are called purdasies, or strangers: they have no idea of patriotism or love of their country, but would plunder their native village without a pang.

There are also a great number of Mussulmans, who serve in the different Mahratta armies, some of whom have very great commands. These, from their intercourse with the Hindûs, have insensibly acquired a degree of politeness and urbanity, which is not otherwise natural to their character; and so conciliating are the Mahratta manners, that the most bigotted of the Mahommedans in a very little time perfer this government to their own, and imperceptibly throw off that insolence and hauteur which render them elsewhere the objects of contempt and abhorrence to every one who has a commerce with them.

The infantry in the service of the Mahratta states are very inconsiderable, and, excepting Scindeah's brigades, are a burlesque on every thing military. The late Mahajee Scindeah was the only chief of the empire who effectually raised a body of foot upon the European system. He was a man of the most enlarged mind, and his ambition was equal to his abilities. At the period of his returning to the Deccan in 1791, he was actually vizier to the emperor, and came to Poonah with the express intention of obtaining the situation of dewan to the peshwa; and had he succeeded, he would have possessed a larger authority than ever was enjoyed by any of the emperors in the fullest zenith of their power. A man actuated by views of this extensive kind, could only think upon the great scale, and his successes have been answerable

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answerable to the magnitude of the undertaking. He established foundries at Agra for the casting of cannon, made all his own arms, gave encouragement to European officers of merit to enter his service, and, above all, was fortunate enough to meet with De Boigne, his general of infantry; a man of the first-rate talents as an officer, and consummate knowledge as a politician; indefatigable in his pursuits, whether of war or negotiation; whose splendid abilities, displayed upon a noble theatre, increased the dominions of Scindeah to double their original extent, and created for himself a princely fortune, by a series of successful and honourable labours. The army raised by De Boigne consists of about twenty thousand regular infantry; ten thousand nezibs, a species of troops I shall describe hereafter; and about three thousand trokeswars, or disciplined cavalry; an excellent train of artillery, capitally supplied; and the whole well paid and appointed. This army has made Scindeah the head of the empire, and, in fact, the only chief really formidable in it.

The nezibs are matchlock-men, and, according to their different casts, are called Allegoles or Rohillas: they are indifferently formed of high cast Hindûs and Mussulmans, armed with the country musket, to which the ingenuity of De Boigne has added a bayonet. They also carry a target and sword, and are men of great intrepidity. When I consider the bad state of the firelock generally to be met with in the interior, and the excellence of De Boigne's matchlocks, I have very little doubt in my mind, of the superiority of the nezib corps, and am almost certain they would defeat an equal number of telingas, armed in the wretched manner they generally are. The bandook takes a longer time to load than the firelock, as it is chambered; but then it carries a ball much farther and infinitely truer; and long practice enables the nezibs to load with a readiness sufficiently applicable to ordinary service; they are also excellent swordsmen, and are usually employed in making a charge, upon any appearance of confusion in the enemy.

The Rohillas are all Mussulmans, and generally are fellows of the most vile and dissolute characters: they are, however, men of tried courage, and always reserved for storming, or some such desperate service; they do no other duty whatever, and have not even the shadow of discipline among them.

This formidable army gave the late Mahajee Scindeah such weight and authority in the politics of the empire, as was never possessed by any other chief: but the councils of his successor, the present Dowlut Row Scindeah, appear to fall far short of the wisdom and dignity of his predecessor. Nothing can exhibit a greater picture of confusion than this durbar, since the imprisonment and supercession of Ballajee Tantia, the late minister: from that time no dewan has been regularly appointed, and the business of the sircar is attempted to be conducted by a junto of ignorant sycophants, who, from household servants and slaves, have raised themselves to authority, through the youth and inexperience of their master. Scindeah's yearly expences far exceed his revenues: his country, exhausted and unproductive, is a general scene of poverty and oppression, and a powerful enemy might soon complete its ruin: in short, there is but one line of conduct adhered to by that government, which consists in extorting money

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from the weakness of the Poonah sircar, for current expences. This, though a very great resource, cannot last long; and when all funds are drawn dry, I can see no alternative but utter ruin. At present his monthly expences, for the army of the Deccan alone, is twenty-five lacks of rupees: the troops in Hindustân are paid merely by rapine and extortion; he has, in himself, no resources, no khazanna; nor have his unhappy subjects even the shadow of a progressive government.

Of the other chiefs of the empire, the Bouncela appears in his government the most prudent and economical: his dominions are extensive, but compact; nor are they chequered by the possessions of the other members, as the Mahratta territories generally are. He has a large extent of coast in the province of Orissa, which is a great political object; he interferes much less in the internal broils of the empire, than either Scindeah or Holkar; but, concentrated within himself, possesses a certain repulsive force, adequate to the purposes of defence; and, untinctured by the mania of conquest, rests satisfied with his hereditary dominions. Upon the whole, the Bouncela's government promises a degree of durability, which cannot rationally be looked for from any other part of the empire. He is the next to Scindeah in military strength, retaining in his service about ten thousand infantry, which it must be confessed are badly paid and worse disciplined; he can, however, bring a large army of capital horse into the field, and his wealth in khazanna* is immense. Still, with these advantages, his general character is that of a weak, unprincipled man, without spirit or talents.

Holkar is very highly respected among the Mahrattas, on account of his family; he possesses a large extent of country, both in the Deccan and Hindustân; and is subah of Malwa, by which title he is most generally known. His immediate predecessor, Malarrow Holkar, dignified in this country by the surname of Great, was one of the earliest adventurers in the Mahratta expeditions to the northward, and appears to have possessed great talents both as a general and statesman. The subahdar can bring, on an emergency, about fifty thousand horse into the field, and retains in his service near six thousand infantry, tolerably well disciplined and appointed: his affairs have been for some years on the decline, partly owing to his late contest with Scindeah, but still more to the internal dissentions of his own family.†

The peshwa, though the head of the empire, is by no means so powerful as some of the inferior members; the seat of his government is Poonah, in which city centres the principal wealth of the Mahratta states. It is little remarkable for any thing but its excellent police, which alone employs many thousand men. After the firing of the gun, which takes place at ten at night, no person can appear in the streets without being taken

* Khazanna—property, a deposit of treasure, whether of money or valuables. Those of princes or wealthy individuals, are lodged in hill-forts; but every person who can possibly do it, accumulates a khazanna, from which no necessity can compel him to draw a rupee; a circumstance that caused a great scarcity of specie in the interior.

† The above account was written during the life of the late Tuckojee Holkar: his successor, Cassey Row, has been too short a time on the throne to justify any opinion that might be formed of his conduct. He is considered as a man of a very weak understanding, and totally under the pupilage of his cousin, Bopoo Holkar, a daring, ambitious spirit, who will probably make a tool of him to answer his first projects.

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taken up by the patroles, and detained prisoners until dismissed in the morning by the cutwal: so strict is the discipline observed, that the peshwa has himself been kept prisoner a whole night, for being out at improper hours. The Poonah sircar pays twenty thousand infantry; but these are mostly upon paper only; the remainder are occupied in preserving the police of the city, and are by far the most despicable body in the whole empire, and could not, for an instant, withstand a regular well-disciplined battalion; like all civic forces, they are merely trained-bands, and are parcelled out in small bodies called "brauderies" to Brâhmans, who make a subsistence by false musters and curtailing the pay. The peshwa's cavalry is more respectable, being those furnished by the Maunkarries,* or original members of the republic, who pay very little respect to any person but the Sowa rajah, and never take the field but when the peshwa goes out himself in person. These are usually very badly paid.

Govind Row Guiacquar, or chief of Guzurat, is worth annually one crore of rupees, and can furnish to the general defence thirty thousand horse. Aly Behauder, the natural brother of the late peshwa, is at present over-running the Bundelkund district: but his situation is precarious, and his resources, of consequence, are uncertain. Rastia, Foncia, and Firkia, and some others, are merely jaghiredaurs, and can contribute but in a very small proportion. Such is the confederated strength of the empire; presenting a power that, if properly united, might justly excite an alarm. In the year 1794, when the Mahrattas were at war with the nizam, their forces in the field, in the Deccan alone, exceeded two hundred thousand men.

The Mahrattas adopt two distinct modes in raising their infantry: the first and best is that practised by Scindeah; in which the military stores, guns, arms, and clothing, are all the property of government, the command only resting with the general; or, in other words, the European plan. But some other chiefs, as Holkar, adopt the partisan system, where the whole corps and its appointments are the property of the commander. This plan is equally objectionable with the cavalry plan, as no officer can be supposed to do his duty with spirit, whose property lies in the corps he commands: since, should he be defeated, his prospects are at an end, and the sircar would never compensate for his loss. The infantry, however, in all native services, are paid much better than the cavalry. The pay of a sepoy in Hindustân is six rupees a month; and in the Deccan, nine.

The Mahratta states have of late given the preference to battalions, as they find them cheaper and more effective than the cavalry. The great exploits performed by Scindeah, owing altogether to his infantry, have served to encourage the prejudice; but the chief difficulty is to get arms, as they can only be obtained from the settlements; these

* The Maunkarries were powerful chiefs in the Deccan, during the Mogul government; who, revolting from the emperor, and joining the standard of Sevajee, served to lay the foundation of the Mahratta empire: they are highly respected at the court of Poonah, and enjoy many privileges: among which are these: the peshwa must always rise to receive one of this order. In pomp and appearance they are upon an equality with the prince; or, in other words, whenever the peshwa mounts his elephant, they mount their's; the same with regard to the palankeen and horse: but should the peshwa, while on his elephant, meet a maunkarry on horseback, the latter would not appear to know him. The maunkarries command almost the whole of the cavalry in the Poonah sircar.

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however are always procurable at a certain price. The late regulations of the Company, respecting the return to Europe of all unserviceable arms, may for a time prevent the increase of native infantry corps, but then it will drive them to the expedient of making their own firelocks, as Scindeah has done, and his are very excellent ones, far superior to the ordinary Europe arms to be met with in the bazars. I for my own part very much doubt the policy of the orders in question. In the first place, I lay it down as a postulatum, that arms will be sold while a good price is given for them, in defiance of all the regulations that can be made; and if they must be disposed of, the Company had better receive the value than any individual. In the next place, the arms purchased in the interior, are of that description which is denominated unserviceable, and generally are so. In this case it is of very little consequence in whose hands they are, since, if they are useless to the Company, who have excellent karkonnas to repair them, they can be of no great use to a native power, which has not the same means of mending them. Again, the regulation directs that the barrels are to be cut and returned to Europe, which certainly employs a proportion of tonnage that might be more advantageously occupied in any other manner. But I will take up the business upon a broader scale, and hazard the assertion, however paradoxical it may appear, that it would be for the interest of the Company to sell off all their old arms to the country powers: my reasons are these—If the native princes could get arms, they would prefer keeping up a foot establishment, to their present very formidable cavalry. In the event of any future war, this would afford the Company's forces many very eminent advantages; it would give them an opportunity of sooner closing with the enemy, and of consequence prevent that expensive and ruinous procrastination which attends a war with the native powers, owing to their great superiority in cavalry, which always avoid coming to close action. In case of an irruption into the Company's territories, an army of infantry could not over-run them with that destructive rapidity that bodies of horse can; and in case of coming to an engagement, the great advantage of regulars over any corps that can be disciplined in a native state, will always insure them a decided superiority. This speculation may appear remote in its consequences, but I am far from thinking it altogether visionary *.

The tope-konna, or ordnance department, is an office of great trust and emolument among the Mahratta powers. The guns themselves are tolerably well cast, but the carriages are, in general, very clumsily and badly constructed; the wheels are made of three thick planks of babool wood, joined together by pins, and turning upon a very small iron axle: when they have been any time in use, the friction, acting upon the two side-pieces, which run with the grain of the wood, very soon destroys their curve; whereas the middle-piece, touching the ground only with the extremities, and these cross-grained, resists for

* I have purposely avoided mentioning one very powerful additional argument to those enforced above, as I wished the whole article to relate merely to the Company's regulations. It is this: the Mahrattas will find it very easy, during peace in Europe, to get supplied with arms, either by the French or other neutral powers, as Tippoo has long done: the extent of coast they possess on both sides of the peninsula, offer many opportunities of landing them. Thus an important and advantageous trade may be lost to Great Britain, and thrown into the hands of our natural and political enemies.

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for a long time the effect of use: after a very little service the wheel loses its original figure, and becomes oval, and of consequence useless. A march of a few days shakes the carriages to pieces. Of late, however, they have much improved their plan, particularly in those services where Europeans have had any command; and I have occasionally seen guns mounted with great strength and neatness, in some of the Mahratta services. The cannon of the native armies are never made of any precise calibre, but are cast indifferently of all diameters, and the ball afterwards adapted to the bore. They never use cast shot, but those of wrought iron, hammered to any dimensions; the many angles, consequently, on the surface of the shot, in a very small course of service, destroy the smoothness of bore, and they can never be fired with that precision that a cast ball can. Of these guns the Mahrattas always carry with them an useless and cumbersome train, as they place great confidence in the effects of artillery, though they are totally ignorant of it as a science. They sometimes throw rockets into the enemy's line, but very seldom have recourse to musketry, and I suppose never have used the bayonet. The country powder is also extremely bad; for notwithstanding the materials are as good as possible, yet they are totally unacquainted with the necessary proportions, and injure the composition by a number of useless ingredients.

A Mahratta camp is formed without any order or regularity, and always occupies a large extent of ground. The prince's marquee being pitched, the great bazar is opened in front, in which all kinds of merchandizes are exposed to sale, and every art and trade carried on. The chief draws a considerable sum from his bazar, as every bunga, or shopkeeper, pays a certain monthly sum to the sircar, and the number of dokeuns, or shops, sometimes amount to thousands. Every person exercising a profession must pay this dustoor, which is about five rupees per month. The kunchenees, or dancing girls, of which some hundreds follow a large camp, are equally subjected to this regulation; as are also the foodas, or thieves, great numbers of whom accompany the native armies, and are protected by the sircar, upon paying a monthly sum.

The dewan's tent is pitched near to the prince's; the other different sirdars occupy such spots as are most convenient to them, every one carrying a distinct ensign, which serves their followers where to join them. Upon the whole, a Mahratta camp has a very picturesque appearance. The equipage of the prince is large and elegant; the other sirdars have tents respectable and convenient, often of distinct colours. The different ensigns flying, the extent and richness of the bazars, all produce an agreeable effect on the mind of an European. The number of followers is immense in the native armies, at least three to one fighting man.

The grand park, or, as it is called, the jensa, is a distinct department, and always occupies a separate spot, generally on one of the flanks; the infantry also pitch by themselves, and uniformly in front. The cavalry observe, while actually on service, a most excellent discipline: they furnish all pickets, being sent in large bodies in different directions; and as they are very alert, and on duty night and day, I think it would be next to impossible to surprize a Mahratta camp. The detached squadrons are called the shabeenah.

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The public affairs never suffer any interruption from the prince being in the field: there is a durbar held at the dewry, or state tent, every evening; and this is the same on marching or on halting days: and business is executed with the same ease and regularity as if in the court. The conduct of a Mahratta durbar presents a complete picture of noble simplicity. Here there is no offensive ostentation to be observed, no stupidity of unmeaning parade, but every thing displays a dignified plainness infinitely more respectable and interesting. Every person, even the meanest, can procure an immediate audience with the prince, when he is certain of being treated with politeness and attention. How different this from the base and degrading manners of the Mahommedan courts; that sink of corruption, pride, and prostitution; that strange mixture of haughtiness and servility, of meanness and parade! If ever the dignity of human nature was completely violated, it is in the manners and character of a Mussulman courtier; no cynic, no misanthrope, in his most splenetic humour, ever painted to his fancy a figure so violently disgusting; in him every sentiment of manly virtue is extinct—a mere automaton, moved only by the nod and smile of an abominable despot, if possible more vicious and degraded than himself.

Whenever the camp is to move, the chief gives orders where they are to encamp the next day; and this information is immediately communicated to the army by the servants of the binney-wallaw, an officer corresponding with our quartermaster-general, who proclaims it in the public bazar. On the line of march the infantry always form the advance, as they move before day; the cavalry rarely make ready before nine in the morning, as they always wait to eat before they march. The tope-konna moves as a distinct body, generally in the rear of the line, and often at a great distance; which is a very dangerous mode, as it always offers to an active enemy a vulerable point of attack. The chief moves with great state, preceded by his howdah elephants, and others carrying the great standards, led horses, and accompanied by a select body of cavalry. He always collects vast sums on the road, as he extorts a nuzzir from every town in sight, whether in his own dominions or not. The guns keep in the rear for the same purpose, and oblige the different villages to furnish a certain quantity of ghee, a sheep and a rupee for every gun: this they claim from immemorial custom; but they are seldom so moderate. This piece of extortion is called baht, and is universally levied by every party strong enough to enforce it. The villages are also infinitely distressed, by being obliged to furnish biggareers to forward the camp equipage; frequently bullocks and carts are pressed and carried to a considerable distance. This is often practised to obtain a compensation in money from the petels, or head men of the towns, who are also obliged to furnish the whole army with grass and wood gratis. These disbursements are carried by the petel to his sircar's account, which is afterwards allowed on the annual settlement of the kist-bundy. These depredations are practised by all the chiefs of the Mahratta states, and indifferently in every part of the empire.

The Mahratta cavalry, at times, make very long and rapid marches, in which they do not suffer themselves to be interrupted by the mon-

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noon, or any violence of weather. In very pressing exigencies, it is incredible the fatigue a Mahratta horse-man will endure: frequently many days pass without his enjoying one regular meal; but he depends entirely for subsistence on the different corn-fields through which the army pass; a few heads of joary, which he chases in his hands while on horseback, will serve him for the day. His horse subsists on the same fare; and with the addition of opium, which the Mahrattas frequently administer to their cattle, they are enabled to perform incredible marches. Should the army even be encumbered with heavy artillery, they still move with very great celerity, as there is always an advanced guard of cavalry detached to press draught bullocks from every town in sight. These, however, are efforts for extraordinary occasions; the general day's march of a Mahratta army is eight coss, or twelve miles. They generally encamp in the vicinity of some large town, for the convenience of the bazars, and in the order already described.

The vast consumption that attends a Mahratta army, necessarily superinduces the idea of great supplies: yet notwithstanding this, the native powers never concern themselves about providing for their forces, and have no idea of a grain and victualling department, which forms so great an object in an European campaign. The bungas, or grain-sellers, in an Indian army, have always their servants ahead of the troops on the line of march, to purchase, in the circumjacent country, whatever necessaries are to be disposed of. Articles of consumption are never wanting in a native camp, though they are generally five per cent. dearer than in the town bazars; but, independent of this mode of supply, the vanjarees, or itinerant grain-merchants, furnish large quantities, which they bring on bullocks, from an immense distance. These are a very peculiar race, and appear a marked and discriminated people from any other I have seen in the country: formerly they were considered so sacred, that they passed in safety in the midst of contending armies; of late, however, this reverence for their character is much abated, and they have been frequently plundered, particularly by Tippoo: they carry, however, in themselves, a tolerable force, and are at all times able to resist a common marauding party. The vanjarees do not depend totally on the sale of grain for subsistence, but take back large returns of merchandize from the Deccan to Hindustân. At their leisure they weave a certain coarse kind of hempen stuff, called, in this country, tartpurtoo, which brings a very great price, being far superior to the ordinary sort sold in the bazars: it is generally used in making bags to carry grain in, and large cloths for camels, called salutas, and has a very great consumption. I once met a large party of vanjarees settled in a jungle in Guzurat, and found, upon inquiry, that not being able to dispose of their grain to advantage, they had cleared a large portion of waste ground, and sowed it, and had hopes of making considerable profit. A pastoral people have always been remarked as wanderers, but I believe this is the first instance of an agricultural tribe being distinguished by the same circumstance.

The native infantry in the Mahratta services, are generally commanded by European officers: those who have brigades, have very great pay and emoluments. Colonel Perron, the successor of the famous De Boigne, has upwards of five thousand rupees per month, as commander

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der in chief. There are other officers in the service also of Scindeah's sircar, who have from one to three thousand rupees monthly, exclusive of emoluments; the other princes also give very liberal pay to their Europeans. Holkar allows the commander of his infantry three thousand rupees per month; the same pay was given by the peshwa to the commander of his regular infantry, Colonel Boyd. Mons. Raymond, who commanded the nizam's foot establishment, has a jaghire of thirty lacks per annum, for the payment of his troops. The pay of subalterns, in the native service, is from two to five hundred rupees monthly: this pay, though not regular, is always certain, and the duty very trifling. Service is, however, very precarious, and the expences are great, as it is almost a constant campaign, which obliges an officer always to keep up a field establishment of servants and animals, both of which occasion very serious deductions from his pay. Very few, indeed, except such as command corps, have any opportunity of accumulating even a moderate fortune; and if you are wounded or disabled in the service, there is no provision allowed from the sircar. I would therefore never advise any person to enter a native service, if he can get any situation in the settlements.

I calculate, that there are scattered about, in the interior, in the various services, of all countries, and situations, about three hundred Europeans; of these, about seven command tolerably large corps, and may be considered as men of fortune. There are, perhaps, about sixty more, in the rank of officers; the remainder are serjeants and gunners, some of whom have deserted from the settlements, others from ships; but the majority are French. Persons of this description have from thirty to sixty rupees per month; but being under very little discipline, are generally of extremely irregular conduct, and do but small honour to the European character, except by their extraordinary courage and intrepidity when employed on actual service: yet so great is the partiality of the Mahratta chiefs for Europeans in general, that they enjoy many privileges in this country which the native himself does not partake of. The various European articles necessary for his consumption, pass through the Mahratta territories duty free; in the native durbars, no person in the service can set up a palankeen without permission; but with regard to an European, no leave is ever required. In the Mogul government, no person can make use of a yellow howda but the nabob, except Europeans, who labour under no restrictions of this kind. In travelling through the interior, your baggage is transported from town to town without expence, and your person and property are perfectly secure: none of the natives, but military men, have any advantage of this nature.

For the benefit of those who may in future travel into Hindustân, I will, in this place, mention some circumstances, which it behoves every person so situated, to be informed of. The charity of the Hindû attends altogether to the convenience of the traveller: building seroys, durum-sollas, or resting-places, sinking wells in dry situations, and constructing dues or pagodas, are the practical benevolence of the native. This principle operates in the interior regulations; hence in every village there are three persons maintained at the public expence, whose services every traveller has a right to command. The first of these is the Ishkaur, or chief of the low cast people,

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ple, whose duty it is to furnish coolies to carry your baggage: if none of the Dare, or Parwarry tribe, are immediately to be found, he next resorts to the Sonaur, or Silversmith cast; if there are none of these ready, he goes through all the orders progressively; and if no one will take up the baggage, the petel, or chief of the village, must carry it himself; and I have frequently known very high cast Brahmâns pressed upon this service, though it is very remarkable they never presume to compel a Mussulman, be his condition ever so mean or indigent. These biggarees, as they are called, are exchanged at the next village, where they receive a certain quantity of coarse flour from the petel, but no payment is ever required. The next person is the beel, or guide. The beels are a jungle people, and very nearly in a state of barbarism; they travel with a bow and arrows in their hands, subsist only by rapine and plunder, and are generally protected by some powerful chief, to whom they pay chout; I have never, however, heard of their attempting the person of an European: of these people there are two or three retained in every village at the charge of the sircar. The third person is called the kooley, who is an individual either man or woman, of so high a zat, or cast, that every other Hindû can eat what they cook. The kooley, if you demand it, will dress your victuals, bring you whatever you want from the bazar, and for all this no compensation is expected. But independent of these services, the traveller can demand of the petel, a certain portion of salt and mossolah, also wood and pots to cook his food with.

I have now attempted to give you some idea of the general regulations of a Mahratta army; there only remains to explain the purposes for which these armies have been raised, and the duties upon which they are employed. Mahratta Hindustân is but a newly acquired country, inhabited by a warlike and independent people, by no means reconciled to their present masters, and very impatient of their subjection. The former authority of the emperors was in a great measure nominal, and their contributions to the court of Delhi were, I believe, much more lenient than their present subsidies to the Mahrattas: the government of the Mogul, though despotic, was permanent and steady, far superior to the capricious tyranny of their present masters; every rupee is therefore extorted, nor can the revenues be collected but by a superior military force. The native Hindû princes of the Raaje Poote and Purvia tribes, consider it as a reflection on their honour to yield the tribute without a struggle; and though certain of defeat, they will rather pay the expences of the campaign, than be thought to submit without making one effort for their independence. Their pride is wounded at their inferiority, as a people, to those to whom they are so superior as a cast. To maintain the Mahratta ascendancy over such unsubmitting spirits, furnishes sufficient employment for all their armies; and I doubt very much whether the acquisition be adequate to the expence.

That part of Hindustân which is subject to the authority of the Mahrattas, may be classed under two heads: first, that which is become Mahratta territory, the revenues of which go into the treasuries of the different chiefs; and secondly, the dominions of those princes who do not acknowledge

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any dependence on the empire, but who pay an annual subsidy to escape from its depredations. Under the former head is certainly comprehended the most of Hindustân Proper; the other includes the small district of the nabob of Bopaultol, part of the Agimere and Marwarry countries, the north end of the peninsula of Guzurat, and the dominions of the Jyepoor Rajah, one of the ancient Hindû dynasty, and the head of the Raaje Pootes. This last is the only prince who could, with any prospect of success, pretend to oppose the present overgrown power of the Mahrattas; but he appears an insignificant, despicable character, occupied only by the effeminate amusements of his zenana; yet he possesses immense wealth, and his subjects, the Raaje Pootes, are the most independent race of any of the Hindû tribes: Scindeah and Holkar jointly collect the mul'uck gheré from him. About three years ago, General De Boigne extorted from him, at the gates of his capital, seventy lacks of rupees, rather than run the risk of a siege. These compositions are called, in this country, making a momlet; and as this is preceded by the ceremony of milling, a business of great importance among the native powers, I shall take this opportunity of describing it; a task to which I conceive myself competent, as I have been a spectator to many.

When the milling, which signifies a public interview, takes place between persons of equal rank and consequence, there is a spot of ground previously determined on for the meeting, generally half-way between their respective camps.—The two sowarries, or cavalcades, set off as nearly as possible at the same time. Upon this occasion the most superb equipage of the state is marshalled forth: elephants richly adorned, led horses, running camels, and always a select body of cavalry, attend the procession: the whole moves very slowly, stopping frequently; the cavalry take advantage of these halts to exercise their horses, firing off their pieces, and frequently performing tournaments with the bollah, or spear. When the two parties first come in view of each other, both of them halt: in the interim running camels pass between, to give information of the sowarries, and the principal persons who compose it. All ceremonies being adjusted, both bodies move forward very slowly, the chobedahrs on both sides proclaiming the titles of the parties. When they arrive on the spot selected for the meeting, the person to whom the honour is intended, alights first from his elephant, and, standing up, mills with all the attendants of his visitor; the inferior person milling first, and a chobedahr standing by to proclaim the name and quality of the party. The actual ceremony itself consists in embracing, laying the head first over the right, then over the left shoulder, making a salute by lifting the hand up to the forehead, and so parting. Frequently some hundreds mill before the two great men meet, who only embrace in the manner above described, and part immediately; it never being customary to enter upon business on these occasions. It sometimes happens, that, after milling with the inferior personages, both chiefs again mount their elephants, and go through the ceremony in their howdahs; however, the mode now mentioned is most general. It is also customary for chiefs to visit each other in their own camps; upon these occasions very valuable khelats are given, frequently diamonds and pearls (to a con-

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considerable amount), and rich cloths, at parting. Beetel and pawn are then delivered out to all the attendants, without which no person ever quits a native durbar. This piece of politeness is totally distinct from milling, being termed a molhau kaut, or visit.

I shall, in the following table, hazard an estimate of the revenue and military strength of the Mahratta chiefs, by which you will be able to form a judgment of the collective strength of the whole. It is necessary, however, to observe, that as the revenue depends upon the produce of the season, in a certain degree, it is operated on by the plenty or scarcity of the harvest; an abundant year always produces a small revenue, as the price of grain is proportionably cheap. I do not pretend to say that I am in this statement accurate to a fraction; but it will, I believe, upon the gross be found tolerably just. I estimate them as follows, per ann.

State.	Crores.	Lacks.	Cav.	Inf.	Total.
Peshwa	4		40000	20000	60000
Scindeah	6		60000	30000	90000
Bouncela	3	50	50000	10000	60000
Holkar	1	50	30000	4000	34000
Guyacquar	1		30000		30000
Total	16		210000	64000	274000

You are not to suppose that this force is always kept embodied by the different chiefs, but simply what they could bring into the field on an emergency; and I think the calculation by no means equal to their greatest force. Of this number the infantry, with the exception of Dowlut Row Scindeah's, are a mere rabble without discipline or experience. But independent of the sum stated in the foregoing table as the annual revenue, there are immense treasures buried in the khazannas of the different chiefs. It is impossible to calculate the wealth of powerful individuals, which being also buried in the different forts, are lost to all the purposes of commerce or circulation. During the late revolution in Poonah, Nana Furnavese declared himself worth twenty crores of rupees, and that the treasury of the state contained as much more. This may give some idea of public and private wealth; but the gross collective riches of the empire are incalculable: being entirely lodged in killas, where they remain for ever untouched, and daily accumulating, they have lost all their value with regard to society, and nothing short of absolute ruin could induce the government to subtract a single rupee from them.

To conclude: When I consider the general state of the Mahratta empire, its amazing extent of frontier, its defective population, the restless and unsubdued spirits of the acquired territory, and the distracted state of their parties, I am far from regarding it in that very formidable light which many persons both in India and Europe are inclined to contemplate it. The Mahratta states are merely a confederacy without union, founded not upon confidence, but jealousy; incapable of that wise and comprehensive policy that embraces the common good; unswayed but by private consideration; destitute of mutual dependence on each other, and untinctured by a single atom of patriotism or public spirit; a selfish and contracted system, without vigour or energy; in one word, a government whose councils are directed by the influence of interested Brâhmans, the most faithless and most

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most venal of mankind. I certainly most sincerely deprecate a war between the British and the Mahratta power; but, independent of natural predilection, I can see nothing in the prospect, but what promises the most certain hopes of ultimate success.

An ACCOUNT *of* MALABAR, *and of the Rise and Progress of the* MUSSULMAN RELIGION *in that Country.— From Ferishtah's General History of Hindustân. Translated by* JAMES ANDERSON.

(From GLADWIN'S Asiatic Miscellany, published in Calcutta.)

As the Author has not seen any book, containing a particular account of the transactions of the Chiefs of Malabar, he has therefore been obliged to extract the following particulars from a poetical work, intitled the *Tohuffut ul Mujahed.*

MALABAR composes a part of the kingdom of Hindustân, and is situated to the southward. Prior to the death of Ram Radge,* the chiefs of it, by reason of the vicinity of their territories, acknowledged a subjection to the governors of Bejanuggir and Carnatic, and were obliged, for the preservation of their country, to send them valuable presents. Formerly, before the rise of the religion of Islam, a company of Jews and Christians came by sea into this country, and settled as merchants. In the course of time, a commercial intercourse, and a sense of mutual benefit, begot a strong friendship between them and the natives of Malabar. Many Jews and Christians settled in their cities, and there built houses and gardens; and in this manner they continued to live until the rise of the Mussulman religion. In the beginning of the third century of the Hijerah, a company of Mussulmans from Arabia and Adgim, in the guise of fakeers,

* Bejanuggir, now Golcondah, was the capital of an ancient race of Hindû monarchs, who, with the title of Rajahs of the Carnatic, ruled over the greatest part of the country comprehended under the name of Deccan. The city of Bejanuggir was founded some time in the 3d century of the Hijerah, by rajah Bejah Chund, in whose family the government continued for a period of near 700 years, when it fell into the hands of Ram Radge. This revolution happened in the year of the Hijerah 935, but the causes which led to it may be traced as far back as the death of rajah Seway Raay in the year 890. This rajah was the last of the descendants of Bejah Chund who possessed any real power; a succession of minors after his death, gave an opportunity to Tum Radge, an ambitious noble, to draw into his own hands the whole power of the state. After his death, in the year 935, his son Ram Radge having married the daughter of Seway Raay, asserted his claim to the radje. After a short contest with the adherents of the ancient family, he effected his object, and his abilities and conduct soon gave stability to this usurpation. The possession of this government, however, involved him in the war which had for some time before been carried on by his predecessors with the different Mussulman kings of the Deccan. The contests which ensued were maintained with various success until the year of the Hijerah 972, when a combination having been entered into against him by Ally Audil Shaw and Husene Nizam Shaw, the kings of Bejapore and Ahmednagur, they engaged him in a pitched battle near Anicondah, in which he was defeated and slain.

This famous battle was as important in itself as it was decisive in its consequences. The army of Ram Radge is said to have consisted of no less than 70,000 cavalry, and 900,000 foot, of which 100,000 are computed to have fallen in the action. The city of Bejanuggir was sacked and destroyed, and a new city erected in its place under the name of Golcondah. From this period, the many subordinate Hindû chiefs in the Carnatic assumed independency, and the defection soon after, of the Mussulman governor of Golcondah, on the part of Audil Shaw, gave rise to a race of Mussulman kings, who, under the common title of Cuttul Shaw, continued to reign there till the final reduction of the kingdom in the time of Aurung Zebe, by his general Ghazy Gheen Cahazy own, the father of the famous Nizam ul Mulk.

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keers, sailed from a harbour in Arabia, in order to visit the mark of Adam's foot in Seerandeeb, otherwise called Luncka, or Ceylon. The vessel in which they embarked having been driven on the coast of Malabar, they proceeded to the city of Carrigalore. The chief of that country, who was styled Zamorin, and who was a wise and benevolent prince, having contracted an acquaintance with these fakeers, entered into various subjects of conversation with them, until at length he inquired into their religion, and learned that they were Mussulmans. The Zamorin observed, that he was informed by the Jews, Christians, and Hindûs, who were the adversaries of their religion, and who had travelled over all the world, that the Mussulman faith prevailed throughout Arabia, Turkey, and Adgim; but that as he had never before seen any who professed it, he now begged they would give him a true account of their prophet, and of his miraculous performances.

One of these durvishes, a man of learning and virtue, entered into so full an explanation of his miracles, as inspired the Zamorin with an affection for their prophet. When he heard of the miracle of the division of the moon, he addressed them as follows: "O strangers, this is a mighty miracle; and if it be real, and not a magical deception, it must have been seen by the inhabitants of all the cities far and near. Now it is a custom in this country, when any extraordinary phenomenon happens, to commemorate it in the records; and as these are all extant, I will, in order to bring the truth of your account to the test, cause them to be examined."

He then ordered the keeper of the records to look into such as related to the time of the prophet; which having done, it was found that at the particular period of his time, the moon had been divided into two parts, and afterwards reunited. The Zamorin being thus convinced of the truth of the Mussulman religion, repeated the blessed creed, and became, with the most perfect faith, a Mussulman. But as he was afraid of the chiefs of his own country, he kept it concealed from them, and prohibited the Mussulmans from the publication of it. Having then heaped innumerable kindnesses on the durvishes, and exacted a promise from them of their returning to his country, he permitted them to depart for Ceylon.

The durvishes having performed their journey to Ceylon, returned in a short period to Carrigalore. The Zamorin expressed great happiness at their return, and determined to accompany them to Mecca and Medinah; but as it was not in his power to carry this intention openly into execution, he bethought himself of an expedient for the management of it. In the first place, he gave privately great sums to the durvishes, with which he ordered them to prepare their vessels, and lay in a large stock of water, and every thing necessary for the voyage; and then having assembled his family and the officers of state, he acquainted them, that being overcome with a desire of worshipping God, he was now determined to pass much of his time in privacy, and mix less with the world; that as they would consequently be deprived of frequent opportunities of seeing him, it was therefore his intention to write, in his own hand, a system of rules for their conduct, which might save the necessity of repeated applications to him. After a good deal of discourse, they all

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of them bound themselves by a solemn oath, never to deviate from his commands. He then wrote, in the Malabar language, a code of laws; and having divided the whole of the country of Malabar among his nobles and chiefs, he addressed them as follows: "Let the shares which I have allotted to each, be held by him and his family from generation to generation, and let none look with a covetous eye at the possession of another. If a rupture should take place between any of the chiefs, let them, with a view to revenge, destroy the countries of each other, and invade them with armies; but let them make no permanent possessions. Beware of the killing of a king. If in the field of battle a king should happen to be killed, let his whole forces be assembled, and let them not rest until they have killed his adversary, with all his army, and ravaged and destroyed his country."

It is observable, that to the present period, viz. the year 1020 of the Hijerah, the Malabarians cautiously avoid the slaughter of a king; and notwithstanding they may have the power, yet they do not possess themselves of their enemies' territories. This custom is peculiar to the people of this country.

It is reported, that when the Zamorin had completed the division, one of the chiefs who had been absent made his appearance. The Zamorin, after a short reflection, gave him his sword, and told him, that by means of it, whatever part of the country of Malabar he might seize, should be his property; that it should descend to his children; and that, after his death, the title of Zamorin should be conferred on him and his descendants.

The Zamorin having thus finished his valedictory admonition, informed them, that he was determined to go to a particular place to perform his religious devotions; and gave positive injunctions, that no one should come near him for the space of a week. That same night he embarked along with the company of Mussulmen fakeers, of which the chief was named Maalek Ben Hubeeb, and set sail for Mecca. The infidels of Malabar, after the expiration of a week, having entered the appointed place, and not being able to discover the Zamorin, were unanimously of opinion that he had ascended to heaven, and that he would again visit the earth. On this account, even at present, these infidels, on a particular night, celebrate a festival at the place of his departure; and they leave water and wooden shoes there, that, in case of his descent, he may not be deprived of these accommodations.

The Zamorin having proceeded on his voyage, arrived at the harbour of Shidger, where being afflicted with a dangerous illness, he called together Maalek and his companions, and spoke to them as follows: "Since my sole object is the propagation of the Mussulman religion in Malabar, and since it is suitable to the friendship that subsists between us, that you should do your utmost to promote this object, and with this view submit to the fatigues of a journey by sea, I request you will return, along with other Mussulmans, under the appearance of merchants, to Malabar, and, laying hold of some pretext, build houses and places of reception for travellers, that by the force of your endeavours, you may inspire the inhabitants with a love of the religion of Mahommed, and at length bring their necks into its yoke." After a prayer for his welfare, they replied, that it was in vain for them to return without him, as he

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the infidels of Malabar, and the Jews and Christians, were all their adversaries, and would never suffer them to come and go, far less to make a settlement in the country. The Zamorin paused a while in thought, and then wrote a phernan with his own hand, addressed to his chiefs and relations, in which, after acquainting them that this was the writing of the Zamorin, who having, by the command of God, chosen to separate himself from them, would soon return in an auspicious hour amongst them, and that until then it was necessary they should not deviate from the instructions he had given them—he then proceeded to inform them that Maalek Ben Hubeeb, and a particular company of religious men, who were all virtuous, and incapable of evil, intended to proceed to their country; and as he had formerly known them when they had come there in the capacity of merchants, he thought it incumbent on him to recommend them to their protection: that it was necessary they should shew them every civility in their power, should distinguish them above all other travellers, and in short, should do gain their affection, as to induce them to fix their residence in the country, and there to build houses and mosques, and plant gardens, taking care, in particular, to prevent any other sect, whether strong or weak, from molesting them. This pherman he gave to the Musulmans to deliver to the chief of Carrigalore, from whom he assured them they would meet with a favourable reception; and he strictly enjoined them to keep the real circumstances of his journey and situation a profound secret. He then divided his effects among the Musulmans, and soon after yielded himself to the mercy of God; he was buried in Shidger.

This is one tradition in regard to the Zamorin: but the most authentic one is, that having in the time of the prophet observed the division of the moon, he sent people of credit to investigate the cause of it. When he was informed by them that Mahommed had appeared as a prophet, and that this miracle had been performed by him, he immediately embarked in a vessel, and proceeded to Hujadge. There he saw the prophet; and having become a Mussulman, he visited the holy temple; from whence, having taken leave of the prophet, he proceeded on his return to his own country. On his arrival at the city of Zoofar with a company of Mussulmans, he was taken dangerously ill, and soon after died. His tomb is now to be seen at that city, and is much resorted to by pilgrims, who carry away reliques from it. This company of Mussulmans, his associates, together with Sherif Ben Maalek, and his half-brother Maalek Dunar, and his nephew Maalek Beb Hubeeb, agreeable to the above-mentioned instructions, proceeded to Malabar, and delivered the Zamorin's writing to the chief of Carrigalore. The chief, on perceiving the hand-writing of the Zamorin, expressed much satisfaction, and immediately inquired where the Zamorin was, and what was the cause of his having gone with them? They replied, that the Zamorin had not travelled with them, and that they were not acquainted with his motions. They had seen him, they said, when they were near the land in the sea of Shidger, and inquired of him the cause of his leaving his own country, to which he had made no answer; but understanding that they were on their way to Malabar, he had given them that writing to deliver to the chief of Carrigalore, with which

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they proceeded immediately on their voyage.

The Malabarians, having before believed that the Zamorin had ascended to heaven, were now convinced that he must have descended from thence, for some particular reason, near Shidger, and returned again, after committing his letter to the charge of these Mussulmans. They proceeded to celebrate the arrival of this letter with great joy and festivity in the city of Carrigalore, and throughout all the other cities of the country. And the chief of Carrigalore having provided the Mussulmans with suitable places of accommodation, entertained them after the manner of his country, and omitted none of the requisites of civility and attention. As soon as he was informed of the object of their wishes, he wrote orders to all the people of Malabar, in which, after setting forth that Maalek Ben Hubeeb and his companions had honoured that country with their presence, he ordered, that in whatever city or town they might fix their abode, they should, agreeably to the orders of the Zamorin, be furnished with a suitable piece of ground for building houses and mosques, and for planting gardens.

Maalek and his companions first built houses and mosques at Carrigalore, where several of them fixed their residence. He himself, however, and his family, afterwards went to the boundaries of the country, and built houses, mosques, and gardens, at Golam. There he left his family, and then proceeded to Mudimarway, where he erected a mosque, as he did also at Khenapattin, Zerapattin, Canderina, Hailiat, Facanore, Mangalore, and Kaldgircoote. In the mosques of all these several places he stationed Mussulmans who performed their religious rites and ceremonies in the customary manner; and as most of the Mussulmans who now inhabit Malabar are of the sect of Shaffeyah, there is reason to suppose that the Zamorin and Maalek Ben Hubeeb and his companions were of that sect likewise.

In the course of time, when the intercourse of the Mussulmans had greatly increased in the country of Malabar, and many of the chiefs of it had been converted to the Mussulman religion, the rajahs of the ports of Goah, Dabul, Chaule, &c. in imitation of the chiefs of Malabar, gave free permission to all the Mussulmans from Arabia to settle in their country, and gave them the title of *Nawayeb*, that is to say, Lords. This favour to the Mussulmans was the source of much vexation to the Jews and Christians, who conceived a great enmity to the Mussulmans. The subjection, however, of Guzerat and Deccan to the king of Delhi, had given such strength to the Mussulman religion in the Deccan, as deterred them from any open acts of hostility. At length, however, in the year of Hijerah 900, the power of the Mussulman monarchy in the Deccan having been greatly undermined, some Europeans were sent out by the king of Portugal to the harbour of Canderinah and Calicut, from whence, after fully informing themselves of the state of the kingdom, they returned to their own country. Next year, six European vessels from Portugal having arrived at Calicut, they required of the Zamorin to prevent the Mussulmans from travelling to and from Arabia, alledging, that it would be more for his advantage to trade with them. As the Zamorin would not agree to this proposal, the Christians proceeded to oppress the Mussulmans, which so incensed the Zamorin,

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Zamorin, that he ordered a general slaughter of them. The Malabarians seized their goods, and killed seventy of the principal amongst them; the rest escaped to their ships. These the chief of Cochin, who was then at war with the Zamorin, protected, and gave them permission to build a fort near Cochin. This was what the Portugueze above all things wanted. In a short space of time, they finished a small fort; and having pulled down a mosque which was near it, they erected a church in the place of it.

This was the first fort erected by the Europeans in Hindustân; and having at the same time contracted a friendship with the natives of Cannanore, they erected a fort there also. By these means they were enabled to prosecute with ease the trade of pepper and ginger, from which they attempted to exclude all others. This gave so great offence to the Zamorin, that he raised a large army, with which he invaded Cochin, and returned, after killing three kings of it, and laying waste the country. The heirs of the deceased chieftians having taken upon themselves the government, and restored the country to order, applied themselves, with the assistance of the Portugueze, to the building of ships. The chief of Cannanore likewise engaged in the construction of a large fleet of vessels.

The Zamorin being now exasperated beyond measure, spent the whole of his treasure in the equipment of an army, with which he made three different invasions of Cochin; but as his enemy was always headed by the Portugueze, he was as often obliged to return without success. He then dispatched ambassadors to the chiefs of Egypt, Judda, Deccan, and Guzerat, to acquaint them, that although the oppressions and outrages of the Portugueze in his own paternal country exceeded all bounds, yet that he felt not so much on this account, as for the vexations offered to the Mussulmans who resided in his country; since, notwithstanding he was himself a Hindû, he held himself bound to protect them. That with this view he scrupled not to expend all his treasure, and omitted no other precaution in his power; but as the king of Portugal was famed for the number of his army, and was constantly sending out fresh fleets with warriors and military stores, the number of their men, notwithstanding the slaughter committed upon them, seemed not to diminish. For this reason he was under the necessity of soliciting aid from the Mussulman princes; and if they should resolve to oppose an enemy of Mahommed, and with this view send ships with warriors from their ports to attack the Portugueze, they surely would reap the benefit of it on the day of judgement; would be ranked amongst the most celebrated champions of their religion, and would acquire eternal honour and renown.

Falfer Gauriah, the sultan of Egypt, immediately acceded to his proposal, and appointed Ameer Hussein, one of his nobles, to the command of thirteen grabs, all vessels of war, completely equipped, and directed him to sail to India, and engage the Portugueze. Sultan Mahommed, king of Guzerat, and Mahommed Buhmoney, king of Deccan, likewise equipped strong fleets in the harbours of Diu, Surat, Goa, and Dabul, in order to attack the Portugueze. The Egyptian fleet went first to Diu, where it joined the fleet of Guzerat. From thence they proceeded to Chaule, the principal place of the Portugueze; and being joined

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by forty of the Zamorin's ships, and some grabs from Dabul and Goa, they attacked the Portugueze, and after fighting bravely, and taking one of the European vessels, they returned to Diu. The Portugueze followed, and came upon them unawares. Mallick Ayaz, the governor of Diu, and Ameer Hussein, having no other resource, immediately prepared for action. A battle ensued, in which they were worsted; several of the Egyptian vessels were taken, and the Portugueze returned in triumph to their ports.

About this time, sultan Selim, the emperor of Rome, having overcome the Gaurian sultans of Egypt, the power of that dynasty fell to the ground. The Zamorin, who had placed his reliance upon them, was much dispirited on this account, and the Portugueze acquired a great superiority over him. In the month of Ramzan, of the year 905 of the Hijerah, they attacked Calicut during the absence of the Zamorin, burned the Jammah mosque, and plundered the whole city. Next day the Malabarians having rallied, attacked the Portugueze, and killed five hundred of them. Many were likewise drowned in going to their ships. Those that escaped proceeded to Golum, and having formed an alliance with the zemindar of that place, they built a small fort about half a fursung distant from it, where they collected their forces. That same year they took possession of Goa from the governor, on the part of Eusoph Audil Shaw, as has been already related, which Eusoph Audil happily recovered from them. But the Portugueze having expended great sums of money, at length deceived the governor of it, and again got possession of the place, which they repaired and strengthened, and made the capital of all their ports in Hindustân.

The Zamorin, though himself an infidel, was yet grievously vexed to behold the success of the Portugueze. After his death, which happened in the year 921 of the Hijerah, he was succeeded by his brother, who, in the beginning of his government, entered into a peace with the Europeans, and permitted them to build a fort near Calicut; whilst they agreed to suffer him to send every year four vessels laden with pepper and ginger to Arabia. At first the Europeans adhered to their agreement; but after completing the fort, they obstructed the trade of the Zamorin, and exercised all kinds of oppression on the Mussulmans. The Jews of Carrigalore took advantage of the weakness of the Zamorin to insult the Mussulmans, of whom they put a great number to death.

The Zamorin now saw the folly of his conduct. He went first to Carrigalore, where he so exerted himself in the destruction of the Jews, that not a vestige of them has since been found in that country. He proceeded then with all the Mussulmans of Malabar to Calicut, where having invested the Portugueze fort, he at length, with much difficulty got possession of it, and destroyed it—an event which tended greatly to strengthen the Malabarians, and which enabled them for some time after to dispatch ships laden with pepper and ginger to Arabia, without any passport from the Portugueze.

In the year 930, the Europeans having built a fort at Haliat, which is two fursungs distant from Calicut, the navigation of the Malabarian ships was thereby much obstructed. In the same year, in the reign Burhan Nizam Shaw, they

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they built the fort of Regdundah near Chaule, and there made a settlement. In the year 941, in the reign of Behader Shaw, king of Guzerat, they possessed themselves of the harbours of Bassan, Daman, and Diu, as has been already related in our history of the kings of Guzerat. And in the year 943, they at length succeeded in building a fort at Carrigalore.

About this time Selim Cawn, the son of Sultan Selim, emperor of Rome, formed a plan to drive the Portugueze from Hindustân, and possess himself of their fort. —With this view, in the year 944, he fitted out a fleet consisting of near a hundred grabs, and sent them, under the command of his vizier Solyman Basha, towards Aden, which lay in the road, with directions first to take it, and then proceed to Hindustân. Solyman Basha that same year having made himself master of the harbour of Aden, put the governor of it, Sheikh Aamir, the son of Sheikh Daood, to death, and proceeded to Diu, which he invested, and had almost reduced, when he was obliged to abandon the siege of it for want of provisions and treasure, and return without the accomplishment of his object.

In the year 963, the infidels had possessed themselves of Ormuz, Muscat, Sumatra, Malacca, Meelafore, Negaputten, Baskore, Mangalore, Ceylon, Bengal, and extended their conquests to the boundaries of China. Sultan Ally Achee repossessed himself of Sumatra, and the prince of Ceylon drove the Europeans out of his country, and freed it from their oppression. The Zamorin of Calicut, who is reported to have been a lineal descendant from that chief who received the sword from the ancient Zamorin, being hard pressed by the Europeans, sent ambassadors to Mortezza Nizam Shaw, and Audil Shaw, then kings of the Deccan, to incite them to a war against the Europeans. Accordingly, in the year 979, the Zamorin invested the fort of Haliat, and Nizam Shaw and Audil Shaw proceeded against Goa and Regdundah. The Zamorin possessed himself of Haliat; but Nizam Shaw and Audil Shaw, as hath already been related in the history of these kings, were obliged, from the treachery of some of their servants, to abandon their object.

The Europeans now rose in their oppressions of the Mussulmans; they seized several ships belonging to king Akbur, which, having proceeded to Arabia without a passport from them, were on their return from the port of Judda; and they exposed the Mussulmans to every species of indignity. They likewise burnt and pillaged the harbours of Audilapa and Keraputtin, which belonged to Audil Shaw; and they attempted to do the same with the harbour of Dabul, where they had come to trade; but the governor of it, Kadga Ally Mullick of Sheeraz, being apprized of their intentions, destroyed 500 of them, and effectually prevented the execution of their seditious purpose.

Mohammed Akbur, after the capture of his ships, sent no more to Arabia, considering it as derogatory from his dignity to solicit passports from the Portugueze, and being unwilling to expose so many souls to the hazard which must attend their sailing without them. Many of his nobles, however, such as Cawn, Cawnan, and others, procured passports from the Europeans, and sent their ships to Arabia.

In the year of Hijerah 1020, king Jehan Geer gave the English a settle-

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a settlement at Surat, in the province of Guzerat, in spite of the Portugueze, whose enemies they are; both parties being mutually thirsty of the blood of each other. This is the first place in which the English have made a settlement in Hindustân. Their religious faith is different from that of other Europeans, as they believe Jesus to have been a servant and prophet of God; and they also believe in the unity of God, and in his exemption from all parental and conjugal relations. They have a king of their own, and acknowledge no subjection to the king of Portugal. Hitherto as they have acquired scarce any dominion in Hindustân, they make a shew of friendship and affection for the Mussulmans; but they keep no bounds in their enmity to the Portugueze, whom they immediately put to death, wherever they can lay hands on them. Now that, by the favour of Jehan Geer, they have become neighbours, God only knows what may be the event.

In the Tohuffat ul Mujahed it is written, that the husbandmen of Malabar are mostly infidels, and that their soldiers are called nairs. The conjugal contract of the nairs is performed by a string round the neck; and the wife may afterwards connect herself with whatever other men she pleases. Thus one woman, without a formal contract, may have several husbands, with whom she may separately associate at nights by rotation. Carpenters, smiths, and dyers, who are not Brâhmans, follow this practice as well as the nairs; and this was the custom of the infidel Gickers in Panjab: for, before their conversion to the Mussulman religion, every woman used to have several husbands; and whenever any of the husbands visited her, he used to leave his mark at the door, that in case any of the others should in the mean time come, he might, upon seeing the mark, retire. And whenever a daughter was born, it was a custom to carry her out immediately, and call out aloud to know who wanted her. If any one should express a desire to have her, they gave her to him; and if not, they killed her in the instant.—Amongst the Brâhmans of Malabar, it is a custom for the oldest brother only to marry, in order to avoid a multiplicity of heirs, and consequent contentions amongst them. In case any of the younger brothers should be inflamed with desire, he may connect himself with the wives of the nairs, or of others, but he must not enter into any formal contract. Inheritance amongst the nairs and their relations, goes to uterine brothers, to sisters' sons, to the sons of maternal aunts, and to all the relations from the mother, but never to the immediate children. If amongst the Brâhmans of Malabar, the father, mother, or elder brother should die, they mourn and lament for the space of a year. Amongst the nairs, if the mother, maternal uncle, or eldest brother should die, they mourn and lament a whole year, during which time they abstain from any commerce with the female sex. The natives of Malabar are divided into three classes, the high, the low, and the middle. If one of the high class should touch or connect himself with one of the low class, he is not then permitted to eat until he shall have purified himself by washing. If inadvertently he should eat before this ceremony, the magistrate may then sell him to some one of an inferior cast, and thus consign him to bondage; and his only mode of escaping this punishment, is by flying

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ying to some village, where the circumstances of his case may not be known. In like manner a person of low cast must not dress victuals for one of a high cast; for if the latter should eat of such, he loses his rank.

An ACCOUNT *of* ARACAN. *Written at Islàmabad (Chittagong,) in June, 1777. Communicated by Major* R. E. ROBERTS.

(From GLADWIN's Asiatic Miscellany, published at Calcutta.)

IN February last the Mugs, or Aracaners, carried off from the most southern parts of Bengal, about 1800 men, women, and children; they arrived at Aracan (according to the Persian orthography, Rekheng) after a voyage of ten days. Upon their arrival they were conducted to the rajah, or sovereign of the country, who chose from among them for his slaves all the handicraftsmen, and most useful persons, amounting to about one fourth of the whole number: the rest he returned to the captors, who conducted them, by ropes about their necks, to a market, and there sold them from twenty to seventy rupees each, according to their strength, abilities, &c. The purchasers assigned them the cultivation of their lands, and other laborious employments, giving each person, for his monthly support, only fifteen seers of rice.

When these people arrived at Rekheng, a man named Duppung Geree was the rajah, and one Kuddul Poree, his kutwal. The rajah wanted to put the kutwal to death; but the latter, getting information of his design, made his escape to a village, and prevailed on the inhabitants to assist him in deposing the rajah. When the rebels made their intentions suspected, by assembling in arms, the rajah ordered his son-in-law to go with a small army, and put the kutwal to death. A battle was fought between the two armies, and the rajah's son-in-law was defeated and killed. After this battle the kutwal proceeded with his partizans to the rajah's fort; at his approach all the rajah's adherents, not excepting his relations, fled, and left him alone to the revenge of the kutwal. The rajah hid himself, but was soon discovered, and put to death.—After Duppung Geree's death, Kuddul Poree proclaimed himself rajah, sent for all the former rajah's relations and servants; and such of them as did not make him handsome presents, were put to death.

Four days after this revolution, the tranquillity of the country not yet being restored, twenty-five men and two women, natives of Bengal (all whom were of the number of those carried to Rekheng in February last, except one man named Buddul Khawn, of Backergunge, who was carried thither about thirteen years ago) took the opportunity to seize on a boat, and to make their escape in it. They proceeded in the boat for one day, and then quitted it to travel by land. When they quitted the boat, they landed in a woody and uninhabited part of Rekheng, and continued their route on the banks of small rivers, to avoid wild beasts and impenetrable woods.—They were

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were seven days travelling from Rekheng * to Islamabad, and arrived here the 15th instant.

The produce of Rekheng, with respect to vegetables, is nearly the same as Bengal, except that no part of it produces the mulberry-tree. With respect to animals, it neither produces sheep, horses, nor jackalls, but great plenty of geese, of ducks, goats, kine, buffaloes, elephants, deer, hogs, dogs, and bees. As to its manufactories, they make wood, oil, and several kinds of coarse cloths. Their trade consists in exporting the said manufactures, elephant's teeth, and wax, and in importing fine cloths, and a few other Bengal articles.

The Rekheng merchants that come to Bengal, never plunder or carry away people from thence, but follow their trade peaceably as merchants should. The rajah of Rekheng readily grants the merchants permission to trade to Bengal; but he will not permit any of his subjects to leave his country, to plunder and make slaves, until he has received from them a considerable sum of money. When these plunderers return to Rekheng, every thing they have made prize of is carried to the rajah. Of the goods it is his allowed privilege to take half, and of the prisoners one-fourth; but he generally exacts the lion's share; for which reason the Mugs endeavour to secrete all the silver and gold that they collect in these expeditions, and to that end, when they make a rich prize, they put all the prisoners to death.

There is but one fort in Rekheng; the rajah resides in it. It consists of three squares, one within the other; each square surrounded with walls made of brick and stone. The two inner walls are about fourteen feet high, the outer wall about twelve feet; the thickness of each of the walls is about eight feet. They are at this time much decayed, and may be easily demolished. The fort has no ditch to it, or any outwork to prevent the approach of an enemy: and is said to have been built merely to secure the rajah from the insurrections of the natives. It is said to be situated from the northern boundary of Rekheng, seven days journey; from the southern three days; from the eastern boundary one day, and the same distance from the western boundary, or the sea. A river runs from the sea very near the fort, where it is about twenty feet broad. Large boats can go to the fort. The banks of the river are cultivated: there are about 1000 pieces of cannon lying between the fort walls; only five or six of them are mounted on carriages, and even those carriages are too much decayed to be serviceable. There are a very few small brass cannon: all the others are thought to be so much damaged, by having been, for a great length of time, exposed to the weather, that they cannot be used. Under different bamboo and straw sheds in the fort, are kept a great many cannon balls of different sizes; a large quantity of gunpowder in earthen pots; and several match-locks. The rajah has also seven Europe muskets, which are always carried in his train; but these, as well as the match-locks, are become unserviceable. He has six small horses (tattoos), which, it is said, he got from Chittagong.

From all the accounts that I have been able to obtain of Rekheng, it appears, that the natives of that country are a dastardly race of people,

* That is to say, from the northern boundary of Rekheng.

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ple, and have only courage to attack defenceless Bengal merchants and boatmen; that they depend more on the timidity of the persons they attack, and the strength of their oars, than on the goodness of their arms, or personal prowess.

One Tahes Mahmud, a native of Bengal, was formerly the rajah's derrwan, and afterwards became his dewan. Having gained some riches in that part, the rajah was determined to deprive him of them, and for that purpose to put him to death. The dewan getting notice of this design, fled to Chittagong with about two thousand of his countrymen, and arrived here near two years ago. The rajah has frequently demanded him of this government, and has sent several threatening and very insolent letters, because his demand was not complied with. But the persons who are since returned from Rekheng, say, that a report frequently becomes current there, that Tahes Mahmud is on his way thither, with an armed force belonging to the English; and that at such times the people residing about the fort, and even the rajah's relations and attendants fly to the hills and woods, leaving him alone, till they find that the report is false. Tahes Mahmud is now a sherrickdar of this province.

Almost three-fourths of the inhabitants of Rekheng are said to be natives of Bengal, or descendants of such, who constantly pray that the English may send a force to deliver them from their slavery, and restore them to their country; in that case they have agreed among themselves to assist their deliverers to the utmost of their power.

The hills that join Rekheng to the Eastward are inhabited by a people called Kheng, which is also the name of the country. These people have a rooted enmity to the native inhabitants of Rekheng, and miss no opportunity of carrying them off to their own country for slaves; but they never assault or injure the Bengal inhabitants. It is said that the Kheng never made open war with the Mugs, but only assault them by surprize. The dress of Kheng consists only of a piece of coarse cloth, about the breadth of a hand, which they wear round the middle; they wear no turbans, or ever shave the head, but tie all the hair together, on the forepart, or crown of the head. They spot their faces with black paint, and they resemble the natives of Bengal in their features, shape, and stature.

The Rekheng rajah governs this country in the most despotic manner: he is absolute over the lives and properties of his subjects. In his administration, his only guides are his own reason and passions. He is the sole judge of all causes, criminal and civil. The parties are brought before him; he hears what they have to say, and immediately gives judgment. Criminals are punished by flogging, dismembering, beheading, and impaling. If flogging is the sentence, it is inflicted instantly before him; but if either of the other punishments, the criminal is conducted to a building at a little distance, where the sentence is immediately executed.

When the rajah goes abroad, he is carried on a kind of litter made with two bamboos, fastened together by rattans, on which he sits, by four bearers, and is attended by men armed with long bills, like swords, and with spears (the only arms used by the Mugs) and the seven Europe muskets before mentioned.

When the rajah administers justice, he sits on a mat, on a place elevated above the heads of the people.

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people. An eunuch attends on him, to repeat the orders he gives. The eunuch stands with his hands on his knees; consequently his body is bent forward; a position expressive of respect and attention, which he is not suffered to vary during his continuance in the rajah's presence. All other persons, except the rajah's father and father-in-law, while in his presence, kneel, bend their bodies forward, turn one side of the head to him, and hold both hands to the ear of that side. This, I think, at once signifies, that they salute him, are attentive to any order he may be pleased to give, and ready to execute it.

The sovereignty of Rekheng is neither hereditary nor elective; but is possessed by whoever is able and willing to take it, the people readily submitting to the conqueror.

The natives of Rekheng are much given to excess in drinking, and almost every man distills the arrack he uses. They never use tomtoms but at funerals. There are very few inhabitants on the sea-coast. Fresh water is both good and plenty, and rice also; as much of that grain may be bought for two puns of cowries as will serve twenty men for a meal. A Rekheng rupee is equal to twelve annas dussmassa, or in Rekheng to three kahawon, or forty-eight puns of cowries; so that if we allow twelve chattaks of rice for each man's meal, twenty men will eat fifteen seers; the price of which being but two puns of cowries, one Rekheng rupee's worth of rice will be nine of our maunds, equal to twelve maunds for a dussmassa rupee.

The rajah has a mint in his fort, and coins silver rupees.

His house, which is in the fort, is built with bamboos and straw, and his only upper apartments, at a considerable height from the ground. Very few persons besides the rajah's family live in the fort. The land round it is level and cultivated, with a few houses here and there, and the country to it, from the sea, is mostly cultivated, all of it clear of jungle, * and the fort is of easy access, even to artillery, on that side.

About two years ago, above 2000 persons, men, women, and children (near a fourth of whom had, at different times, left this province to avoid the oppressions of the zemindars; the rest had been carried forcibly to Rekheng by the natives of that country, and there sold for slaves), escaped from Rekheng, and came to a place called Rawmoo, in the most southern part of this province. From Rawmoo they sent four deputies to the chief, to inform him of their arrival, and to request him to assign them lands for their maintenance. The chief readily promised to comply with their request, and told them to look out for such uncultivated lands as they might chuse to reside on. They pitched upon land near Rawmoo Khurwan, and Chukurreah, which were granted them, on condition that they should pay no rent till the expiration of three years, and that they should then pay the customary rent. A short time after (two or three months), such of the men as had not been able to bring their wives and children away with them, to the number of about 800, returned to Rekheng, and have not since been heard of, but are supposed to have arrived safe. The settling of them so near Rekheng, both by sea and land, as the places above mentioned, was certainly very impolitic, as was fully proved by the loss of

so

* Thick woods, or forests.

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so many useful subjects; for their return to this province again cannot be expected. The government of Rekheng will certainly take warning from its remissness, and use proper means to prevent a second escape. The loss of these people would have been effectually prevented, had they been settled inland in the northern parts of the province, from whence it could not have been so easy for them to go to Rekheng; nor would the rajah of that country have had it so much in his power to send his agents among them to entice them away, which is strongly suspected to have been partly the cause of their return.

We are traditionally informed, that the people of Rekheng have, from time immemorial, plundered the southern parts of Bengal, and carried the inhabitants into slavery; that they have even been so hostile as to descend on the coast of Chittagong, proceed into the country, plunder and burn the villages, destroy what they could not carry away, and make slaves of the inhabitants. The vestiges of a fortification that once surrounded the town of Islamabad still remain; and it is well known that this fortification was not only intended as a place of refuge to the inhabitants of the country, but also to secure the inhabitants of the town from being pillaged by these invaders, to such lengths did they then proceed.

Before this province was ceded to the Company, the government was at an immense expence to maintain a marine and land force to repel the Mugs; but the great extent of the Chittagong coast, made it impossible to prevent their landing on some part of it, and carrying off considerable booty. It is surprizing that the government did not perceive, that the only effectual way to put a stop to these invasions, would have been to attack the invaders in their own country, which is both near, and of easy access. For some time, after the cession of this province to the Company, it was found necessary to keep a considerable force for its protection; but the government being at that time less supine than formerly, was not contented with barely repulsing the invaders, which was the case before, except in a very few instances, but followed them to sea, and soon made them desist from their invasions. Since that time, till very lately, an interval of thirteen or fourteen years, they have been pretty quiet; but as it is not said that we gave them any very remarkable defeat, and as it is certain we never invaded their country, I cannot attribute their peaceable behaviour, for so long a time, solely to their fear of the English force, but suppose it must have been partly owing to an invasion of their country by another nation; to a dearth or epidemic disease; or to a change in their government; but to whatever cause it was owing, it is certain, as I said before, that they did not attack this province for a considerable time.

It is said, that the great extent of country, now called the Sunderbunds, was formerly populous and well cultivated; and that its present condition is solely owing to the Mugs, many of the inhabitants having been carried into slavery, and that the remainder fled from it to avoid a like fate.

To attempt to prove the dishonour and loss to our government by tamely suffering such depredations, would be superfluous; both are too evident even to need being pointed at.

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at. All that I shall say on this head at present is, that I am fully convinced that these violences may be easily prevented, a great number of very useful subjects restored to freedom and their country, and, perhaps, many other advantages that cannot now be perceived, may accrue to the Company at a trivial, or even no expence, by a well-conducted attack on Rekheng. A nest of pirates, enemies to mankind, and to the peace and commerce of Bengal, will be thereby destroyed. I think I may venture to predict, that the longer they continue unattacked, the more powerful and courageous they will become, till at last it will be found necessary, for the immediate preservation of all the southern parts of Bengal, to enter into an expensive, and perhaps a bloody war with them. It must be a very considerable armed force, acting only on the defensive, to defend even the coast of Chittagong from invasion. But how can the security of this whole province protect the inhabitants of the islands, and other southern parts of Bengal?

When Mahabut Jung was subahdar of Bengal, Sadacut Mohamud Khan was naib subah of all the southern parts, as far west as Ingellee. He planned an expedition against Rekheng, which being approved by the nabob, he raised an army of 12,000 men, consisting of 100 horsemen, 500 bildars, (pioneers), 25,000 coolies, and the remaining number of infantry of different denominations. His artillery consisted of ten pieces of cannon. With this army he marched towards Rekheng; the bildars, and a certain number of coolies, preceded in one day's march, in order to clear the road. The ammunition and provisions were conveyed as far as Rawmoo, in 400 boats, and there landed, to be carried with the army. The boats then proceeded to the river Nawf, to assist the army in passing it. The army arrived at that river after nineteen days marching; and were on the point of passing it, when an order came from Mahabut Jung for the army to return as fast as possible. Thus ended an expedition that cost the government upwards of 80,000 rupees! The order was obtained by the influence of Sadacut Mohamud Khan's enemies at the durbar, who made the nabob believe that the naib subah intended to make himself independent by the conquest of Rekheng; and that he would so strengthen himself by that conquest, as to be able to support himself in the independent sovereignty of both that country and Chittagong.

The road from Islamabad to Rawmoo, which the army was eleven days marching, was very bad; but from thence to the river Nawf, it marched on the sea-beach, which was all the way so level, that a one-horse chaise might have gone on it. The Nawf is the limit of Chittagong, and divides it from Rekheng. It is so broad, that in the clearest weather nothing on the opposite side can be seen; but only the entrance of it is here meant, as it is not known that any one ever went up to it. It is thought to communicate with Pegue; but this is merely a conjecture of the natives of this province.

After the return of the army, some natives of Bengal, who had made their escape from Rekheng, reported, that when it was known there that the nabob's army was on its march to that country, the rajah and most of the inhabitants fled to the hills and woods; but that a small garrison was left in the fort,

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fort, who were also soon struck with a panic, quarrelled amongst themselves, and at last deserted the fort.

Some time before Sadacut Mohamud Khan went on the expedition against Rekheng, he received advice that two fleets of Mug boats were seen going to the south of the islands; that one of them, consisting of fifty or sixty boats, appeared to be going to Luckipore, by the way of Deccan Shahbazpore; and that the other fleet, of eighty or one hundred boats, was going towards the Sunderbunds. Soon after, farther intelligence came that the last-mentioned fleet was lying in Bengun Gunge Nullah, in the Sunderbunds; on which the naib subah went there, with seventy or eighty armed boats, and arrived at the entrance of the Nullah when it was low water, and the Mug boats stranded. He attacked them, killed many of them, took fifty boats, and 2,200 prisoners, who were sent to Moorshedabad, and employed in the buildings at Mootejeel. What became of the other fleet of Mug boats is not certainly known; but it is thought they got intelligence of the defeat of their countrymen, and returned as fast as possible to Rekheng. It was in consequence of the appearance of these fleets, that the expedition against Rekheng was planned.

Islamabad, June 1777.

Since writing the above, the persons who were lately sent to Rekheng with a letter are returned. They report, that on their arrival, Kuddul Poree, the rajah, ordered them to be confined till he returned from subduing a rebellion raised by one of his zemindars; and he, at the same time, promised to give them an answer to their letter. Soon after, the rajah was killed by the zemindar, who seized on the government, and ordered them to be put to death as spies; but that by paying twenty-five rupees, they were permitted to escape. They farther say, that the people of Rekheng were in expectation of an English force coming against it, and that the native inhabitants were in great fear.

When these messengers, in going to Rekheng, arrived at the Nawf, they travelled for some time along its banks to the eastward, and very soon came to a part of it that is not broader than the Chittagong river, near the town; over which they crossed with ease.

An EXTRACT *from a Dissertation on the Primitive Religion of the* HINDUS, *together with some Extracts from the* VEDAS. *By Sir* WILLIAM JONES.

(Published for the first time in the 6th Volume of his Works.)

These Fragments from the *Vedas* were selected by the learned translator, for the purpose of elucidating a very full Dissertation on the Primitive Religion of India, which it was his intention to have written, and of which his premature death has deprived the Public.

* * * * * * * But that I may not seem to appropriate the merit of discoveries which others have previously made, I think it necessary to say, that the original Gayatri, or holiest verse in the Veda, has already been published, though very incorrectly, by Fra Manuel da Assomcaon, a successful missionary from Portugal, who may have received it,

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it, as his countrymen assert, from a converted Brâhman; that the same venerable text was seen in the hand of Mr. Wilkins, who no doubt well understood it, by two pandits of my acquaintance; and that a paraphrase of it in Persian, may be found in the curious works of Dara-shucuh, which deserves to be mentioned very particularly. That amiable but impolitic prince, who sacrificed his throne and his life, to a premature declaration of his religious opinions, had employed six months, as he tells us, at Benares, in translating, and explaining, fifty-one Upanishads, or secrets of the old Indian scripture; but he translated only the verbal interpretations of his pandits, and blended the text of the Veda with different glosses, and even with the conversation, I believe, of his living Hindû expositors, who are naturally so loquacious, that when they have began talking, they hardly know how to close their lips.

Of this book I procured, with the assistance of Colonel Polier, a complete copy, corrected by a learned rajah, named Anandaram, with whom the colonel was very intimate; but though sublime and majestic features of the original were discernible, in parts, through folds of the Persian drapery; yet the Sanscrêet names were so barbarously written, and the additions of the translator have made the work so deformed, that I resolved to postpone a regular perusal of it till I could compare it with the Sanscrêet original * * * * * *.

ISAVASYAM; OR, AN UPANISHED FROM THE YAJUR VEDA.

1. By one Supreme Ruler is this universe pervaded; even every world in the whole circle of nature. Enjoy pure delight, O man! by abandoning *all thoughts* of this perishable world; and covet not the wealth of any creature existing.

2. He who in this life continually performs his religious duties, may desire to live a hundred years; but even to the end of that period thou shouldest have no other occupation here below.

3. To those regions where evil spirits dwell, and which utter darkness involves, all such men surely go after death, as destroy *the purity* of their own souls.

4. There is one Supreme Spirit, which nothing can shake, more swift than the thought of man. That primeval Mover, even divine intelligences cannot reach; that Spirit, though unmoved, infinitely transcends others, how rapid soever their course.

5. That Supreme Spirit moves at pleasure, but in itself is immoveable; it is distant from us, yet very near us; it pervades this whole system of worlds, yet is infinitely beyond it.

6. The man who considers all beings as existing even in the Supreme Spirit, and the Supreme Spirit as pervading all beings, henceforth views no creature with contempt.

7. In him who knows that all spiritual beings are the same in kind with the Supreme Spirit, what room can there be for delusion of mind, or what room for sorrow, when he reflects on the identity of spirit?

8. The pure enlightened soul assumes a luminous form with no gross body, with no perforation, with no veins or tendons, unblemished, untainted by sin, itself being a ray from the Infinite Spirit, which knows the past and the future, which pervades all, which existed with no cause but itself, which created all things as they are in ages very remote.

9. They

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9. They who are ignorantly devoted to the mere ceremonies of religion, are fallen into thick darkness; but they surely have a thicker gloom around them who are solely attached to a speculative science.

10. A distinct reward, they say, is reserved for ceremonies, and a distinct reward, they say, for divine knowledge; adding, "This we have heard from sages who declared it to us."

11. He alone is acquainted with the nature of ceremonies, and with that of speculative science, who is acquainted with both at once; by religious ceremonies he passes the gulph of death, and by divine knowledge he attains immortality.

12. They who adore only the appearances and forms of the Deity are fallen into thick darkness, but they surely have a thicker gloom around them who are solely devoted to the abstract essence of the divine essence.

13. A distinct reward, they say, is obtained by adoring the forms and attributes, and a distinct reward, they say, by adoring the abstract essence; adding, "This we have heard from sages who declare it to us."

14. He only knows the forms and the essence of the Deity who adores both at once; by adoring the appearance of the Deity, he passes the gulph of death, and by adoring his abstract essence he attains immortality.

15. Unveil, O Thou who givest sustenance to the world, the face of the true sun, which is now hidden by a vase of golden light! so that we may see the truth, and know our whole duty!

16. O Thou who givest sustenance to the world, thou sole mover of all, thou who restrainest sinners, who pervadest yon great luminary, who appearest as the son of the creator! hide thy dazzling beams, and expand thy spiritual brightness, that I may view thy most auspicious, most glorious, real form.

"OM, Remember me, divine spirit!"

"OM, Remember my deeds."

17. That all pervading spirit, that spirit which gives light to the visible sun, even the same in kind, am I, though infinitely distant in degree. Let my soul return to the immortal spirit of God, and then let my body, which ends in ashes, return to dust!

18. O spirit, who pervadest fire, lead us in a straight path to the riches of beatitude! Thou, O God, possessest all the treasures of knowledge: remove each foul taint from our souls; we continually approach thee with the highest praise and the most fervid adoration.

FROM THE YAZUR VEDA.

1. As a tree, the lord of the forest, even so, without fiction, is man: his hairs are as leaves: his skin, as exterior bark.

2. Through the skin flows blood; through the rind, sap: from a wounded man, therefore, blood gushes, as the vegetable fluid from a tree that is cut.

3. His muscles are as interwoven fibres; the membrane round his bones, as interior bark, which is closely fixed: his bones are as the hard pieces of wood within: their marrow is composed of pith.

4. Since the tree, when felled, springs again, still fresher, from the root, from what root springs mortal man when felled by the hand of death?

5. Say not, he springs from seed; seed surely comes from the living. A tree, no doubt, rises from seed, and after death has a visible renewal.

6. But a tree which they have

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plucked up by the root, flourishes individually no more. From what root then springs mortal man, when felled by the hand of death?

7. Say not he was born before; he is born: who can make him spring again to birth?

8. God, who is perfect wisdom, perfect happiness. He is the final refuge of the man, who has liberally bestowed his wealth, who has been firm in virtue, who knows and adores that Great One.

A HYMN TO THE NIGHT.

Night approaches illumined with stars and planets, and looking on all sides with numberless eyes, overpowers all meaner lights. The immortal goddess pervades the firmament, covering the low valleys and shrubs, and the lofty mountains and trees, but soon she disturbs the gloom with celestial effulgence. Advancing with brightness, at length she recalls her sister Morning; and the nightly shade gradually melts away.

May she, at this time, be propitious! she, in whose early watch, we may calmly recline in our mansion, as birds repose on the tree.

Mankind now sleep in their towns; now herds and flocks peacefully slumber, and winged creatures, even swift falcons and vultures.

O Night! avert from us the she-wolf and the wolf; and, oh! suffer us to pass thee in soothing rest.

O Morn! remove, in due time, this black, yet visible, overwhelming darkness, which at present infold me, as thou enablest me to remove the cloud of their debts.

Daughter of Heaven! I approach thee with praise, as the cow approaches her milker: Accept, O Night! not the hymn only, but the oblation of thy suppliant, who prays that his foes may be subdued.

The following fragment is a translation from a Sanscrit work, entitled,

THE IGNORANT INSTRUCTED.

1. Restrain, O ignorant man! thy desire of wealth, and become a hater of it in body, understanding, and mind: let the riches thou possesseth be acquired by thy own good actions; with those gratify thy soul.

2. The boy so long delights in his play, the youth so long pursues his beloved, the old so long brood over melancholy thoughts, that no man meditates on the Supreme Being.

3. Who is thy wife, and who thy son? How great and wonderful is this world!—whose thou art, and whence thou comest? meditate on this, my brother, and again on this.

4. Be not proud of wealth and attendants, and youth; since time destroys all of them in the twinkling of an eye: check thy attachment to all these illusions like Maya; fix thy heart on the foot of Brahmà, and thou wilt soon know him.

5. As a drop of water moves on the leaf of the lotus; thus, or more slippery, is human life: the company of the virtuous endures here but for a moment; that is the vehicle to bear thee over land and ocean.

6. To dwell in the mansion of gods at the foot of a tree; to have the ground for a bed, and a hide for a vesture; to renounce all ties of family or connections; who would not receive delight from this devout abhorrence of the world?

7. Set not thy affections on foe or friend; on a son, or a relation; in war, or in peace; bear an equal mind towards all; if thou desirest it, thou wilt soon be like Vishnû.

8. Day and night, evening and morn,

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morn, winter and spring, depart and return! time sports, age passes on, desire and the wind continue unrestrained.

9. When the body is tottering, the head grey, and the mouth toothless; when the smooth stick trembles in the hand which it supports, yet the vessel of covetousness remains unemptied.

10. So soon born, so soon dead! so long lying in thy mother's womb! so great crimes are committed in the world! How then, O man! canst thou live here below with complacency?

11. There are eight original mountains, and seven seas; Brahmà, Indra, the Sun, and Kudra. These are permanent: not thou, not I, not this or that people: what, therefore, should occasion our sorrow?

12. In thee, in me, in every other, Vishnû resides: in vain art thou angry with me, not bearing my approach; this is perfectly true, all must be esteemed equal; be not, therefore, proud of a magnificent palace.

This is the instruction of learners, delivered in twelve measures: what more can be done with those, whom this work doth fill with devotion?

Thus ends the book, named Mohadmudgara, or the Ignorant Instructed, (properly the Mallet of the Ignorant), composed by the holy, devout, and prosperous Sancar Acharya.

MEMOIR *on the* BENGAL COCHINEAL. *By Dr.* NICHOLAS FONTANO.

THE introduction of the cochineal insect into Bengal, which our neighbours had endeavoured to naturalize in their West India possessions, is an event that deserves to be particularly marked, as being likely, under proper management, to become not only a new æra in the progressive resources of the East India Company, but an accession of opulence to the British empire;—an æra the more remarkable, as, notwithstanding the attempts of government, the design was not accomplished but through accident, the great parent of discovery, and which, with never ceasing influence, operates in so many ways for the good of mankind.

After a large plantation of the various species of opuntia had been reared at Madras, waiting only for the arrival of the insect to make it serviceable, which a long correspondence (from the year 1787 to 1790) could not obtain, Dr. Anderson's repeated solicitations about it had been almost forgotten; yet, though his laborious industry, and zeal for his country's interest, had no other reward, the introduction of the cochineal insect into India is entirely owing to his publications on the subject, which fortunately fell into the hands of Captain Nelson, who was then stationed at Madras with the 52d regiment. On the Captain's return to India in 1795, the fleet, in which he came, repaired for refreshments to the coast of Brazil, and anchored in the port of Rio de Janeiro. In his perambulations a little way out of town, in which he was attended with the usual guard, he saw a plantation of opuntia, with the insect on it. This circumstance immediately brought to his recollection the ardent wish for the importation of the insect expressed in the letters he had read at Madras; and he conceived the hope of being

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able to gratify Dr. Anderson's desire, by carrying some to India with him.

A day or two previous to his embarkation, he took another walk to the place where he had seen the opuntia, or napal; and made bold to ask the cultivators for some of the plants, being curious, he said, in matters of natural history. Having collected several other plants, he wished to have this also. The good people, being the less suspicious of any design, as he was in his regimentals, granted his request. They gave him several plants with insects upon them, which he carefully carried on board. Many of these, during the passage to Bengal, which was rather too long and tedious for the transporation of such delicate passengers, died. A few insects only remained alive on the last plant, several of the leaves having withered.

Captain Nelson, on his arrival in Calcutta, sent the survivors to the botanic garden, where they were distributed on the several species of the opuntia. This well nigh frustrated the whole labour. On the China and Manilla species of the napal they were found to die fast.

It fortunately occurred, to make trial of the indigenous opuntia of Bengal, which is also abundant in many parts of India. On this the insects thrived amazingly; insomuch that, from these few, in the course of four or five months, a quantity had been collected sufficient for distribution among all who wished to try the rearing of them; and several plants, on which the insects were feeding, were sent to Madras.

The novelty and importance of the object, promising so plentiful and speedy a harvest of fortune, engaged a multitude of individuals to undertake the business; and this, no doubt, the more readily, as the cultivation of this rich field of wealth required but very little capital. Many golden dreams were enjoyed by the new planters. All who had a mind were provided with insects, and undertook plantations of opuntia.

The anxiety and impatience natural to all, who, indulging in ardent expectations, undertake new enterprizes, induced some of the first cultivators of the napal, to put the insect upon it, when the plant had scarcely emerged from the ground. Others, through inattention, kept their insects in places too near to the young plantations, where the opuntia was growing, which, in a tender and premature state, was devoured by those creatures when hard pressed by hunger. The unskilful mode of drying the insect was adopted likewise: and some of those persons, whose opinions lead the multitude, declared in the most decided and positive manner, that the cochineal would never answer, as it would not be found worth the trouble and expence attending the cultivation of it. All these circumstances damped, in a great measure, the ardour of the enterprize. Many abandoned the pursuit, and left the insects to provide for themselves, after the plants destined for their use were destroyed, wherever they could find nourishment. They were seen flying about indiscriminately on various other plants, and thus perishing: while others rooted out the plantations, and employed the ground for other purposes.

Beside the discouraging circumstances already mentioned, it was urged, that the species of insect imported into India, was only the Grana Sylvestris, and that the first specimens sent home had been found so

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to be of no value. They had grown lumpy and musty for want of being properly dried, or thoroughly divested of the cottony substance, with which the insect is covered. But supposing, it was added, that a proper mode of drying and preparing it could be found out, and the cultivation of it brought to the greatest perfection, it would soon overstock the market, as there is a certain quantity only, and that not very great, which is required for Europe. This would soon be supplied, and loss instead of gain would accrue to the planters. This excess, however, it was farther urged, was to be presumed only in the case of the country being able to supply plants sufficient for the food of the insect, which was very doubtful, on account of its quick re-production, as it sends forth a new generation every forty days.

These, with other objections of less force, may easily be refuted by any impartial observer, acquainted with the nature of the climate and soil of India, even without any kind of knowledge in agriculture.

In so vast an extent of territory as that of the East India Company, and lying under such a variety of climates, it is not surely either impossible, or very difficult, to find out a climate and soil fitted for the naturalization and rearing of the cochineal insect, and where the plants will grow to the proper size required for affording it proper food: in the same manner as in some districts of Mexico, where the people, who take most pains, have them of such a height, as to require ladders to gather the insect. Such a state of the plant would check the too rapid re-production of the insect, and at the same time improve its quality; for it is a fact, that the Sylvester Cochineal, when bred upon a good full-grown napal, loses part of its tenacity, grows to double the size of that gathered on puny plants, and less covered with the cottony substance.

The cultivation of cochineal would, in all probability, be greatly favoured by the vicinity of a hilly country, such as the Banglapore, Rajam-Mahrul, and Purneah. It can be ascertained, by good authority, that there are already in the Chittegong district, plantations of extraordinary large opuntias, which have been growing for two years past. Whenever the insect shall be placed on these plants, we shall see cochineal of a very good quality. The nature and habits of the natives seem entirely calculated for the employment of gathering the insect; work that might be done by old men, women, and boys. As to the drying of the insects, there is no country where the sun has such power as in Bengal. The method of drying in the sun, after scalding the insect in hot water, is that which is practised in Mexico; and in Brazil the insects, collected in wooden bowls, are thinly spread from them upon a hot dish of earthen ware, and placed alive over a charcoal fire, where they are slowly roasted, until the downy covering disappears, and the equeous juices of the animal are totally evaporated. During this operation the insects are constantly stirred about with a tin ladle, and sometimes water is sprinkled upon them, to prevent absolute torrefaction, which would destroy the colour; but a little practice will teach when to remove them from the fire: though surely its barbarity ought to prevent its adoption.

By an estimate, made on a large scale, of the necessary expence that would attend the cultivation of a hundred bighas of ground planted with opuntia, it appeared, that

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after making every possible allowance for ground-rent, ryots, gathering, an European overseer, and interest on disbursements at twelve per cent. the quantity produced of Grana Sylvestris, during the nine months in a year, reckoning it at four sicca rupees per seer, or thirty-two ounces, would more than treble the capital employed. But, if this calculation be just, made in the vicinity of Calcutta (and there is not any reason to suppose it otherwise), where labour and ground-rent is dear, how much less would the whole expence of cultivation and preparation be, if transferred to a greater distance, and to the other provinces?

When the insect is well dried, it should be packed immediately, as it might otherwise be affected by the damp air of Bengal. In this business the method used in Mexico should be followed, which is, to put it first into a tight linen bag, covered over with a compact mat, and then over the whole, an ox's hide sewed so closely as to render it impervious to water.

For some of the cochineal, which I wanted for the purpose of making some experiments, collected at Entaly, two miles from Calcutta, in 1795-96, I paid sixteen rupees per seer: for the same quantity raised by another planter the following year, eight rupees: and in 1797, I might have bought a great quantity, part of which came one hundred miles from Calcutta, at five rupees per seer.

The improvability of the Grana Sylvestris by due attention, will be ascertained more clearly by the following fact than by a thousand arguments. Some merchants, at my recommendation, bought about two hundred pounds of cochineal made at Rassapughla, five miles from Calcutta, at five rupees per seer. The same house paid for seven maunds, or two hundred and eighty seers, to Mr. Stephens of Keerpoy, seven rupees per seer, in October 1797; and I can say, that it was the best of the sort that had yet been seen in town, both for its size, cleaning, and drying.

Let us now suppose, for a moment, such cochineal as that made at Keerpoy to be the best that can ever be obtained in Bengal, and that the above may be within a rupee more or less the average price. The Grana Fina that is brought to Bengal, by the way of Manilla, sells, when abundant, at sixteen rupees per seer, but oftener at nineteen or twenty. The Bengal Sylvestris contains only from nine to ten sixteenth parts of the colouring matter found in the other; but say only one half, so that the manufacturer will be obliged to use two seers instead of one, the quality of the colour supposed to be the same. Even at this rate the silk manufactories in Bengal might be supplied with it with a yearly saving. After supplying this market, if the quantity be increased, there will be a demand for it for the China and English markets, though only of the Sylvester kind. Supposing it for ever to remain such, by leaving it to the care of the indolent natives only, even this would be a great acquisition, considering the various ways in which it can be employed by the dyers. Besides, if the prices were immediately to fall, so as not to indemnify the present charges of freight and insurance to the private adventurer, how easy would it be to reduce the insect to a much smaller bulk, by making a lake, and producing carmine, no less valuable than the Grana Fina.

The overstocking of the markets, however, with a drug so important, and

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and of such extensive use, is not a thing that is very likely soon to happen. The manufacturer, wherever he should find it at a price lower than common, would use it generally, and substitute it in the room of other materials for reds, such as madder, redwood, &c. used for woollens and silks, beside the great variety of shades, from scarlet and crimson, down to all those various tints to be obtained by various modifications of re-agents from cochineal, with a brilliancy and stability, that would soon repay the small additional expences that might be incurred by this substitution.

It is a thing greatly to be wished, as it must be by every good citizen and patriot, that the Bengal cochineal may soon be brought to such a degree of perfection, and produced in such plenty, as to admit of a reduction in the price, sufficient to induce the calico-printers in Europe to use it more commonly than hitherto, in the dyeing of cotton; which would open a much wider field for its consumption. As to the shyness of cotton to the admission of this animal colour, it is not an obstacle that ought, by any means, to be considered as insurmountable in the present state of chemistry, advancing so rapidly to farther and farther improvement; and particularly applying, with vast success, many of its operations to the art of dyeing. The few unsuccessful attempts made by manufacturers and chemical philosophers, to fix this colour on cotton, have been retarded more by the dearness of the drug, than by any impracticability of the design: this exhausted at once the purse and the patience of both the artist and the chemist, and precluded that continuation, repetition, and diversification of experiment, which is usually found necessary to the completion of new inventions.

It was upon cotton, that the Spaniards first saw the cochineal used at Mexico; but, for want of preparation, it communicated to the stuff but a dull crimson. When some of the dried Bengal insect was shewn to a vakeel of the rajah of Napal, residing as minister to our government in Calcutta, he soon knew it, and declared, that it is always used in his country in dyeing their robes and turbans red. The opportunity of having the management of a chintz manufactory, induced me to make some trials of the cochineal in cotton, cloth, and thread. By these it was ascertained, that the quantity of colouring matter contained in the Bengal cochineal of 1796, compared with the Grana Fina, was from nine or eleven to sixteen. I then repeated, as far as the chemical reagents to be procured in India would permit, various experiments of the kind mentioned by Dr. Bancroft, in his first volume of the Philosophy of Fast Colours, and nearly with the same success, in variety of shades and degrees of permanency. From these experiments there resulted two considerable advantages to that manufactory: the first was, that I was thereby induced to make an addition of a certain quantity of powdered cochineal to the morinda root, for the fine cloths and muslins, that were to undergo the boiling process in the vat: the second, that I was led to mix with the basis for printing red, or alum, a decoction of cochineal, instead of the turmerick, or red wood, formerly used by printers in tracing their designs. This last substitute was only boiled in simple morinda, and the other with the addition of cochineal. By this process, such deep and brilliant

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reds were obtained, as had not been seen in Bengal before.

The cultivation, therefore, of the cochineal insect, is an object worthy of all the countenance and care of government. The attempts toward its naturalization ought not by any means to be abandoned, but continued with persevering industry, and unwearied attention to every circumstance that may promote so important a branch of commerce. For this article we send annually immense sums to the Spaniards. Not only might this sum be saved to Britain; but, in due time, the rest of the world might be supplied from the Bengal produce of this valuable commodity. It is in the recollection of most people, conversant in India affairs, how the specimens of indigo first sent home from Bengal were depreciated and rejected. Hence the cultivation of it was obstructed for some years. But, when it began to be attended to in 1780, and 1782, by people who were acquainted with the best modes of manufacturing it, it was improved with such rapidity, that in the year 1790, some of the Bengal indigo was judged to be equal to the Guatimala, and bore the same price. The quantity sent home in the year 179-56, was far beyond what had been ever imported into the port of London in any one year from all other parts of the world, and much more than is required by the annual consumption of Europe. This drug, falling in price, taught the planters an useful lesson, namely, that as good indigo will always yield a profit, it is better to pay regard to the improvement of the quality, than the increase of the quantity. But the use of indigo in the dye-house, is very circumscribed, and confined chiefly to the colours of blue and green. It gives also a few finer blacks with blue grounds; but it cannot, like cochineal, be applied to the various principal colours, as crimson, scarlet, purple, &c. and to the intermediate shades.

A circumstantial Narrative regarding His Majesty's Ship RESISTANCE, *of* 44 *guns, Capt.* EDWARD PAKENHAM, *Commander, at the time of her blowing up in the Straits of Banca, July* 24, 1798; *and the subsequent escape and deliverance of Four of her Crew, the only survivors of that catastrophe.*

(From the Madras Courier of February last.)

IN consequence of certain intelligence brought from the eastward by Captain Sheppardson, of the *Venus*, that the part of the crew of an English ship of war, supposed to be His Majesty's ship the *Resistance*, which had the misfortune to be blown up in the Straits of Banca some months before, had been picked up by some prows, and carried to Lingan, where the survivors still existed in a state of slavery, Major Taylor, commanding the garrison of Malacca, immediately dispatched a prow to that island for the relief of those unfortunate men.

In this prow, suitably appointed with supplies, he sent a sepoy, who being well acquainted with the Malay

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Malay tongue, was charged with a letter to the sultaun of Lingan, entreating that prince to assist in the most effectual measures for the recovery and release of such of the *Resistance's* ship's company as he might be able to discover in this calamitous situation.

On the 5th of December the prow returned to Malacca, bringing with her one seaman, late of the *Resistance's* crew, from the declarations of whom the following narrative is taken.

The detail given by this man appears entitled to the greater share of credit, as no deviation from the circumstances related in his story, was to be found upon the several interrogatories afterwards put to him from time to time; as it comes very near to the report which Captain Shappardson had of the Malays at Rhio; and as it coincides remarkably in many of its principal points, with that which had already come round to Malacca from Penang, as there related by his three comrades, who had not less providentially arrived in safety at that settlement.

Thomas Scott, seaman, aged 22 years, a native of Wexford, in Ireland, relates on examination as follows: That he formerly belonged to the *Chesterfield* South Sea whaler, from which he remained at Timor Besar for three years, in the Dutch employ, till the capture of that place, when he entered on board the *Resistance*.

On the 23d of July 1798, a small Malay vessel, of which the *Resistance* had made a prize, and which she was conducting through the Straits of Banca, had fallen so much astern of her, as to be entirely out of sight. In consequence of this, the *Resistance* had anchored, in order to enable the prize to come up. About one o'clock the next morning, the prize dropped anchor under the stern of the *Resistance*; and the officer of the watch (Lieutenant Cuthbert) hailed the vessel, in order to put her commander on board; but not being heard, he reconciled him to this short farther detention, by the assurance that he should be permitted to go to his vessel in the morning, a morning which, alas! they were doomed not to see: for, shortly after this conversation between Lieutenant Cuthbert and the Malay Captain, while Scott (the narrator of this melancholy event) lay asleep at the larboard side of the quarter-deck, he was suddenly awaked by a fierce blaze that seized his clothes and hair, and that was instantaneously succeeded by a tremendous explosion, from the shock of which, he conjectures, he became utterly insensible for five minutes or more.

He computes this dreadful accident to have taken place about four o'clock in the morning, 24th July, 1798, from the day appearing about an hour after he was blown up; but how it did or could happen, circumstanced as the ship then was, he professes himself totally unable to offer an opinion, or hazard a conjecture.

When he recovered a little, he found himself half suffocated with water, floating and struggling, with twelve others in the same situation, the small remainder of the ship's company to which they had just belonged. He made shift with these to reach the netting of the ship on the starboard side, which just remained above the water.

At the dawn of the day, the people belonging to the prize, then not out of hail astern, who must easily have discovered the condition of the wreck, and heard the repeated shrieks of the wretched beings

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beings clinging to it, callous to every impulse of humanity, after the discharge of a single musket, having weighed anchor, stood over, without regarding their situation, to the island of Banca. The weather continuing mild, and the water smooth, they set to work about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, to make a raft of what pieces of timber they were able to pick up around them; to accomplish which they were fortunately enabled, by means of the main-yard, which, laying alongside the wreck, furnished them with ropes sufficiently for lashings: it also gave them cloth for a sail, which they fixed to the mast of the jolly-boat; and they completed their task by making a platform upon it, of such planks as they could find.

From the shock and severe scorching that we, and all the survivors had experienced, they were unable to accomplish their work before one o'clock *p. m.*; in fact, four or five only of the number were left in any circumstances to bear a part in it, the united labour of whom was very insufficient to secure, as it ought, the raft they had thus contrived: add to this, the solicitude they must have felt in their distressful condition, to reach the shore before night; and this the more, as the piece of the wreck by which they clung, would only bear the weight of the most shattered amongst them (James Sullivan and Robert Pulloyne, seamen), and to whom the compassion of their comrades had agreed accordingly to give the preference, by mounting them upon it, a single pumpkin being at the same time the amount of all the sustenance the whole party had to depend on. Having committed themselves to this, they made sail for the nearest shore, which was the low land of Sumatra, distant about three leagues, and about six leagues to the south of the Dutch settlement of Palambang. About seven o'clock it came to blow fresh, and the sea ran high, with a strong current now setting in against them. They were yet a considerable distance from the land, when the lashings of their raft began to give way, and itself to go to pieces. Not only every plank of the platform was presently washed off, but, to complete the misery of their situation, their mast and sail were carried away. But resources, not despair, is the character of a British seaman. Seeing an anchor-stock, which being lately a part of the raft, and which promised more security to those who might be able to reach it, floating a considerable way from them, south, Scott, being the stoutest of the party, resolved to swim after it, and encouraging Alexander M'Carthy, quarter-master, and J. Nutton, and Joseph Scott, seamen, to follow his example, they all four fetched it in safety.

It was at this time one o'clock, *a. m.* and clear moon-light. Eight poor souls still remained by the raft (Pulloyne being dead), who seeing this part of their number, from whose exertions alone any hope might be entertained, thus consult their own safety by the only possible chance for it, bewailed their separation bitterly.

The adventurers on the anchor-stock, lost sight, in another hour, of the forlorn companions of their distress, of whom they never heard nor saw more. By means of two spars lashed across, to keep it from rolling, they continued to be borne in safety upon this, till about nine o'clock next morning, when the current changing again, set them fast

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fast towards the land, under the lee of which, though they had been driven out farther to sea than they were when they left the wreck, they fortunately arrived, with the help of a paddle, about nine o'clock the same night (25th). Some surf running along the shore, they found it a matter of no small difficulty, in their exhausted and weakly state, after betaking themselves to swimming again, to reach the beach.

Having thus providentially effected their escape from the dangers of the deep, others no less formidable stared them in the face upon this desert coast; or a coast, if not desert, only pressed by the footsteps of men scarce less savage than the wild beast that roamed in its adjoining thicket. The first care of the seamen was, after their fatigues and sufferings, to gather leaves and dry grass, with which they made themselves a bed whereon to repose. On this they slept sound till morning, when awakened by the call of thirst, they went to look for water, which they found at hand; but no manner of refreshment besides, not even a single shell-fish could they discover. In this deplorable condition, and almost naked (a single jacket and a couple of shirts being their whole stock of clothes), they remained starving till about four o'clock the same afternoon (26th), being a term of three whole nights and two days from the time of being blown up, when straggling along the shore, and almost in utter despair of all human succour, one of the party discovered a Malay prow, lying in a bay, hardly a quarter of a mile from them. Upon this, they consulted what was best to be done, and it was resolved that T. Scott, being able to talk the Dutch and Malay tongues fluently, should approach singly, while the rest kept out of sight, and well it was for them that such was the plan and precaution they observed, for had they all advanced together, unarmed and defenceless as they were, it is almost a moral certainty, that not a life would have been spared. On a nearer approach, he presently discovered four more pirate prows with the first, some of the people belonging to which were at work on the shore, repairing a boat. On perceiving Scott, their head man immediately made towards him, with an uplifted axe in his hand; upon a loud shout given by whom, a crowd followed, equally determined to put him to death; but falling upon his knees, and supplicating for mercy in their own tongue, the chief relented, and forbade any of his people to do their prisoner harm. They asked him earnestly what countryman he was, and what he wanted amongst them? He replied he was an unfortunate Englishman, one of a small remainder that survived the accident which had lately befallen his ship. They repeated the question, whether he was actually an Englishman? and charged him, if a man of the Dutch nation belonged to the number saved, that he should discover him to them at his peril. Being answered in the negative, the chief (or rajah, as they styled him), inquired particularly whether their captain survived, in which case he would undertake himself to convey them all safe to Malacca; but his people, as well as the Malay chief himself, vowed, that if the party that accident had put into their hands had been Dutch, no consideration should have induced them to shew quarter to a single man. Some of the pirates were now directed to where the seamen were, who presently returned with them, trembling, under

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under the most alarming apprehensions that they should be massacred, as they conceived Scott had already been: for they had seen the latter surrounded by an angry and threatening crowd, themselves undiscovered. On their arrival, all four were made to sit down, till they fully satisfied their curiosity by asking a thousand questions relative to the ship and their prisoners. The next step the pirates took was to divide the captives, each of the rajahs taking two into his own boat: the quarter-master and Hutton into one, the two Scotts into the other. It was now past six o'clock, *p. m.* when the almost famished seamen at last had the wants of nature relieved, by a plentiful meal of fish and rice, which they had served to them in each of the boats. The time allowed for this refreshment being expired, the five prows immediately put off for the Resistance's wreck; but after a vain search of two whole days, they returned without being able to pick up any part of the ship or of her contents. Some seamen's chests, containing a few dollars, and articles of little value, however, and a few of the bodies, continued to be washed on shore, from time to time, for some days after.

While these five prows, which formed a part of a fleet of eighteen or twenty, that were distributed along the land, remained cruizing separately up and down the Straits, on the look-out for trading craft from China, Java, &c. (which might be about three weeks), the Malays continued to behave so towards their prisoners, as to leave them no great cause to complain.

About the 25th of August, the prow rajah, or principal prow, in which the narrator was, at nine, *a. m.* fell in with a sloop from Java. The crew of this vessel, under cover of the preceding night, had abandoned her, betaking to their boats, and escaped to the nearest shore, making the best of their way, probably, with what specie they had, for the neighbouring town of Banca, to which they were believed to be bound, and where they were sure of protection. For, seeing this formidable prow, which carried one twelve pounder, two swivels, and a proportion of musquetry, swords, &c. lying at anchor to windward; and being well ascertained, from her strength and appearance, what she was, as well as that no mercy was to be expected from the sanguinary band aboard her, they wisely made this sacrifice to their personal security. Before the prow rajah boarded the sloop, the English seamen had the promise of a small dividend of any cloth, or provisions that might be found on board. Being laden, however, only with salt and oil, a small proportion of fowls, rice, and cocoa nuts, part of her stock, came to their share in common with the other hands. The prow proceeded from hence with the sloop for Penobang, a town of the island of Lingan, which they reached in three days, and their prize fetched the captors 1500 rix dollars. Here the two Scotts were separated, Joseph being sent with the prize to the town of Lingan, and Thomas remaining with the rajah of the prow, behind, at Penobang. The pirates have a small fort, or block-house, at this place, surrounded by water, mounting a good many guns, which are occasionally run out of their houses, and these are erected universally upon stakes or piles.—Thomas Scott remained here as a slave, with the rajah of the prow, his master, four or five weeks, when he had the news of Quarter-master

M'Carthy

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M'Carthy and Hutton arriving in that small prow at Lingan; that the young rajah, who commanded the prow, had very liberally and humanely rejected any ransom for his captives, and freely presented them to the sultaun. A few days after he heard that his namesake (Joseph) Scott, had been ransomed of the Tunor men, aboard the prize, where it was his fate to be disposed of, for fifteen rix dollars; and finally, that the sultaun of Lingan had, with an alacrity and generosity which at once stamp the natural disposition of his heart, and the regard and respect he bears in it towards the British nation, provided all the surviving seamen, of whom he appears to have had any knowledge, with a prow to transport them to Penang. Thus did the national character of the land from which these poor fellows sprung, become a blessing to its individuals in the most trying and perilous situations imaginable. It would not become us to reverse the medal and make the allusion, however it might apply to any other country, whose conduct towards, and consequently experience, from the Malay islanders, have been so widely different. It was not till nine days after the liberation and departure of his comrades for Penang, that Thomas Scott was brought up by his owner from Penobang to Lingan, about half a day's sail, and there sold in the market for thirty-five rix dollars.

This purchaser was another rajah (or head man), who proved to him a kinder and more considerate master than the former: he had now a better allowance of victuals, more liberty, the gift of a cloth to cover him, and an handkerchief. Lamenting the hardship of his fate, on being the only one of his countrymen left behind in bondage, his new master encouraged him, by the assurance that whenever he (Scott) should be able to pay him back the original amount of his purchase, he would immediately release him. But his deliverance, and that from a quarter totally unimagined and unexpected, was in the dispensation of Heaven, then, in its turn, at hand; for next day, to his unspeakable joy, he found the sultaun had become the ransomer also from the Macassar rajah. Being ordered into the presence of his benefactor, he was given to understand, that in consequence of a letter received by the sultaun, the preceding day, from Major Taylor, commanding at Malacca, requesting the sultaun's attention and relief to any of the crew of his Majesty's ships which might be found in those parts (too certain intelligence of which had been given him at Malacca), he, the sultaun was happy to discover that there yet remained another Englishman, of whom he before had no knowledge, on the island, and to whom he could have the pleasure of bestowing his liberty, using several other kind expressions. Accordingly, after a delay of nine days of the prow dispatched by Major Taylor to Lingan, Scott had the sultaun's permission to depart for Malacca, where the prow arrived with him on the 5th of December, after a tedious passage of fourteen days; and where, upon official examination, he delivered in the above report to the commanding officer, offering to attest the same (to the best of his belief and knowledge) at that time, or whenever he might be called upon.

Officers, Ship's Company, &c. belonging to or on board His Majesty's ship Resistance, *when she blew up, as well as* Scott *can recollect.*

Captain Edw. Pakenham, commander.
Mr. Haughton, first lieutenant.
Mr. Cuthbert, second ditto.
Mr. Mackay, third ditto.
Mr. Powys, surgeon.

Mr.

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Mr. Hunt, master.
Mr. Rosehagen, lieutenant of marines.
Mr. Brown, master at arms.
Mr. Dawson, gunner.
Mr. Pike, boatswain.
Mr. ———, carpenter.
Mr. Marcer, purser.
Mr. Harwood, master's mate.
Mr. Walsh, midshipman.
Mr. Durham, ditto.
Mr. Courtenay, ditto.
Mr. Woolfe, ditto.
Mr. ———, ditto.
Mr. ———, ditto.
Three master's mates.
Mr. Evan, coxswain.
Mr. ———, surgeon's mate.
Serjeant Stevens, of the marines.
Five quarter-masters; (the sixth, Mr. M'Carthy, being saved.)
Four boatswain's mates.
About thirty marines, and two hundred and fifty seamen.
Three English women, married on board.
One Malay ditto, of Amboyna.
Fourteen Spanish Prisoners, taken in the prize brig.

Malacca, 7th Dec. 1798.

CONGRATULATORY LETTERS, ADDRESSED TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

We have been favoured with a copy of the following Letters, and have much satisfaction in presenting them to the Public.

THE news of the acquittal of Mr. Hastings, arrived in Calcutta by the *Lord Thurlow* Indiaman, in the month of September 1795, and was received with universal pleasure.

A meeting of the British inhabitants of Calcutta was convened on the 19th Sept. and the following Congratulatory Address was unanimously agreed to, and signed by 326 of the principal British inhabitants in Calcutta.

SIR,

The inhabitants of this settlement, on your departure for Europe, having, in the strongest terms, expressed their sense both of your public administration and private conduct, during the long period in which you presided in India, we feel it no less incumbent on us now to offer to you our warmest congratulations on your acquittal of all the charges that were preferred against you in England.

We cannot but admire, Sir, the patience, fortitude, and resignation, with which you have borne a trial unexampled in length, and a scrutiny into character, motives, and actions, the most strict and minute that ever was instituted. But, upheld by conscious innocence, you have given an example of your reliance on the justice of your cause, which we doubt not, will carry conviction to the world and posterity, equal to the verdict of the illustrious tribunal before which you have appeared.

An acquittal under such circumstances, we must consider as honourable in the highest degree to yourself, as well as demonstrative of the impartial justice of our country. It is also peculiarly gratifying to us, as it confirms, and, if it were possible, it would strengthen, those sentiments which we never ceased to entertain of you.

Permit us to add, Sir, our cordial wishes, that your remaining years may be many, and accompanied by a felicity that may compensate for the loss of those benefits and comforts of which you have been so long deprived.

The following Congratulatory Letters were also transmitted by the several Divisions of the Bengal Army, and presented to Mr. HASTINGS *by the undersigned Officers.*

To WARREN HASTINGS, *Esq.*

SIR,

We have been honoured by the selection of our brother officers in India, to be the medium of offering to you their congratulations on the honourable issue of the most extensive and rigorous examination ever instituted into the conduct of one man; and we feel particularly happy, in having this opportunity afforded us, of adding our own congratulations to this anticipation of the judgment of posterity, from those who had the nearest means of observing your measures, and of estimating their wisdom by their effects.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) RICHARD SCOTT,
JAMES BURNETT,
JOHN ASHWORTH,
JOHN SALMOND.

London, March 30, 1796.

To WARREN HASTINGS, *Esq. late Governor General of Bengal.*

SIR,

Relieved from a long and painful anxiety, respecting the event of your unmerited prosecution and trial, the Officers and Staff at this station indulge the warmest sentiments of their hearts, in congratulating you on your honourable acquittal.

Having been ever fully impressed with the highest

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ighest sense of your merit, they cannot but ejoice that your character, after the severest nvestigation, has been so amply and so ho-ourably justified.

All Europe must now join with them in cknowledging the wisdom and justice of hose measures, which, by conciliating the minds of the native powers, ensured success o those exertions you so happily employed, o the preservation of the British empire in he East, against the united efforts of the nost powerful enemies.

Accept, Sir, this heartfelt congratulation, s a small tribute to your merit, and a sincere estimony of the regard and esteem with which they have the honour to subscribe hemselves,

Your most faithful and
Devoted humble Servants,
(Signed) G. JOHNSON, *Lieut. Col.*
And 51 Officers and Staff, of the Garrison of Chunar Ghur.

Chunar Ghur, Oct. 5, 1795.

To WARREN HASTINGS, *Esq.*

SIR,

The Officers and Staff of that part of the Bengal Army at present stationed at Futty Ghur, would deem themselves deficient in gratitude for the steady support afforded to their claims, and the warm regard invariably manifested for the honour and prosperity of the army in general, during your administration of the British affairs in India, should they not embrace the earliest opportunity of presenting to you, their sincere congratulations upon the honourable termination of the long and rigorous scrutiny, which has been instituted into your measures and conduct, during a government of thirteen years, and under the constant pressure of multiplied difficulties and dangers.

While they testify their inexpressible satisfaction at the result of an inquiry, which will transmit your name to posterity with deserved and unfaded lustre, they cannot but feel a very particular self-gratulation, on finding their own sentiments of your wisdom, zeal, and important public services, confirmed, by the almost unanimous verdict of the most respectable tribunal upon earth, and the general voice of the nation.

May you, Sir, long live in the enjoyment of your well-earned fame, and in the perfect possession and farther public exertion of those eminent talents which have acquired such extensive and permanent advantage to your country.

We have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) WM. POPHAM, *Col.*
And 68 Officers and Staff.

Futty Ghur, Oct. 3, 1795.

To WARREN HASTINGS, *Esq.*
Late Governor General in Bengal.

SIR,

We the Officers of the Division of the Bengal Army stationed at Cawnpore, impelled by a grateful remembrance of the many obligations we owe to your late administration, and our ardent admiration of your private character, press forward to offer you our sincere congratulations on your late honourable acquittal.

During a trial, which, for severity of scrutiny, and intolerable procastination, is without example in the annals of the world, we have beheld you, Sir, patient and magnanimous, deporting yourself in a manner becoming the saviour of British India. Our solicitude was great, but we had no fear of the issue, though we feelingly lamented the precious years that have been lost to the public, which might otherwise have been employed in the service of the state, at a period as interesting and momentous, as your trial has been afflicting and unprecedented.

May the remainder of your life, Sir, be long and happy; and we hope, that this grateful tribute from a body who have been witnesses of the brilliant acts of your dignified and meritorious administration, will descend, with the name of Hastings, to posterity, as a token of the veneration and esteem in which we have ever held your character, and as a proof of the respect with which we are, &c.

(Signed) JOHN FORBES, *Col.*
And 106 Officers and Staff.

The following Address from the Officers of the Bengal Army, stationed at the Presidency of Fort William, and at Barrackpoor, was brought over by Major RATTRAY, *of the Bengal Artillery, and was presented to Mr.* HASTINGS *by that Gentleman, Col.* DUNCAN, *and Capt.* ASHWORTH.

To WARREN HASTINGS, *Esq.*

SIR,

The Officers of the Bengal Army, bearing in their remembrance, the wisdom, moderation, and justice of your administration in India, feel a very heartfelt satisfaction in congratulating you on your late honourable acquittal, by the Peers of Great Britain, from charges brought against you by the House of Commons, and supported by men of the first abilities in the nation.

The energy and severity with which you have been for so many years prosecuted; the magnanimity and fortitude you have shewn during your trial, and in declining to solicit support, even when all the power and abilities of your native country seemed combined against you, place you in a point of view the most envied, the most honourable; for your enemies have raised a monument to your fame, on which the justice of your country hath recorded the integrity of your mind, and the propriety and necessity of your public conduct. May the gratitude of the community you have so long, so ably, and so faithfully served, be as conspicuous as your merits and disinterestedness have been publicly evinced. May your Sovereign, by conferring honours upon you, prove the value he has for such a subject, and by doing so, increase the approbation and attachment of a free and generous people.

With us, and with the natives of this country, your name must ever be revered, and with Clive's, be handed down with honour, respect, and admiration, to the latest posterity.

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rity.—We have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servants,

(Signed) CHARLES MORGAN, *Col.*
And 175 Officers and Staff.

October 1, 1795.

To WARREN HASTINGS, *Esq.*
Late Governor General of Bengal.

SIR,

We the Officers and Staff of the Military Station of Dinapore, and its dependencies, impressed with heartfelt gratitude for former favours, embrace the earliest opportunity to congratulate you upon the very honourable termination of the most vexatious, tedious, and unmerited prosecution recorded in the annals of history.

Long may you live, Sir, an ornament to that nation which will, at length, unbiassed by prejudice, be fully convinced of the ample support and benefit it received from your administration in India; and will, no doubt, do justice to that exertion, ability, and patriotism, which, surmounting every difficulty and obstruction, secured these possessions unimpaired to the mother country, although assaulted by the combined powers of Europe and the East.—We are, Sir, with the utmost esteem and gratitude, your most obedient and most humble servants,

(Signed) H. BRISCO, *Col.*
And 103 Officers and Staff.

To WARREN HASTINGS, *Esq.*

SIR,

The Gentlemen of Fort Marlborough beg leave to congratulate you on an event which they have long expected from the justice of their country, and which they proudly record by unanimous commemoration.

They have remarked, Sir, with admiration, the spirited and manly struggle which you so long maintained in support of your personal integrity, at the hazard of a government, the energies of which, are to this moment felt by India, to the remotest extremes of her vast empire. With the sincerest pleasure they at length contemplate the suffrages of a nation united in the vindication of your honour, and a distinguished place assigned in the annals of the world, to that virtue which hath passed, unhurt, the ordeal of so many years.

To such high acknowledgement of your merits, permit them to add their limited testimony, that your memory will be dear to India; whilst in the happiness which your wise government diffused around it, in the advancement of the arts you patronized, and the progress of the sciences you cherished, mankind shall continue to trace the enlightened politician, the comprehensive genius, and polite scholar.

It remains for them to express their sincerest wishes, that every happiness and enjoyment may await the evening of your honourable life, in the bosom of your country; which after severe approval of your worth, hath at length been amply, though slowly just.—They have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servants,

(Signed)

R. Bloff	H. Douglas
P. Brohm	B. Hartley
R. S. Graham	F. F. Beaghan
T. Brown	G. Berchy
J. Macdonald	A. Monteath
R. Best	W. M. Grant
D. M'Pane	H. Dunning
C. Holloway	C. Day
R. Bell	T. Sturgeon
T. Cuddlipp	J. Powell
J. Campbell	J. Grigson
A. Brenan	W. Parker
D. Gillis	J. N. Sealy
F. W. Peirse	E. Bagley
J. Mully	J. B. Resindell
C. Hutchinson	J. Turing
C. Campbell	J. Bagley
T. Waters	J. Braham

Fort Marlbro', Oct 20, 1795.

The first of the preceding Congratulatory Letters, was transmitted by the Government of Bengal, to the Court of Directors and sent to Mr. Hastings by their order with the following letter from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, to which an answer is annexed.

To WARREN HASTINGS, *Esq.*

SIR,

We have the commands of the Court of Directors, to transmit to you the address of the inhabitants of Calcutta, on your late honourable acquittal by the House of Lords: we have great pleasure in obeying these commands, which convey so honourable a testimony of the esteem and affection of so very respectable a body of men, who had such opportunities of appreciating your character.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) D. SCOTT,
HUGH INGLIS.

East India House, May 4, 1796.

To DAVID SCOTT, *and* HUGH INGLIS, *Esquires.*

GENTLEMEN,

I have received the letter which you have done me the honour to write to me, in obedience to the commands of the Court of Directors, with that which it inclosed, and which was addressed to me by the British inhabitants of Calcutta; and I request the favour of you to present to that Honourable Court, my most grateful thanks for this original instance of their goodness. To have allowed it to receive its destined passage through the channel of their official proceedings, was, of itself, an indication of their approval of its contents, but they chose to stamp it with the highest consequence, perhaps that they could give to it, when they entrusted its transmission to the charge of their Chairman and Deputy; for which I ought to be, and do feel myself, impressed with the deepest sense of obligation. I beg leave, at the same time, to express my particular thanks to you, Gentlemen, for the very handsome and dignified terms in which you have been pleased to execute this commission.

My sufferings have been great; but they have been converted into blessings by the consequences which they have drawn down upon me. My acquittal, though by the highest and most respectable tribunal upon earth,

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earth, I consider but as an exemption from infamy. It was followed by the declaration of the collective body of my late masters, that I merited positive approbation. The Court of Directors added the most honourable and impressive testimony to that judgment. My fellow-countrymen, both civil and military, of that establishment, whose interests were, during a course of many years, committed to my charge, have repeated the same sentiments; and the former have indirectly appealed to that Honourable Court for the confirmation which it had already given of it.

I have yet a farther debt of gratitude to acknowledge to the Hon. Court of Directors, for the loan of fifty thousand pounds, which they have generously granted to me, in consequence of my late application, which certainly was not made with such an expectation. As a relief from distress, I received it with a thankful heart: as an implied effect of the same generous acceptance of my services, I feel a gratification from it of a different kind, and scarcely inferior to the former. I request that you will have the goodness to convey my thanks for this last act of their bounty, which I should have before acknowledged, had not a consideration of delicacy restrained me, while any part of the sum destined for my use, by their orders, remained unpaid. I am this instant informed that the last delivery of twenty-five thousand pounds, was made this morning, making up with the first, the complete sum of fifty thousand pounds.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Park-lane, May 6, 1796.

The following Answers were written by Mr. HASTINGS *to the Congratulatory Letters.*

To the BRITISH INHABITANTS *of* CALCUTTA.

GENTLEMEN,

I have now the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, congratulating me on my acquittal of all the charges preferred against me in England.

I return you my most sincere thanks for this instance of your attention to me, on an occasion so interesting to my credit and peace of mind; and for the confirmation which you have joined to it of your former approbation of my conduct, during the period in which I held the chief administration in Bengal.

The mode which you have chosen to convey to me this testimony of your good will, claims also my farther thanks. Though independent and complete in itself, yet by communicating it through the channel of the Court of Directors, you have given it the effect of an appeal to their justice. It was transmitted to me by their commands, in a letter signed by their Chairman and Deputy Chairman, expressive in the most honourable terms, of their accordance with the sentiments which it contained.

To a man, whom a strange fatality has involved, through the course of a long official life, in an unremitting struggle for the means of discharging with effect the duties of his station, and guarding his reputation from dishonour, declarations of applause and affection from those who stood by position nearest to the seat, or influence, of that authority in which he so long participated, and whose operations he, in a great measure, directed, are of more worth than any that wealth and honours, united, could yield. Such, I can truly affirm, they are in my estimation of them.

You, gentlemen, have many claims of old to my regard. There was a time in which even the authority of my public office derived a considerable support from the influence of your good opinion of the manner in which it had been exercised. The knowledge of your sentiments publicly and authentically expressed on the day of my departure from Calcutta, contributed largely to support my credit with my countrymen at home, when, but for this, and similar aids, it must have sunk under the pressure of accusations heaped upon me without number, and yet unprovoked, in the name of the most revered body upon earth. These are personal benefits which I must ever remember with a grateful heart: nor is the impression made upon it by the prompt and ardent zeal which you have ever manifested to co-operate with the government itself, in seasons of great exigency, less deeply marked, though blended with an esteem arising from a more disinterested consideration.

When I parted, in the year 1785, from that community to which I had attached myself by an intercourse of many years, and by various relations, my heart sorrowed for the separation, but consoled itself with the hope, which a conscious reflection of a long, a well-intended, and a successful service, entitled me to indulge, that I might still devote what remained of the active portion of my life, to the advancement of your welfare, with that of the state on which it depended. I have been disappointed, and have painfully, though patiently, borne the disappointment. Yet, has it not been wholly unprofitable. The voluminous evidence produced in the course of my long trial, has incidentally brought to light many of the virtues of my countrymen and fellow-servants in India, which would otherwise have remained sunk in obscurity: it has, in a great measure, removed the prejudices which had been excited against them, and shewn them deserving of the love and respect of their brethren at home, for the firm regard which they have shewn to their common interests; for the candour and simplicity of their manners, and the gentleness and moderation with which they have generally, and almost individually, demeaned themselves towards the native inhabitants of the provinces dependent on the British dominion, over whom the ascendant of the national character is scarcely less prevalent than the power with which it is, in many instances, officially associated. Those virtues, while they tend to promote the duration of that dominion, by binding it on willing minds, reflect, at the same time, a credit on the British name, and give to their possessors a double title to the affection of every man who bears it.

In the many different occupations which I have filled in India, from my early youth, upwards, I have had more opportunities of

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knowing the general character of my countrymen resident in it, but more particularly in the provinces of Bengal, than almost any other man; and I dare to pronounce, as I would if called upon before the judgment seat of Heaven, that in the sentiment and practice of the two best affections which constitute the bond of society, namely, public spirit, and generosity, they are not surpassed, if equalled, by any people upon earth. I might appeal to a very recent instance of both, if it were necessary to display to you the exhibition of your own deeds; and God forbid that my countrymen, if ever this writing should come to their knowledge, should want a monitor to remind them of their benefactors, or to awaken in their breasts the sentiments which are due to those who feel for their distresses, and manifest a solicitude, without the profession of it, to relieve them.

To the Almighty Disposer of human events, I humbly and fervently offer up my prayers for your prosperity, for the prosperity of the British Empire in India, and for the ease, content, and happiness of the native inhabitants of it, who have a more immediate and indispensible claim to its protection.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

To Major General CHARLES MORGAN.

London, June 13, 1796.

SIR,

By one of the ships which sailed for India in the course of the last month, I addressed to you a short letter, acknowledging the receipt of one which I had the honour to receive from yourself, and the other officers of the brigade at the presidency; expressive in terms the most flattering and honourable to me, of your participation in the joy of my acquittal of the charges preferred against me by the Commons of Great-Britain, and your sense both of my public conduct, and regard to the general rights and interests of the service, and of the army in particular. To similar addresses from the officers of the military stations of Cawnpoor, Futty Ghur, and Chunaghur, I also wrote letters of acknowment in the same terms as that which I wrote to you: and addressed them to Col. Forbes, Colonel Popham, and Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson, the officers commanding those stations respectively; reserving myself for a future reply, with the aid of more leisure, by the subsequent dispatches. I could not suffer the first ships to depart without making some declaration, however imperfect, of the sense which I felt of these testimonies of the benevolence of men, whose professional characters stood so high in my estimation of them, and in their claims upon my regard for their past exertions in the service of that administration, over which I many years presided. Nor could a few words, suggested at the instant, satisfy my mind, which felt itself impressed with more than even the most laboured language could utter. Yet whatever the heart may conceive, it is only by the common forms of speech that its conceptions can be adequately rendered. Mine has but one mixed sentiment for this occasion; the sentiment of affection and gratitude. This is all that I can express: and this I request you to make known, in whatever mode may be the most regular, to all the officers whose names are subscribed to the letters of congratulation which I have already received, and to such others (for such I am assured there are), as may have been since transmitted for the same purpose.

Upon this occasion, I cannot but remember, with augmented satisfaction, the general address which I received from the officers of the army upon the Bengal establishment, some months after my departure from India. That act, after a lapse of more than ten years, which have passed over my head with circumstances the most degrading to me while they lasted, you, gentlemen, have now authenticated by the repetition of your former assurances, not delivered merely in the form of a deed of common acquiescence, but marked as the positive and distinct sense of every division of the army residing on the same spot, and uniting to form the terms of it. Such a testimony, while it glorifies its subject far beyond the lustre of artificial distinctions, reflects, at the same time, the highest credit (if I may say so much upon a point in which I have so near an interest) on those who have delivered it; and proves, that neither length of time, nor the influence of causes which have commonly governed the judgment of mankind, have had any power, either to change the opinions which had grown on theirs, from the effect of their own experience and observation, or to lessen the effect of those opinions on their fixed attachments.

Much as I owe for these unexampled demonstrations of the good will of the gentlemen, to whom, through your channel, I now address myself, yet it is not by this consideration alone that my gratitude or attachment is bounded. I owe much to them for whatever degree of reputation the world may be pleased to allow me. It has been my boast, and though repeatedly proclaimed, even on that ground on which the most laboured efforts were made to blast my good name, it has never been contradicted, that in the course of an administration of thirteen years, and in periods of more than common difficulty, I never joined in the formation of any military operation, which did not ultimately succeed in the complete attainment of its destined, or a better purpose. It might be permitted to me to arrogate some little merit to myself, for having discerned and applied, in the discharge of a great national trust, the ample means which I possessed in the talents, prowess, and enthusiastic ardour, of those whose services I had the power of calling into action. Therefore it was, that the measures which I could call my own were invariably successful.

Among the numerous accusations with which I have been heavily charged, it was one, that I rashly precipitated the Company's interests, and even safety, into situations of unequal danger. And true it was, that if I had had but common instruments to work with, I should have thought as they did who laid that guilt to my charge, because they knew not that no enterprize was too great

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great for men, who possessing, in common with their brethren of these kingdoms, the virtues of courage and honour, joined to a professional knowledge, wrought by constant practice to perfection; men whose daily habits, even to their amusements, were military, and who regarded every service in which they engaged, as their own.

In our community it has sometimes happened, as in the best it must, that parties have been formed, which have unhappily divided men's affections, with their opinions, from each other. But no instance has ever yet occurred, in which the interests of their state were threatened with external danger, that did not unite all hearts and hands in the same common cause, and in one determined and confident resolution to maintain it against what power soever might assail it. This observation comprizes both branches of the service, the civil equally with the military; and too highly do I estimate the spirit and liberality of the latter, to fear that I may displease them, by ascribing to the former this participation in those qualities which constitute the true basis of public virtue. It is to these energies, and to this bond of union, that Great-Britain is indebted for her Indian empire. May the same spirit ever animate every corps, and every department of that service, to the same honourable and prosperous exertions; and may their parent state, more and more known, and knowing, love and cherish those virtues, from which it has derived so many and great benefits, and on which it depends for their duration and improvement!

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

To ROBERT BROFF, *Esq. Lieutenant-Governor, and the other Gentlemen of Fort-Marlborough.*

London, August 14, 1796.

GENTLEMEN,

I have had the honour to receive your letter, and grieve that the last ships which might have carried out my acknowledgement of it, had it arrived a very few days earlier, are now on their way to India: but I feel myself impressed with too strong a sense of obligation for its contents, to lose a day in preparing it, however distant the means of its conveyance may be. I shall not attempt to express, what no power of words can describe, the sensations of surprize, pleasure, and gratitude, which I felt on the receipt of such a testimony of the approbation and esteem of gentlemen of such consideration, and to every one of whom I am personally unknown: nor were these the only sentiments excited by it: whatever I may be, however deficient in those deserts which might entitle me to so distinguished an honour, yet your motive proceeded from a source of generosity blended with the purest streams of public virtue; such as I am proud to think, could only flow from the hearts of my own countrymen; at least I have never heard or read of similar instances, in the annals of other nations. I must admire and venerate such an effect of such a principle, even if I had no interest in its application.

I will not, however, so far undervalue your act, as to disclaim all pretensions to the benefit of it. My own conscience will allow me to lay claim to as much merit as can belong to the best intentions, and those wholly exempt from every selfish view, which could stand in competition with the general interests which I held in trust, though not without a gratification in the present approbation of my own mind, and in the hope of the future applause of my own country, and of the native inhabitants of that over which I presided.

Accept, Gentlemen, my most sincere and grateful thanks for this honourable pledge of your regard, and my most fervent wishes for the prosperity of your establishment, and for the happiness of every individual composing it. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Copy of a letter, supposed to have been lost in the Hinchinbroke, *in the year* 1785, *as it has never been answered.*

[The following letter is extracted from the *Seer Mutaquerin*, or the History of the Present Times, in Hindustân;—an highly interesting work; originally written in the Persian language, by GOLAUM HUSSEIN, a native of India; and translated into English by NOTA-MANUS, or MUSTAPHA, the author of this letter.]

To the Hon. WARREN HASTINGS, *Esq. late Governor General of the British Dominions in the East Indies.*

* Lucknow, 15th Feb. 1785.

HONOURABLE SIR,

It is, to-day five years since I had the honour to speak to you; nor has it been in my power to see you these two years. Your time is too important, Honourable Sir, to be engrossed, even for a moment, by any thing short of some material business, on my part: but yet I have been enjoying you all this while: I have been enjoying you, Honourable Sir, in that reverential awe, and that high admiration, you have impressed all Hindustân with—in that love of their's which the natives have more than once forcibly expressed for your person, and to which you are the only European that ever had any access; so that whenever, in letters from London, or in public papers, I chanced to observe that the best qualified judges in Europe, had at last closed with the high opinion entertained of your talents in India, I exulted in that universal approbation, as if Lord Stairs's† excellent tracts had reflected some

* Lucknow, at nine hundred miles from Calcutta, is the capital of the Oude; and I arrived there just as the Governor had quitted it to return to Bengal.

† In one of these tracts, where that deep-thinking Nobleman examines critically the state of his nation, and of course that of all Europe, he says, that the English arms have been unsuccessful every where, except in India, where they have triumphed;—a singularity which he ascribes to the Chatham of the East (and that is his expression.)

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lustre upon me. Gone are now our joys, Honourable Sir—you are quitting us. This piece of intelligence, to which you seemed to have prepared our minds, has shaken my whole frame, as if it were some sudden unexpected stroke.‖—To no purpose do I search for solace in roving from seat to seat, and from garden to garden: *Post equitem sedet atra cura.*—Nothing is green for me now in those once pleasing spots: they are become so many dreary desarts; nor am I ever sensible of my being gone in, or come out, but when I am put in mind of it by my people.

To no purpose is it to repeat to myself, that the English are but so many strangers to me, and that yourself, after all, are but one of those strangers. Soon my heart recoils at the sacrilegious argument; and a recollection, partly pleasing, and partly painful, never fails to inform me internally, that after an intercourse of five and twenty years, those strangers are become my only countrymen; that yourself, Honourable Sir, are my oldest acquaintance amongst those countrymen, and, moreover, my partial and munificent patron; and that if, instead of shining in the world as the Chatham of the East, it had been your fate to have moved only in an humble station, you would have been my bosom-friend.

It has been a standing rule hitherto with me, Honourable Sir, never to take a personal leave of my friends. But many are the alterations occasioned in me by your departure; and it is not without a sense of jealousy I see Colonel Martine¶ hurrying down to bid you his last farewell. Twice have I attempted to return to Europe, and twice have I been obliged to come back, after having lost every thing; so that, ten years ago, I had set myself down with a resolution to listen to the voice of Providence, and to end my days in India; but India is become a dreary waste for me now; and I am now preparing to quit it for the third time, were it but to get rid of that emptiness which everywhere surrounds me.

I have known your person, Honourable Sir, these five and twenty years. The life of dispute and contention to which you have been doomed this long while, cannot have altered the original sensibility of your heart. Receive, then, Honourable Sir, an offering worthy of it. This letter—this artless, disorderly letter, has been in many a spot bedewed with the tear of affection, and more than once interrupted by the sob of regret, and the scream of deep-felt woe.

May that Providence that has over-shadowed you in many an awful occasion, continue to watch over your person in your intended journey! And when, after a long series of years gloriously spent, your last hour shall have come, may you depart with recollection enough to remember, that you have been an ornament to your Nation, a benefactor to your Country, and a resource to an infinity of distressed.

I am,
With an everlasting attachment,
Honourable Sir,
Your ever obliged, respectful Servant,
NOTA-MANUS.

‖ The Governor had already sent his consort to England.

¶ Colonel Martine is one of those French, who, driven to despair by the misery and famine that desolated Pondicherry in 1760, threw themselves among the English. He has ever been with them since that day; and, although constantly employed in desperate affairs (so says the historian ORME, one of the best informed, as well as one of the most eloquent men that ever wrote history), he has never been wounded. Colonel Martine is a man desirous of all kinds of knowledge; and, although he is at the head of a large fortune, which he owes only to his industry, he works whole days together, at all the arts that concern watch-making and gunsmith work, with as much bodily labour as if he had his bread to earn by it. As an architect (and he is every thing), he has built himself, at Lucknow, a strong, elegant house, that has neither beams nor cupola, and is so contrived that a single man might defend it against multitudes.

POETRY.

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POETRY.

A HYMN TO SÚRYA.

AN ORIGINAL COMPOSITION,

BY SIR WILLIAM JONES.

THE ARGUMENT.

A PLAUSIBLE opinion has been entertained by learned men, that the principal source of idolatry among the ancients was their enthusiastic admiration of the Sun; and that, when the primitive religion of mankind was lost amid the distractions of establishing regal government, or neglected amid the allurements of vice, they ascribed to the great visible luminary, or to the wonderful fluid of which it is the general reservoir, those powers of pervading all space, and animating all nature, which their wiser ancestors had attributed to one eternal MIND, by whom the substance of fire had been created as an inanimate and secondary cause of natural phenomena. The mythology of the East confirms this opinion; and it is probable that the *triple divinity* of the Hindûs was originally no more than a personification of the Sun, whom they call *Treyltenu*, or *Three-bodied*, in his triple capacity of producing forms by his genial *heat*, preserving them by his *light*, or destroying them by the concentrated force of his *igneous matter*: This, with the wilder conceit of a *female power* united with the Godhead, and ruling nature by his authority, will account for nearly the whole system of Egyptian, Indian, and Grecian polytheism, distinguished from the sublime theology of the philosophers, whose understandings were too strong to admit the popular belief, but whose influence was too weak to reform it.

SURYA, the Phœbus of European heathens, has near fifty names, or epithets, in the Sanscrêet language—most of which, or at least the meanings of them, are introduced in the following Ode; and every image that seemed capable of poetical ornament, has been selected from books of the highest authority among the Hindûs: the title of *Arca* is very singular; and it is remarkable, that the Tibetians represent the Sun's car in the form of a *boat*.

It will be necessary to explain a few other particulars of the Hindû mythology, to which, allusions are made in the poem. SOMA, or the Moon, is a *male* deity in the Indian system, as *Mona* was, I believe, among the Saxons, and *Lunus* among some of the nations who settled in Italy; his titles, also, with one or two of the ancient fables to which they refer, are exhibited in the second stanza. Most of the *Lunar mansions* are believed to be the daughters of *Casyapa*, the first production of Brâhma's head; and from their names are derived those of the twelve months, who are here feigned to have married as many constellations; this primeval *Brâhmen* and *Vinatâ* are also supposed to have been the parents of *Arun*, the charioteer of the Sun, and of the bird Garuda, the eagle of the great Indian Jove, one of whose epithets is *Mádhava*.

After this explanation, the Hymn will have few or no difficulties, especially if the reader has perused and studied the *Bhagavadgîtâ* with which our literature has been lately

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enriched, and the fine episode from the *Mahábhárat* on the production of the *Amrita*, which seems to be almost wholly astronomical, but abounds with poetical beauties. Let the following description of the demon *Rahu*, decapitated by *Náráyan*, be compared with similar passages in Hesiod and Milton.

tach ch'hailafringapratiman dánavasya sirò mahat
chacrach'hinnam c'hamutpatya nenádíti bhayancaram,
tat cabandham pepátásya visp'hurad dharanítalè
sapervatavanadwípán daityasyácampayanmahim.

THE HYMN.

FOUNTAIN of living light,
That o'er all nature streams,
Of this vast microcosm both nerve and soul?
Whose swift and subtle beams,
Eluding mortal sight,
Pervade, attract, sustain, th' effulgent whole,
Unite, impel, dilate, calcine,
Give to gold its weight and blaze,
Dart from the diamond many-tainted rays,
Condense, protrude, transform, concoct, refine,
The sparkling daughters of the mine;
Lord of the lotos, father, friend, and king,
O Sun! thy pow'rs I sing;
Thy substance *Indra* with his heavenly bands
Nor sings nor understands;
Nor e'en the *Védas* three, to man explain
Thy mystick orb triform, though *Bràhma* tun'd the strain.
Thou nectar-beaming moon,
Regent of dewy night,
From yon black roe, that in thy bosom sleeps,
Fawn-spotted *Sasin* height;
Wilt thou desert so soon
Thy night-flowers pale, whom liquid odour steeps,
And *Oshadhi's* transcendant beam
Burning in the darkest glade?
Will no lov'd name thy gentle mind persuade
Yet one short hour to shed thy cooling stream;
But, ah! we court a passing dream:
Our prayer nor *Indu* nor *Himánsu* hears;
He fades; he disappears—
E'en *Casyapa's* gay daughters twinkling die,
And silence lulls the sky,
Till *Chatacs* twitter from the moving brake,
And sandal-breathing gales on beds of ether wake.

Burst

Burst into song, ye spheres!
A greater light proclaim,
And hymn concentric orbs, with seven-fold chime
The God with many a name;
Nor let unhallow'd ears
Drink life and rapture from your charm sublime;
" Our bosoms, *Aryama*, inspire,
" Gem of heav'n, and flow'r of day
" *Vivaswat*, lancer of the golden ray
" *Divácara*, pure source of holy fire,
" Victorious *Rama's* fervid sire,
" Dread child of *Aditi*, Martunda bless'd,
" Or *Súra* be address'd,
" *Ravi*, or *Mihira*, or *Bhánu* bold,
" Or *Arca*, title old,
" Or *Hiridaswa*, drawn by green hair'd steeds,
" Or *Carmasacschi* keen, attesting secret deeds.
" What fiend, what monster fierce,
" E'er durst thy throne invade?
" Malignant *Ráhu*. Him thy wakeful sight,
" That could the deepest shade
" Of snaky *Narac* pierce,
" Mark'd quaffing nectar; when by magic sleight
" A *Súra's* lovely form he wore,
" Rob'd in light, with lotos crown'd,
" What time th' immortals peerless treasures found
" On the churn'd ocean's gem-bespangled shore,
" And *Mandar's* load the tortoise bore:
" Thy voice reveal'd the daring sacrilege;
" Then, by the deathful edge
" Of bright *Sudersan* cleft, his dragon head
" Dismay and horror spread,
" Kicking the skies, and struggling to impair
" The radiance of thy robes, and stain thy golden hair.
" With smiles of stern disdain,
" Thou, sov'reign victor, seest
" His impious rage: soon from the mad assault
" Thy coursers fly releas'd;
" Then toss'd each verdant mane,
" And gallop o'er the smooth aërial vault;
" Whilst in charm'd *Gócul's* od'rous vale
" Blue-ey'd *Yamuná* descends
" Exulting, and her tripping tide suspends
" The triumph of her mighty sire to hail:
" So must they fall, who Gods assail!
" For now the dæmon rues his rash emprise,
" Yet, bellowing blasphemies
" With pois'nous throat, for horrid vengeance thirsts,
" And oft with tempests bursts.
" As oft repell'd he groans in fiery chains,
" And o'er the realms of day unvanquish'd *Súrya* reigns."

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Ye clouds in wavy wreathes!
Your dusky van unfold;
O'er dimpled sands, ye surges! gently flow,
With sapphires edg'd and gold!
Loose-tressed morning breathes,
And spreads her blushes with expansive glow;
But chiefly where heaven's op'ning eye
Sparkles at her saffron gate,
How rich, how regal in his orient state!
Ere long he shall emblaze th' unbounded sky:
The fiends of darkness yelling fly;
While birds of liveliest note, and lightest wing,
The rising day-star sing,
Who skirts the horizon with a blazing line
Of topazes divine;
E'en in their prelude, brighter and more bright
Flames the red east, and pours insufferable light*.
First o'er blue hills appear,
With many an agate hoof,
And pasterns fring'd with pearl, seven coursers green;
Nor boasts yon arched woof,
That girds the show'ry sphere,
Such heav'n-spun threads of colour'd light serene,
As tinge the reins which *Arun* guides,
Glowing with immortal grace,
Young *Arun*, loveliest of *Vinatian* race,
Though younger He, whom *Mádhava* bestrides,
When high on eagle-plumes he rides:
But, oh! what pencil of a living star
Could paint that gorgeous car,
In which, as in an ark supremely bright,
The lord of boundless light
Ascending, calm, o'er th' empyrean sails,
And with ten thousand beams his awful beauty veils.
Behind the glowing wheels
Six jocund seasons dance,
A radiant month in each quick-shifting hand;
Alternate they advance,
While buxom nature feels
The grateful changes of the frolic band:
Each month a constellation fair,
Knit in youthful wedlock, holds,
And o'er each bed a varied sun unfolds,
Lest one vast blaze our visual force impair,
A canopy of woven air.
Vasante blythe, with many a laughing flow'r
Decks his *Candarpa's* bow'r;
The drooping pastures thirsty *Grishma* dries
Till *Vershà* bids them rise;

Then

C'

* See Gray's Letters, p. 332, 4to. and the Note.

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Then *Sarat* with full sheaves the champaign fills
Which *Sisira* bedews, and stern *Hémanta* chills.
Mark, how th' all-kindling orb
Meridian glory gains!
Round *Méru's* breathing zone he winds oblique
O'er pure cerulean plains:
His jealous flames absorb
All meaner lights, and unresisted strike
The world with rapt'rous joy and dread.
Ocean, smit with melting pain,
Shrinks, and the fiercest monster of the main
Mantles in caves profound his tusky head,
With sea-weeds dank and coral spread:
Less can mild earth and her green daughters bear
The noon's wide wasting glare;
To rocks the panther creeps; to woody night
The vulture steals his flight;
E'en cold camelions pant in thickets dun,
And o'er the burning grit th' unwing'd locusts run!
But when thy foaming steeds
Descend with rapid pace,
Thy fervent axle hast'ning to allay,
What majesty, what grace,
Dart o'er the western meads
From thy relenting eye their blended ray!
Soon may th' undazzled sense behold
Rich as *Vishnu's* diadem,
Or *Amrit* sparkling in an azure gem,
Thy horizontal globe of molten gold,
Which pearl'd and rubied clouds infold.
It sinks; and myriads of diffusive dyes
Stream o'er the tissued skies,
Till *Sóma* smiles, attracted by the song
Of many a plumed throng,
In groves, meads, vales; and whilst he glides above,
Each bush and dancing bough quaffs harmony and love.
Then roves thy poet free,
Who with no borrow'd art
Dares hymn thy pow'r, and durst provoke thy blaze,
But felt thy thrilling dart;
And now on lowly knee,
From him who gave the wound the balsam prays;
Herbs that assuage the fever's pain,
Scatter from thy rolling car,
Cull'd by sage *Aswin* and divine *Cumár:*
And, if they ask, "What mortal pours the strain?"
Say (for thou seest earth, air, and main),
Say "From the bosom of yon silver isle,
"Where skies more softly smile,
"He came; and lisping our celestial tongue,
"Though not from *Brahma* sprung,

"Draws

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" Draws orient knowledge from its fountain pure,
" Through cayes obstructed long, and paths too long obscure."
Yes; though the Sanscrêet song
Be strown with fancy's wreathes,
And emblems rich, beyond low thoughts refin'd,
Yet heav'nly truth it breathes,
With attestation strong,
That loftier than thy sphere, th' Eternal Mind,
Unmov'd, unrival'd, undefil'd,
Reigns with providence benign:
He still'd the rude abyss, and bade it shine
(While sapience with approving aspect mild
Saw the stupendous work and smil'd);
Next thee, his flaming minister bade rise
O'er young and wond'ring skies.
Since thou, great orb, with all enlight'ning ray,
Rulest the golden day,
How far more glorious He, who said serene,
Be, and *thou wast*—Himself unform'd, unchang'd, unseen!

MONODY

ON THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS CLEVLAND, ESQ.*

BY THE RIGHT HON. LORD TEIGNMOUTH.

THE Gentleman to whose memory the following Poem is inscribed, was in the service of the Hon. the East India Company in Bengal, where he held the united offices of Collector of Revenues of a very extensive district, and Administrator of Justice to the inhabitants thereof.

His assiduity in discharging the laborious duties of his station had so much impaired his constitution, that he was under the necessity of trying a sea voyage for the recovery of his health, but unfortunately without success, as he expired a very few days after his embarkation, on the 13th Jan. 1784.

The Governor-General and Council of Bengal, deeming the services performed by Mr. CLEVLAND, in cultivating and conciliating the minds of the inhabitants of the districts under his charge, of such importance to the peace of the country, the security of the revenue, the credit of the English name, and the principles of humanity, as to merit a public and lasting contemplation of them—for the honour of his reputation, and for an example to others, directed a Monument to be erected to his memory at the public expence, with an inscription engraved upon it, containing a short specification of those services: And the principal natives, who had been subject to his control, solicited permission to give some public testimony of the sense they entertained of the beneficence which he had invariably shewn towards them, by erecting also a Monument to his memory; which was accordingly done, and the expences of it were defrayed by voluntary subscription on their parts.

* This Monody was written in 1781, and a few copies of it were printed in London early in the year 1786.

THE

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THE MONODY.

Quis desiderio sit pudor, aut modus
Tam cari capitis?

If e'er funereal trophies grac'd the brave,
Or cypress wreaths adorn'd a statesman's grave,
Let virtue consecrate the hallow'd tomb
Where Clevland sleeps, and weep his early doom.
For many a month consum'd by fev'rish pain,
Death had mark'd out this victim to his reign.
Drooping and wan, he seem'd a graceful flower,
That yields its bloom to winter's blighting power.
Hope still would fondly prompt that pious prayer,
Might win o'er Heaven, to pity and to spare.
Such thoughts, how vain! our anxious minds employ'd,
When sudden fate, th' illusive dream destroy'd,
And stampt his doom; a chilling horror spread
Through every limb,—my wand'ring senses fled;
Cold as a rock, whence drips the melting snow,
I sat, a silent monument of woe.
No muse attended then to grace his urn,
Whilst kindred nature claim'd her right to mourn;
And mourn'd thou wast; these eyes yet dim will prove,
The heartfelt tribute paid to friendly love.
Now sorrow milder grown, more calm the mind,
Enjoys the grief, that time has left behind;
Yet still the tears shall stream through many an hour,
For time in vain opposes nature's power.
Too keen for human bliss, remembrance wings
The shafts of anguish, and our bosoms stings;
Departed joys, like sleep-form'd phantoms rise,
Press round the heart, and prompt uncall'd-for sighs.
For whilst some former scene the mind beguiles,
Where social plea ure liv'd in Clevland's smiles,
Grief whispers to the soul, and shews his urn,
No more shall Clevland's social hour return.
Ah! memory stop, nor lead me to the vales,
Where Clevland's genial spirit warm'd the gales;
Where oft with him at noon, or eve, or dawn,
I climb'd the hills, or trac'd the groves and lawn,
Where hospitality with smiles receiv'd
The way-worn guest, and untold wants reliev'd;
Bright with the beams of joy, each eye was seen,
Smiles spoke content, and all was bliss serene.
Now death-bred horror pours her shades around,
And dreary phantoms stalk o'er all the ground.
His mansion, once the seat of gay delight,
Now gloom-encirled, wounds the ling'ring sight.
See where the menial band forlorn repine,
And favour'd friends, grief's solemn chorus join,

Borne

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Borne on the breeze, the mournful accents flow,
And echo multiplies the notes of woe.
Sad to my soul the once lov'd scenes appear,
Where joy began and pleasure crown'd the year.
Yet not alone to joy's serener shores,
Regret, through sorrow's waves, her track explores;
Far other scenes, to mem'ry still more dear,
With keener anguish force the gushing tear.
'Twas thine, when tortur'd by disease I lay,
And sorrow's clouds o'erspread the ling'ring day;
'Twas thine, by cheering smiles, and pious care,
To calm my pangs, and quell the fiend despair.
By day, by night, thy constant friendship tried
Each soothing art, and untold wants supplied.
Perhaps the fev'rish joyless life I boast,
But for thy smiles and cares had now been lost.
Why, when thy vital spirit struggling fled,
Did fate deny me to attend thy bed?
My cares, perhaps, had check'd death's ruthless pow'r,
Won thee to life, or sooth'd thy parting hour;
Some wish, perhaps, within that bosom strove,
Sacred to friendship, or expiring love;
But Heav'n forbade me to receive thy sighs,
Nor gave these hands to close my Clevland's eyes.
How teeming fancy wrings the tortured breast,
When the soul sinks, by sorrow's weight opprest.
Perhaps a widow'd parent's woes demand,
To sooth their pangs a filial heart and hand,
Or, whelm'd beneath misfortune's baneful shade,
An absent brother claims fraternal aid;
Or sunk perhaps in death's eternal night,
Nor parent now, nor brother view the light.
Ah! trust not man, to life's uncertain date,
Dark are the ways, and dire the stroke of fate.
E'en while the soul with bliss dilated glows,
And the full pulse with tides of rapture flows,
Death rushes in, with unresisted sway,
Bursts some dear tie, and sweeps our joys away.
Come virtue, then, the funeral wreath entwine,
A blooming wreath to deck my Clevland's shrine;
And whilst affliction fondly sounds his name,
What virtue dictates let the muse proclaim.
" Ye who the giddy maze of joy pursue,
" And thoughtless join mirth's ever smiling crew,
" Who listless hear misfortune's feeble calls;
" Ye base-born souls, whom lust of wealth enthrals,
" Who whilst your stores in golden prospect rise,
" Turn from the widow's tears and orphan's cries;
" Ye who for interest trace the paths of guile,
" And mould, as flattery prompts, th' obedient smile;

" Approach

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" Approach the sacred tomb where Clevland lies,
" And learn the worth that calls forth virtue's sighs.
" By nature form'd for ev'ry social part,
" Mild were his manners, and sincere his heart;
" Benevolence in every feature shone,
" And virtuous friendship hail'd him as her own.
" Tho' not to him, to shine with wit 'twas giv'n,
" Or soar with genius eagle-plum'd to heav'n,
" Prudence with vigour, sense with temper join'd,
" In true proportions, mark'd his steady mind.
" In honour firm, and just in all his ways,
" The public voice bestow'd unenvied praise:
" Chearful each act of social life he prov'd,
" And died lamented, as he liv'd belov'd.
" How would his eyes with glist'ning pity glow,
" When broken accents sobb'd the tale of woe.
" When friendship fortune-wreckt in silence pin'd,
" His aid unsought, reliev'd the tortured mind.
" Daughters of misery, who lowly bend
" Beneath affliction's yoke, lament your friend.
" And you, the sons of penury, proclaim,
" With tears unfeign'd, your lov'd protector's name;
" Tell how his lib'ral heart and lavish hand
" Dispers'd your cares, and blest the grateful land.
" Cold is that bounteous heart, that hand no more
" Shall clothe the naked, nor relieve the poor.
" Ah see! relentless poverty return,
" Reclaim her victims, and insult his urn.
" Let hist'ry tell the deeds his wisdom plann'd,
" His bloodless triumphs o'er a barb'rous land.
" Bright in his hand, the sword of justice gleam'd,
" But merty from his eyes benignant beam'd,
" And mercy won the cause; the savage band
" Forsook their haunts and bow'd to his command.
" And where the warrior's arm in vain assail'd,
" His gentler skill o'er brutal force prevail'd.
" As some fond sire instructs his darling son,
" With fost'ring care he led wild nature on;
" And now, where rapine mark'd the blood-stain'd field
" The well-till'd glebes a smiling harvest yield;
" Now mended morals check the lust for spoil,
" And rising letters prove his gen'rous toil.
" The traveller secure pursues his way,
" Nor dreads the ruffian ambush'd for his prey,
" And gaping savages, with ravish'd eyes,
" See their lord's name in magic symbols rise.
" Humanity surveys her rights restor'd,
" And nations yield, subdued without a sword,
" Full many a breast by him to pity won,
" Shall mourn their tutor, lord, and parent gone.

" Ye

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" Ye kings who drive ambition's gore-stain'd car,
" And boast the conquests of destructive war;
" Here learn how far benevolence exceeds
" War's boasted triumphs, and the warrior's deeds:
" By Clevland taught, oh! seek a nobler name,
" And let recorded mercies stamp your fame!"
The muse has paus'd,—affliction now returns,
For Clevland dead, unextinguished, burns:
Oh! if thy soul, releas'd from earthly ties,
Still feels our joys or mixes with our sighs,
(E'en now, perhaps, thy viewless shade surveys,
The pangs that nature, true to friendship, pays),
The general sigh that bursts for merit lost,
Shall sweetly soothe thy melancholy ghost.

TRANSLATION OF A PERSIAN ODE,

Written by the still nominal Emperor of Hindustân, SHAH ALLUM, *during his confinement, after his eyes had been put out by the traitor* GOLAAM KHADER.

BY M. SYMES, ESQ. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL IN THE 76TH REG. OF FOOT.

(First translated into the Europ. Mag. for May, 1797.)

THE angry storm now rises fast,
Hoarse howls around misfortune's blast,
Dispers'd abroad in desart air,
Borne on the gales of sad despair;
My pow'r, which lately shone so bright,
Sinks in the deepest shades of night;
Now blind I mourn, a prey to woe,
Bereft of every bliss below.
O'er India's fair extensive plain
Auspicious dawn'd my early reign:
Too soon the flatt'ring prospect fled;
Now sorrow shrouds this aged head:
No pow'r averts th' Almighty's doom;
Even martyr'd glory sought the tomb:
Ere Mecca's rightful lord expired,*
War's sacrilegious torch was fired;
As the blest spirit rose on high,
Ill-omen'd wailings rent the sky;
Heaven's orb assum'd a livid glare,
Pale meteors cross'd the troubl'd air.
Portending *Holy* † *Emaum's* fate,
From impious ‖ Yezzid's baneful hate;

Like

* Literally, *vanished.*
† The son of Mortiz Ally, who was slain at Kurbella.
‖ Yezzid, the son of Mauvia, who caused Emaum to be put to death.

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Like him I fell, from grandeur hurl'd,
The sov'reign of a subject world;
Oh! may this dread behest of Heav'n
An earnest prove of sins forgiven!
In treach'rous league the vengeful clans
Of base Moguls, and fierce Pitans,
Aw'd by no law, from duty free,
As faithless to their God as me,
In darkness laid th'infernal plan
With the low wretch of Hamaadan;
With *Bedar Beg, Illayer Khan,
And *Gull Mahammed*, hell's worst spawn:
Guileless myself, I fear'd no foes,
No doubts within my bosom rose;
With lavish hand that fiend I fed,
With blooming honours wreath'd his head;
But honour's wreath can never bind
In grateful ties th' ignoble mind;
The snake, whilst round my knees he clung,
Deep to the heart his monarch stung.
But, ah! the pang which rends my breast,
That anguish which invades my rest,
Not from my own misfortunes springs
SHARP MIS'RY IS THE LOT OF KINGS—
For her I grieve, who fondly shares
All my vicissitudes and cares;
Whose love, through each revolving year,
Still wip'd away affliction's tear,
Heighten'd my joys, and gently spread,
Its mantle o'er my drooping head.
Within the Haram's scented bow'rs
No more I'll waste the blissful hours;
No more shall hear the tuneful throng
Harmonious raise the enraptur'd song.
In the lone prison's dreary round
The night-owl wakes her mournful sound;
No courtiers crowd th' emblazon'd hall,
No ready menials wait my call;
My plaints, in ling'ring echoes die,
And the arch'd domes responsive sigh.
Here murder stalks, suspicion reigns,
Mysterious silence chills my veins;
Whilst darkness, with new terrors fraught
And solitude embitter thought.
Say, from the earth is virtue fled,
Justice withdrawn, and pity dead?
Go forth swift harbingers of fame,
Thro' the wide world these deeds proclaim:

Hence,

* Persons whom *Shah Allum* had raised from obscurity, and who proved traitorous.

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Hence, fly, and borne on silver wings,
Rouse by my wrongs the pride of kings.
Will royal Timour* tamely see
The insults sov'reigns bear thro' me?
Haste generous Scindiah, † haste, once more
O'er Delhi's plains your legions pour.
Has BRITISH JUSTICE, BRITONS' boast,
With HASTINGS ‡ left Hindustân's coast?
Are favours past remember'd not,
A ceded empire—all forgot?
Forgot the day when first they came,
And humbly urg'd the stranger's claim;
Poor wand'rers from a foreign shore,
By peaceful trade t' increase their store?
Oh, sad reverse! what ills await
On mortals' frail, uncertain, state!
Now low their benefactor bends,
For aid his feeble arms extends,
Implores protection 'gainst a slave,
From those to whom whole realms he gave.
Begs but a safe, obscure, retreat,
Some humble bow'r, sequester'd seat;
Or in the lonely silent cell
With holy dervishes to dwell.
Resign'd, the rushy couch he'll press,
And Britain's gen'rous children bless;
Without a grateful pray'r for those
His orisons will never close.
Vain wish! immers'd in anguish deep,
Unheard I mourn, unpitied weep;
No gleam of hope, with cheering ray,
Gilds my expiring streak of day;
Its parting beams pale lustre shed,
The shadowy veil of night is spread.
Come awful death! hail kindred gloom
For me no terrors shroud the tomb.
In death—all worldly sorrows end;
In death—the friendless find a friend;
In death the wearied seek repose;
And life—release from human woes.
At the glad summons pleas'd I'll fly,
For who so friendless, fallen, as I?
Revengeful man can ne'er invade
Th' inviolable realms of shade:
Ambition there can ne'er intrude,
Nor malice, nor ingratitude:

Their

* *Shah Allum* wrote a very pathetic letter to Timour of Persia, representing his situation, and soliciting aid against the usurpers.

† *Scindiah* had at this time been driven from the Northern provinces by the armies of *Ismael Beg*, and the rajahs of *Joynagur* and *Jynagur*.

‡ *Mr. Hastings*, it is well known, once cherished the noble design of emancipating the wretched monarch from his misery.

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There, mortal foes contention ceaſe,
Forget their feuds and ſleep in peace:
Freed from his chains, the toil-worn ſlave
Eſcapes from bondage to the grave;
There, there, I'll mock the tyrant's power,
And triumph in my lateſt hour.

AN EPITAPH *on the famous* JOB CHARNOCK.

Exactly tranſcribed from his Monument in the Old Cemetery of Calcutta,
(Written by Colonel G. IRONSIDE.)

JOB CHARNOCK was the firſt Engliſhman who made a conſpicuous figure in the political theatre of India. He was the founder of the Britiſh ſettlement at Calcutta; and may be ſaid to have laid the firſt ſtone of the mighty fabric of our Indian empire. We ſhall have occaſion, in the courſe of our Hiſtory, to give a particular account of this extraordinary man.

Of the third Inſcription, it has been juſtly obſerved by Mr. GLADWIN *, "that the European compoſer of it ſeems not to have recollected, that whatever pain women ſuffer from parturition in the colder regions, the curſe denounced on the northern daughters of Eve does not ſeem to be entailed, or at leaſt in a very ſlight degree only, on her deſcendants of the warmer climates."

D. O. M.
Jobus Charnock, Armigr.
Anglus, et nup. in hoc
Regno Bengalenſi
Digniſſim 9 Angloru
Agens.
Mortalitatis ſuæ exuvias
Sub hoc marmore depoſuit, ut
in ſpe beatæ reſurrectionis ad
Chriſti Judicis adventum
obdormirent.
Qui poſtquam in ſolo non
ſuo perigrinatus eſſet diu,
reverſus eſt domum ſuæ æternitatis decimo die Januarii,
1692.

Pariter Jacet
Maria, Jobi Primogenita,
Caroli Tyre Anglorum
Hicce Præfecti
Conjux Chariſſima,
Quæ obiit 19 die Febr.
A. D. 169⅚.

* See Mr. Gladwin's Miſcellany, printed at Calcutta.

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Hic Jacet
Catharina White
Dom^{i} Jonathanis White,
Uxor Dilectiſſima
Τῦ Μακαίτα & Jobi Charnock,
Filia natu minima;
Quæ primo in partu & ætatis flore,
Annum agens unum de vigenti,
Mortem obiit heu! imaturam
21 Januarii 170$^{9}_{1}$
Siſte parum per Chriſtiane Lector,
(Vel quiſquis eſtandem) & mecum deſle
Duram ſexûs muliebris ſortem,
Qui p^{r} elapſa tot annorum millia
Culpam Prim' Ævæ luit Parentis,
Et luet uſque; Dum eternu ſtabit
In dolore paries filios.
Gen. 3. 16.

The following LINES *are ſuppoſed to have been written by the late Sir* WILLIAM DRAPER.

On Clifton Down, and not far from the houſe of the late Sir Wm. DRAPER, ſtands a Cenotaph, conſiſting of a raiſed tomb ſupporting a large vaſe, with an urn on the top. On the ſide of the vaſe are the following verſes:

Siſte Gradum, ſi quæ eſt Britonum tibi cura, Viator
Siſte Gradum; vacuo recolas inſcripta ſepulcro
Triſtia Fata virum, quos bellicus ardor E'o'um
Proh dolor! haud unquam rediturus, miſit ad orbem;
Nec tibi ſit lugere pudor, ſi forte tuorum
Nomina nola leges, ſed cum terraque marique
Invictos heroum animos, et facta revolvas
Si patriæ te tangat amor, ſi fama Britannum,
Parce triumphales lacrymis aſpergere lauros.
Quin ſi Aſiæ penetrare ſinus, atque ultima Gangis
Pandere clauſtra pares, Indoſque laceſcere bello,
" Ex his virtutem diſcas, verumque laborem;
" Fortunam ex aliis————."

And beneath, on a tablet:—

Sacred
To the Memory of thoſe departed Warriors
of the Seventy-ninth Regiment,
By whoſe Valour, Diſcipline and Perſeverance,
The French Land Forces in Aſia,
were firſt withſtood and repulſed;

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The Commerce of Great Britain preſerved;
Her Settlements reſcued from impending Deſtruction.
The memorable Defence of MADRAS,
The deciſive Battle of WANDEWASH,
Twelve ſtrong and important Fortreſſes,
Three ſuperb Capitals,
ARCOT, PONDICHERRY, MANILLA,
And the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS,
are laſting Monuments of their Military Glory.
Their generous Treatment
of a vanquiſhed Enemy
Exhibits an Illuſtrious Example
Of true Fortitude and Moderation,
Worthy of being tranſmitted
to lateſt Poſterity,
That future Generations may know
Humanity is the Characteriſtic of
BRITISH CONQUERORS!

The ſides of the table are inſcribed with the names of the Officers of the 79th Regiment, who fell in Aſia:

Field Officers, C. Brereton, J. More.
Captains, Knutall, Stewart, Wingfield, Delaval, Chriſholm, Cheſhyre, Upfield, Strahan, Muir, Moore.
Lieutenants, Whaley, G. Browne, Hopkins, Robinſon, T. Browne, Le Grand, Winchelſea, Roſton, Campbell, Fryer, Turner, Richbell, Bouchier, Buſteed, Hardwick.
Enſigns, Collins, Vaſlette, La Tour, Horler, MacMahon.
Surgeons, Smith, Atherton.

At the ends of the tomb, in ſmall oval tables, is the following:

Siege of Madras raiſed	Feb. 17, 1759
Coryeveran taken by ſtorm	April 13, 1759
Battle of Wandewaſh gained	Jan. 22, 1760
Arcot recovered	Feb. 10, 1760
Corical taken	April 5, 1760
The Lines of Pondicherry ſtormed	Sept. 10, 1760
Pondicherry ſurrendered	Jan. 16, 1761
Manilla taken by ſtorm	Oct. 6 [illegible]

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AN

ACCOUNT OF BOOKS,

FOR THE YEAR 1799.

The Works of Sir WILLIAM JONES—*In Six Volumes, Quarto.* ROBINSONS, 1799.

THERE never was a publication which more demanded the inveſtigation of the Oriental Critic, than the one now before us—whether we conſider the character of the writer, the curioſity and importance of the ſubjects that are diſcuſſed, or the manner in which they are handled. The greater part of the tracts contained in theſe volumes, have, indeed, been in the poſſeſſion of the public for theſe ſome years back; but we believe they have never yet been examined with that attention which they merit. It is, therefore, with no ſmall degree of regret, that we feel ourſelves conſtrained to poſtpone a particular criticiſm upon them until next year; both becauſe the intereſting political occurrences of this year have already ſwelled our volume greatly beyond the ordinary bounds of a periodical work, and becauſe ſuch a criticiſm muſt neceſſarily occupy a conſiderable ſpace. For theſe reaſons, we truſt our readers will, in the mean time, be ſatisfied with a general account of the contents of SIR WILLIAM JONES's works, and with having ſuch parts of them pointed out as peculiarly deſerve the notice of the Student in Aſiatic Literature, the Philoſophical Lawyer, and the Politician.

To the firſt volume the Editor has prefixed the Diſcourſe delivered by Lord TEIGNMOUTH to the Aſiatic Society, on the death of their illuſtrious Preſident—a production which does credit to the feelings and talents of its Author.

This volume contains the whole of Sir William's Diſcourſes to the Aſiatic Society that are publiſhed in their Reſearches. In the Preliminary Diſcourſe, he opens the plan of the Inſtitution, by taking a comprehenſive view of its nature and object, and by ſhewing, with equal truth, ability and eloquence, the beneficial effects, which, through induſtry and perſeverance, it would infallibly produce. And it is, perhaps, the higheſt praiſe we can beſtow on this performance, to say, that the hopes which it expreſſes are now completely realized.

In the ſecond Anniverſary Diſcourſe, he developes more fully the principles of thoſe ſubjects which it

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belonged to the Society to inveſtigate, and draws a general and pleaſing picture of the ſtate of the Arts and Sciences in Aſia, which he repreſents as containing many hidden treaſures, that, when brought to light, would not only be valuable to philoſophy, but ſerviceable to the political and commercial intereſts of mankind. With regard to the progreſs which the human mind has made in Aſia, he juſtly obſerves, —"To form an exact parallel between the works and actions of the Weſtern and Eaſtern worlds, would require a tract of no inconſiderable length; but we may decide on the whole, that reaſon and taſte are the grand prerogatives of European minds, while the Aſiatics have ſoared to loftier flights in the ſphere of imagination. The civil hiſtory of their vaſt empires, and of India in particular, muſt be highly intereſting to our common country; but we have a ſtill nearer intereſt in knowing all former modes of ruling *theſe inеſtimable provinces*, on the proſperity of which ſo much of our national welfare and individual benefit ſeems to depend."

The third Anniverſary Diſcourſe contains an elegant epitome of the natural hiſtory of the Hindûs. He commences with a geographical deſcription of India, upon the moſt enlarged ſcale, which he conſiders nearly equal in extent to the continent of Europe. He then proceeds to give a few outlines of the character of the Hindûs, and quotes a beautiful paſſage from the geographical poem of *Dionyſius*, to prove that this extraordinary people have not changed either in their appearance or manners, during a long courſe of ages. The learned Preſident next obſerves, that their civil hiſtory, "beyond the middle of the nineteenth century, from the preſent time, involved in a cloud of fables," and that we poſſeſs only four general *media* of ſatisfying our curioſity concerning it, namely, "their *languages* and *letters*, their *philoſophy* and *religion*, their old *ſculpture* and *architecture*, and the written memorials of their *ſciences* and *arts*." Of all theſe he gives a moſt learned and intereſting account; and from the whole he draws this concluſion, "that the Hindûs had an immemorial affinity with the old Perſians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians; the Phœnicians, Greeks, and Tuſcans; the Scythians or Goths, and Celts; the Chineſe, Japaneſe, and Peruvians; and that, as no reaſon appears for believing that they were a colony from any one of thoſe nations, or any of thoſe nations from them, it may be fairly inferred that they all proceeded from ſome central country."

The fourth Diſcourſe gives a conciſe account of the Arabs previous to the Mahommedan revolution, together with ſome admirable philological remarks on their language, and ſome obſervations on their ancient religion, monuments and arts. Of their religion, he obſerves, "We may ſafely pronounce, that before the introduction of Mahommedaniſm, the noble and learned Arabs were Theiſts, but that a ſtupid idolatry prevailed among the lower orders of the people: that, until their emigration, no trace of any philoſophy but *Ethicks* is to be found among them; and that even their ſyſtem of morals, generous and enlarged as it ſeems to have been in the minds of a few illuſtrious chieftains, was on the whole miſerably depraved for a century, at *leaſt*, before Mahommed."—"The diſtinguiſhing virtues, which they boaſted of inculcating and practiſing, were, a contempt of riches, and even of death; but in the age of the *ſeven poets*, their liberality had deviated

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deviated into wild profusion, their courage into ferocity, and their patience into an obstinate spirit of encountering fruitless dangers."

Talking of the monuments of antiquity preserved in Arabia, he gives the following description of the famous CABAH at MECCA:

"The *Câbah*, or *quadrangular edifice*, at *Mecca*, is indisputably so ancient, that its original use, and the name of its founder, are lost in a cloud of idle traditions. An Arab gravely told me, it was raised by ABRAHAM, who, as I assured him, was never there: others ascribe it, with more probability, to ISMAEL, or one of his immediate descendants; but whether it was built as a place of divine worship, as a fortress, as a sepulchre, or as a monument of the treaty between the old possessors of Arabia, and the sons of KIDAR, antiquaries may dispute, but no mortal can determine."—He then observes, "that it is probable the *Câbah* was originally designed for religious purposes;" * * * "but that this temple, the sanctity of which was restored by Mahommed, had been strangely profaned at the time of his birth, when it was usual to decorate its wall with poems on all subjects."

As to the arts and sciences of the Arabs, he says, "That the manners of the *Hejázi* Arabs which have continued, we know, from the time of SOLOMON to the present age, were by no means favourable to the cultivation of arts; and with regard to sciences, there is no reason to believe that they were acquainted with any; for the mere amusement of giving names to stars, which were useful to them in their pastoral or predatory rambles through the deserts, and in their observations on the weather, can hardly be considered as a material part of astronomy."

The result of the learned Author's inquiries concerning Arabia seems to confirm the hypothesis, that the Hindûs and Arabs are totally distinct races of people; but that a commercial intercourse had subsisted between them from time immemorial.

Tartary, which an elegant writer has, by a strong metaphor, denominated the *foundery of the human race*, is the subject of the learned President's fifth Discourse. He gives a general but accurate description of that vast region; he takes a view of the manners of its inhabitants; of their languages and letters; of their progress in civilization; of the spirit of their religion and laws; of their civil history; of their ancient monuments; and of their proficiency in arts and sciences antecedent to the age of *Zengiz Khân*: and the general corollary which he forms from the whole of the facts and circumstances brought forward in this and the two preceding Discourses, is to the following effect; namely, "That the far greater part of Asia has been peopled, and immemorially possessed by three considerable nations, called *Hindûs*, *Arabs*, and *Tartars*; each of them divided and sub-divided into an infinite number of branches, and all of them so different in form and features, language, manners, and religion, that if they sprang originally from a common root, they must have been separated for ages."

In his sixth Discourse he describes the ancient empire of *Irân*, better known by the name of Persia, and gives a deeply-learned and most masterly dissertation on the three dialects of that country, the *Zend*, the *Pahlavi*, and the *Pârsi*. The *Zend* and *Old Pahlavi*, he informs us, "are almost extinct in *Irân*: for among six or seven thousand *Gabrs*, who reside chiefly at *Yezd*, and in *Cirmân*, there are very few who can read *Pahlavi*, and scarce any who even boast of knowing the *Zend*; while the *Pârsi*, which remains almost pure in the *Shâhnâmah*, has now become, by the intermixture of numberless Arabic words, and many imperceptible changes, a new language, exquisitely polished

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by a ſeries of fine writers in proſe and verſe, and analogous to the different idioms gradually formed in Europe, after the ſubverſion of the Roman empire." This laſt language, ſo formed, is that which is written and ſpoken by the modern Perſians, and which is as generally underſtood in all the poliſhed nations of Aſia, but particularly in India, as the French is in Europe: it is the current language of courts, and that in which all ſtate affairs are tranſacted. The *Zend*, which was the learned language of ancient Perſia, and in which Zeratuſht or Zoroaſter* wrote, Sir WILLIAM JONES inconteſtibly proves to have been a dialect of the *Sanſcrit*. And he is decidedly of opinion that the *Pahlavi* was derived from the *Chaldaick*.

Of the primeval religion of *Irân* he obſerves, "That it was that which Sir ISAAC NEWTON calls the oldeſt of all religions, namely, 'a firm belief that one Supreme God made the world by his power, and continually governed it by his providence; a pious fear, love, and adoration of him; a due reverence for parents and aged perſons; a paternal affection for the whole human ſpecies, and a compaſſionate tenderneſs even for the brute creation."—Nothing ſurely can be more truly ſublime than ſuch a ſyſtem of devotion; "a ſyſtem which," as Sir William well obſerves, "was too pure to be of long duration among mortals." It was ſucceeded by the theology of Zoroaſter, which was, in fact, a corruption of the Brahmanical ſyſtem.

Reſpecting the metaphyſical theology of the *Sufis*, he gives the following account: "Their fundamental tenets," ſays he, "are, that nothing exiſts *abſolutely* but God: that the human ſoul is an emanation from his eſſence, and, though divided for a time from its heavenly ſource, will be finally reunited with it; that the higheſt poſſible happineſs will ariſe from its re-union; and that the chief good of mankind in this tranſitory world conſiſts in as perfect an *union* with the eternal ſpirit as the incumbrances of a mortal frame will allow; that, for this purpoſe, they ſhould break all connection with extrinſic objects, and paſs through life without *attachments*, as a ſwimmer in the ocean ſtrikes freely without the impediments of clothes; that they ſhould be ſtraight and free as the cypreſs, whoſe fruit is hardly perceptible, and not ſink under a load like fruit trees *attached* to a trellis; that if mere earthly charms have power to influence the ſoul, the *idea* of celeſtial beauty muſt overwhelm it in extatic delight; that, for want of apt words to expreſs the divine perfections and the ardour of devotion, we muſt borrow ſuch expreſſions as approach the neareſt to our ideas, and ſpeak of *beauty* and *love* in a tranſcendant and myſtical ſenſe; that, like a reed torn from its native bank, like wax ſeparated from its delicious honey, the ſoul of man bewails its diſunion with *melancholy muſic*, and ſheds burning tears, like the lighted taper, waiting paſſionately for the moment of its extinction, as a diſengagement from earthly trammels, and the means of returning to its *only beloved*." "Such, in part," continues the Learned Preſident, for I omit the minute and more ſubtle metaphyſics of the *Sufis*, (which are

* *M. Anquetil du Perron*, the author of the *Zendaveſtà*, which he aſſerts was written by *Zoroaſter*, but which is, in fact, a mere modern fabrication, has given vocabularies of the Zend and Pahlavi dialects, that the Parſis at Surat enabled him to compile, and that confirms the opinion of Sir William Jones.

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are mentioned in the *Dabiſtàn*,) "is the wild and enthuſiaſtic religion of the modern Perſian poets, eſpecially of the ſweet *Hafiz*, and the great *Maulavi*. Such is the ſyſtem of the *Védánti* philoſophers and beſt Lyric poets of India; and as it was a ſyſtem of the higheſt antiquity in both nations, it may be added to the many other proofs of an immemorial affinity between them."

He then takes notice of the ruins of *Perſepolis*, the ſtyle of which, he juſtly obſerves, is very different from that of the Hindû architecture, which he endeavours to account for, upon the hypotheſis, that the Hindûs migrated from Irân, and that thoſe buildings had been erected ſubſequent to the period of their emigration; an hypotheſis which we conceive to be more ſpecious than ſolid, but which we ſhall not now ſtop to inveſtigate.

Of the ſciences and arts of the ancient Perſians, he obſerves, "that though there be ſome looſe accounts regarding them, *no complete evidence of them ſeems to exiſt.*" From all theſe premiſes, he draws a concluſion which we do not think they warrant, and which appears to us extremely fanciful.

We may, ſays he, hold this propoſition firmly eſtabliſhed: that Perſia, in its largeſt ſenſe, was the true centre of population, of knowledge, of languages, and of arts; which, inſtead of travelling weſtward only, as it has been fancifully ſuppoſed, or eaſtward, as might with equal reaſon have been expected, were expanded in all directions, to all the regions of the world in which the Hindû race had ſettled, under various denominations.

The ſeventh Diſcourſe treats of the Chineſe; reſpecting whom he confines himſelf to a philoſophical inquiry into their origin, which he traces to the ſame ſource as that of the Hindûs. And he obſerves, in our opinion with the moſt perfect accuracy, that the *Buddha* of the Hindûs was unqueſtionably the *Foe* of China. There is indeed ſufficient evidence now in our poſſeſſion, to juſtify us in ſaying, without reſerve, that the religion of the Chineſe and Japaneſe is, with a few inconſiderable exceptions, the ſame in its principles as that of the avowed followers of *Buddha* in the iſland of Ceylon, in the Pegue or Burman empire, in Siam, and in Butan and Thibet. This religion is ſuppoſed to have been introduced into China about the firſt century of the Chriſtian æra.

Previous to which period, ſays Sir WILLIAM, they had an ancient ſyſtem of ceremonies and ſuperſtitions, which the government and philoſophers appear to have encouraged, and which has an apparent affinity with ſome parts of the oldeſt Indian worſhip.—As to the religious opinions of Confucius and his followers, a notion may be gleaned from the fragments of their works tranſlated by Couplet: They profeſſed a firm belief in the Supreme God, and demonſtrated his being, and providence, from the beauty and perfection of the celeſtial bodies, and the wonderful order of nature in the whole fabric of the viſible world. From this belief they deduced a ſyſtem of Ethics, which the philoſopher ſums up in a few words: He, ſays Confucius, who ſhall be fully perſuaded that the Lord of Heaven governs the univerſe, who ſhall in all things chooſe moderation, who ſhall perfectly know his own ſpecies, and ſo act among them that his life and manners may conform to his knowledge of God and man, may be truly ſaid to diſcharge all the duties of a ſage, and to be far exalted above the common herd of the human race.

In the eighth Diſcourſe he takes a wide ſurvey of the Borderers, Mountaineers, and Iſlanders of Aſia. He commences in the Red Sea; and, after making ſome remarks on the Abyſſinians, and paying a juſt compliment to the talents and accuracy of the celebrated Mr. Bruce, he encircles all Aſia, obſerving the characters, languages, and religions of the inhabitants of its principal iſlands and mountains; and concludes with a general deſcription of the ancient Greeks

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Greeks and Phrygians, and of the islanders in the Mediterranean.

His ninth Discourse, *On the Origin of Families and Nations*, forms a general corollary to the foregoing Dissertations, and is certainly the most ingenious, and not the least learned or finished of his lucubrations on Asiatic literature: But whether his reasoning be as conclusive as, it is plausible, is a question of too much importance to be lightly discussed, and which we shall therefore postpone until a future occasion. It is sufficient at present to observe, that he endeavours to establish the hypothesis, that all the various races of mankind originally migrated from Persia. His concluding paragraph, however, contains so much truth, expressed with so much force and elegance, that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of citing it.

My design, says he, of tracing the origin and progress of the five principal nations who have peopled Asia, and of whom there were considerable remains, in their several countries, at the time of Mahommed's birth, is now accomplished; succinctly, from the nature of these essays; imperfectly, from the darkness of the subject, and scantiness of my materials; but clearly and comprehensively enough to form a basis for subsequent researches. You have seen, as distinctly as I am able to shew, *who* those nations originally were, *whence* and *when* they removed toward their final stations; and in our future Annual Discourses, I propose to enlarge on the particular advantages to our country and to mankind, which may result from our sedulous and united inquiries into the history, science, and arts of these Asiatic regions, especially of the British dominions in India, which we may consider as the centre (not of the human race, but) of our common exertions to promote its true interests; and we shall concur, I trust, in opinion, that the race of man, to advance whose manly happiness is our duty, and will of course be our endeavour, cannot long be happy without virtue, nor actively virtuous without freedom, nor securely free without rational knowledge.

Asiatic history, civil and natural, is the subject of his tenth Discourse. He begins with civil history, contrary to the rule laid down by Lord Bacon, and gives a general outline of it. He informs us, "that all our historical researches have confirmed the *Mosaic* accounts of the primitive world;" and he well observes, "that our testimony on that subject ought to have the greater weight; because, if the result of our observations had been totally different, we should nevertheless have published them, not indeed with equal pleasure, but with equal confidence; for TRUTH IS MIGHTY, and, whatever be its consequences, must always prevail." Respecting India, he says,

That no Hindû nation but the Cashmirians have left us regular histories in their ancient language, but that from Sanscrit literature we may still collect some rays of historical truth. The numerous *Puranas* and *Itihâsas*, or poems mythological and heroic, are completely in our power; and from them we recover some disfigured but valuable pictures of ancient manners and governments, while the popular tales of the Hindûs in prose and verse contain fragments of history; and even in their dramas we may find as many real characters and events as a future age might find in our own plays, if all histories of England were, like those of India, to be irrecoverably lost.

He then observes,

That the first Puràna contains an account of the deluge, between which and the Mahommedan conquests, the history of genuine Hindû government must of course be comprehended. That as to the modern history of India, which commences with the Mogul conquests, we have ample accounts in Persian, from *Ali of Yezd*, from the translations of Turkish books composed by some of the conquerors, and from *Gholaum Hussain**. From all these materials,

* *Gholaum Hussain*'s work, intitled *Seer Mutaquerin*, or the History of the Present Times, has been translated into English a few years ago, by *Mustapha*, a very singular character, who at present resides in Calcutta. A few copies only of the English version were printed at Calcutta: And it is a work entirely

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materials, says Sir William, and from *these alone*, a perfect history of India might be collected by any studious man, who had a competent knowledge of *Sanscrit*, *Persian*, and *Arabic*.

Having enlarged a good deal on these important topics, he gives a sketch of the geography, chronology, and natural history of Asia, on all of which he throws a new and a clear light, which cannot fail of ultimately conducting us to the fountains of truth. He concludes with the following remarks on the mechanical arts, which merit the peculiar attention of politicians and merchants.

Europeans enumerate more than two hundred and fifty mechanical arts, by which the productions of nature may be variously prepared for the convenience and ornament of life; and, the *Silpasástra* (a Hindú work on the subject) reduce them to sixty-four; yet *Abul Fazel* (the celebrated author of the *Ayin Akbarry*,) had been assured, that the Hindús reckoned three hundred arts and sciences: now, their sciences being comparatively few, we may conclude, that they anciently practised at least as many useful arts as ourselves. Several Pandits have informed me, that the treatises on art, which they call *Upavèdas*, and believe to have been inspired, are not so entirely lost, but that considerable fragments of them may be found at Benares; and they certainly possess many popular works on that interesting subject. The manufacturers of sugar and indigo, have been well known in these provinces for more than two thousand years; and we cannot entertain a doubt, that their Sanscrit books on dying and metallurgy contain very curious facts, which might indeed be discovered by accident, in a long course of years, but which we may soon bring to light, by the help of Indian literature, for the benefit of manufacturers and artists, and consequently of our nation, who are interested in their prosperity.

The eleventh, and last Discourse, which Sir William Jones delivered about six weeks before his death, was on the Philosophy of the Asiatics, of which he gives a very full and copious account; but from which we shall not at present make any extracts, because the subject is far too abstruse to be interesting to the great majority of our readers, and because we have not room to comment on it with that precision and minuteness which it demands.

Upon the whole, these Discourses must be esteemed the most valuable of all Sir William Jones's writings. Taken collectively, they add largely to the stock of general knowledge; for they contain a variety of new and curious materials, whereby the philosopher may illustrate the history of man, and the politician may advance the wealth, prosperity, and happiness of nations. As to the style of these dissertations, it is always easy, flowing, perspicuous, and highly classical; sometimes rising into eloquence, and never sinking into tameness: yet it is occasionally tedious, owing to an extreme amplification of the periods; a mode of writing in which *Cicero* indeed excelled, but which is certainly unsuitable to the genius of our language. Even Clarendon's "*period of a mile*," (as Hayley terms it,) is often feeble, notwithstanding that fire and energy of mind which he unquestionably possessed; and we therefore think Sir William judged ill, in endeavouring to imitate him. The capacious and associating minds, however, of both these great men, had a natural tendency to lapse into such a style.

The next Tract in the first volume of Sir William Jones's Works, is a Dissertation on the Orthography of Asiatic Words, in Roman Letters, a subject that ought to be strictly attended to by students in Oriental literature,

entirely unknown in this country, except to one or two gentlemen who have brought copies of it with them from Bengal. We shall have occasion in the course of our annual labours, to make copious extracts from it.

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literature, as the caprice shewn by different writers in spelling Asiatic words, has occasioned great confusion, and many mistakes. The learned author's orthography appears to us to be the most correct; and it will be found that we have pretty nearly adhered to it throughout our Work. We will not now enter into any comparison of his system with that of other eminent writers; but it is surely essential that some system or other should be strictly adhered to by all writers on the affairs of Asia.

His next Dissertation is on the *Gods of Greece, Italy*, and *India;* wherein he enters into a most learned and ingenious investigation to prove the affinity between the systems of Polytheism that prevailed among the Greeks and Romans, and the popular worship of the Hindûs; and, moreover, to shew that in fact they resembled the strange religions of Egypt, China, Persia, Phrygia, Phœnicia, Syria, and, *perhaps*, some of the islands and northern kingdoms of America: that as to the Gothic system which prevailed in the northern regions of Europe, it was not *merely similar* to those of Greece and Italy, but almost the same in another dress, with an embroidery of images apparently Asiatic. He then draws a curious parallel between the Gods of the Indian and European heathens, and infers from it, that a connection actually subsisted between the old idolatrous nations of Egypt, India, Greece, and Italy, "*long before they emigrated to their several settlements*, and consequently before the birth of Moses; but that the truth of this proposition in no degree affects the truth and sanctity of the Mosaic history, which, if confirmation were necessary, it would rather tend to confirm." He concludes this dissertation with the following remarks, which we know to be founded in truth, and which the ZEALOUS ADVOCATES for the propagation of the Christian faith would do well to read with attention.

As to the general extension, says he, of our pure faith in Hindustan, there are at present many sad obstacles to it. The *Mussulmans* are already a sort of heterodox Christians: They are Christians, if Locke reasons justly; because they firmly believe the immaculate conception, divine character, and miracles of the MESSIAH; but they are heterodox, in denying vehemently his character of SON, and his equality as GOD with the FATHER, of whose unity and attributes they entertain and express the most awful ideas; while they consider our doctrine as perfect blasphemy, and insist that our copies of the Scriptures have been corrupted both by *Jews* and *Christians*. It will be inexpressibly difficult to undeceive them, and scarce possible to diminish their veneration for MAHOMMED or ALI, who were both very extraordinary men, and the second, a man of unexceptionable morals: The KORAN shines indeed with a borrowed light, since most of its beauties are taken from our Scriptures; but it has great beauties, and the Mussulmans will not be convinced that they were borrowed. The Hindûs, on the other hand, would readily admit the truth of the Gospel; but they contend that it is perfectly consistent with their *Sastras*; the Deity, they say, has appeared innumerable times, in many parts of this world, and of all worlds, for the salvation of his creatures; and though we adore him in one appearance, and they in others, yet we adore, they say, the same God, to whom our several worships, though different in form, are equally acceptable, if they be sincere in substance. We may assure ourselves, that neither *Mussulmans* nor *Hindûs* will ever be converted by any mission from the Church of Rome, or from any other church; and the only human method, *perhaps*, of causing so great a revolution, will be to translate into *Sanscrit* and *Persian*, such chapters of the Prophets, particularly of ISAIAH, as are indisputably Evangelical, together with one of the Gospels, and a plain prefatory discourse, containing full evidence of the very distant ages in which the predictions themselves, and the history of the Divine Person predicted, were severally made public; and then quietly to dispose the work among the well-educated natives, with whom, if in due time it failed of producing very salutary fruit by its sacred influence,

influence; we could only lament more than ever the ſtrength of prejudice, and the weakneſs of unaſſiſted reaſon.

An Inquiry into the Chronology of the Hindûs, comes next; and our author fathoms the ſubject with conſiderable ability. He leaves no part of it unexplored: and he diſplays a very extenſive and accurate knowledge of aſtronomical ſcience. The ſubject certainly merited all the attention which he has beſtowed upon it; and we ſhall take another opportunity of examining this diſſertation with minute ſcrupuloſity. In the mean while it will be ſatisfactory to cite his own concluſion, which is to this effect, namely,

That he has traced the foundation of the Indian empire, above three thouſand eight hundred years from the preſent time; but that, on a ſubject in itſelf ſo obſcure, and ſo much clouded with the fictions of the Brahmans, who, to aggrandize themſelves, have deſignedly raiſed their antiquity beyond the truth, we muſt be ſatisfied with probable conjecture, and juſt reaſoning from the beſt attainable data; nor can we hope for a ſyſtem of Indian Chronology, to which no objection can be made, unleſs the Aſtronomical books in Sanſcrit, ſhall clearly aſcertain the places of the colures, in ſome preciſe years of the hiſtorical age.

A moſt learned and ſcientific *Diſſertation on the antiquity of the Indian Zodiack* follows the above inquiry; and he has demonſtrated, in the moſt ſatisfactory manner, in confutation of the opinion maintained by the ingenious *M. Montúcla*, "that the Indian diviſion of the *Zodiack* was not borrowed from the *Greeks* or *Arabs*, but has been known by the Hindûs from time immemorial, and was probably invented by the firſt progenitors of that race, before diſperſion."

His next Tract is on the *Literature of the Hindûs*, in which he gives a ſucciné account of the principal books extant among them, taken from a Sanſcrit book, intituled, *A View of Learning*, communicated to him by a learned *Pandit*. To this account he has ſubjoined an intereſting commentary, ſhewing the progreſs which the Brahmans have made both in *practical* and *ſpeculative* knowledge. Among a variety of very curious facts, he informs us, "that *Mohſani Fánt*, the author of the *Dabiſtán*, deſcribes in his firſt chapter a race of old Perſian ſages, who appear, from the whole of his account, to have been Hindûs; and we cannot doubt that the book of *Mahábád* or *Menu*, which was written," he ſays, "*in a celeſtial dialect*, means the *Véda*; ſo that as *Zoroaſter* was only a reformer, we find in India the true ſource of the ancient Perſian religion. From the *Védas*," continues Sir William, "are immediately deduced the practical arts of *chirurgery* and *medicine*, *muſic*, *dancing*, and *archery*, which compriſe the whole art of *war* and *architecture*, under which the ſyſtem of mechanical arts is included."—"Infinite advantage may be derived by Europeans, from the various medical books in Sanſcrit, which contain the names and deſcriptions of Indian *plants* and *minerals*, with their uſes, diſcovered by experience, in curing diſorders." Of the Sanſcrit language he obſerves, "that its proſody contains almoſt all the meaſures of the Greek; and that it is remarkable, that the language of the Brahmans runs very naturally into *Sapphicks*, *Alcaicks*, and *Iambicks*." Aſtronomical works in this language are exceedingly numerous: ſeventy-nine of them are ſpecified in one liſt; and if they contain the names of the principal ſtars viſible in India, with obſervations on their poſitions in different ages, what diſcoveries may be made in ſcience, and what certainty attained in ancient chronology?"

The other tracts in the firſt volume

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lume conſiſt of ſome *Remarks on the Second Claſſical Book of the Chineſe;* of a *Scientific Diſſertation on the Lunar Year of the Hindûs;* of a *Treatiſe on the Muſical Modes of the Hindûs;* of a *Philological Account of the Myſtical Poetry of the Perſians and Hindûs;* of an *Account of the Iſland of Hinzuan;* of a *Converſation with an Abyſſinian, concerning the City of Gwender and the Source of the Nile;* of ſome *Remarks on the Courſe of the Nile;* of a *Treatiſe on the Indian Game of Cheſs;* and of five or ſix ſhort Miſcellaneous Eſſays on Oriental ſubjects. Of theſe tracts, that on the muſical modes of the Hindûs is the moſt intereſting, and by far the moſt elegant; but all of them contain much curious information, and manifeſt the univerſal learning and ſtrenuous diligence of their author.

The ſecond volume of theſe works contains ſeveral valuable Botanical Eſſays, compriſing obſervations on Indian plants, together with a catalogue of them, giving their *Sanſcrit*, and as many of their *Linnæan* names as could with any degree of preciſion be aſcertained. After theſe eſſays, follows his celebrated *Grammar of the Perſian Language*, the univerſally acknowledged merits of which render it altogether uſeleſs to praiſe. The preface to the Grammar is the moſt maſterly, ſpirited, and elegant of all Sir William Jones's philological compoſitions; and we earneſtly recommend an attentive peruſal of it to all ſtudents in the Oriental languages, and to all young gentlemen who mean to ſeek their fortunes in India: and as an incentive to ſuch as may not have read this admirable performance, to cultivate Aſiatic literature, we ſhall cite the following paſſages.

There are, ſays he, a variety of cauſes which have concurred to obſtruct the progreſs of eaſtern literature. Some men never heard of the Aſiatic writings: and others will not be convinced that there is any thing valuable in them: ſome pretend to be buſy, and others are really ſo: ſome deteſt the Perſians, becauſe they believe in Mahommed; and others deſpiſe their language, becauſe they do not underſtand it: we all love to excuſe, or to conceal our ignorance, and are ſeldom willing to allow any excellence beyond the limits of our own attainments: like the ſavages, who thought that the ſun roſe and ſet for them alone, and could not imagine that the waves, which ſurrounded their iſland, left coral and pearls on any other ſhore. Another obvious reaſon for the neglect of the Perſian language, is the great ſcarcity of books, which are neceſſary to be read, before it can be perfectly learned: the greater part of them are preſerved in the different muſeums and libraries of Europe; where they are ſhewn more as objects of curioſity, than as ſources of information; and are admired, like the characters on a Chineſe ſcreen, more for their gay colours, than for their meaning. Thus, while the excellent writings of Greece and Rome are ſtudied by every man of a liberal education, and diffuſe a general refinement through our part of the world, the works of the Perſians, a nation equally diſtinguiſhed in ancient hiſtory, are either wholly unknown to us, or conſidered as entirely deſtitute of taſte or invention.

But if this branch of literature has met with ſo many obſtructions from the ignorant, it has certainly been checked in its progreſs by the learned themſelves; moſt of whom have confined their ſtudy to the minute reſearches of verbal criticiſm; like men who diſcover a precious mine, but inſtead of ſearching for the rich ore, or for gems, amuſe themſelves with collecting ſmooth pebbles and pieces of cryſtal. Others miſtook reading for learning, which ought to be carefully diſtinguiſhed by every man of ſenſe, and were ſatisfied with running over a great number of manuſcripts in a ſuperficial manner, without condeſcending to be ſtopped by their difficulty, or to dwell upon their beauty and elegance. The reſt have left nothing more behind them than grammars and dictionaries; and though they deſerve the praiſes due to unwearied pains and induſtry, yet they would perhaps have gained a more ſhining reputation, if they had contributed to beautify and enlighten the vaſt temple of learning, inſtead of ſpending their lives in adorning only its porticos and avenues.

There

There is nothing which has tended more to bring polite letters into diſcredit, than the total inſenſibility of commentators and critics to the beauties of the authors whom they profeſs to illuſtrate: few of them ſeem to have received the ſmalleſt pleaſure from the moſt elegant compoſitions, unleſs they found ſome miſtake of a tranſcriber to be corrected, or ſome eſtabliſhed reading to be changed, ſome obſcure expreſſion to be explained, or ſome clear paſſage to be made obſcure by their notes.

It is a circumſtance equally unfortunate, that men of the moſt refined taſte, and the brighteſt parts, are apt to look upon a cloſe application to the ſtudy of languages as inconſiſtent with their ſpirit and genius; ſo that the ſtate of letters ſeems to be divided into two claſſes; men of learning who have no taſte, and men of taſte who have no learning.

But there is yet another cauſe, continues the learned Author, which has operated, more ſtrongly than any before mentioned, towards preventing the riſe of Oriental literature; I mean the ſmall encouragement which the princes and nobles of Europe have given to men of letters. It is an indiſputable truth, that learning will always flouriſh moſt where the ampleſt rewards are propoſed to the induſtry of the learned; and that the moſt ſhining periods in the annals of literature are the reigns of wiſe and liberal princes, who know that fine writers are the oracles of the world, from whoſe teſtimony every king, ſtateſman and hero muſt expect the cenſure or approbation of poſterity. In the old ſtates of Greece, the higheſt honours were given to poets, philoſophers, and orators; and a ſingle city, (as an eminent writer* obſerves,) in the memory of one man, produced more numerous and ſplendid monuments of human genius than moſt other nations have afforded in a courſe of ages.

He then proceeds to lay down rules for ſtudying the Perſian Language, and concludes with holding out a ſtrong encouragement to thoſe who may be deſirous to acquire a knowledge in it.

I am perſuaded, ſays he, that whoever will ſtudy the Perſian language according to my plan, will, in leſs than a year, be able to tranſlate and to anſwer any letter from an Indian prince, and to converſe with the natives of India, not only with fluency, but with elegance. But if he deſires to diſtinguiſh himſelf as an eminent tranſlator, and to underſtand, not only the general purport of a compoſition, but even the graces and ornaments of it, he muſt neceſſarily learn the Arabic tongue, which is blended with the Perſian in ſo ſingular a manner, that one period often contains both languages, wholly diſtinct from each other in expreſſion and idiom, but perfectly united in ſenſe and conſtruction.

To the Grammar, the Editor of theſe works has added, *a Hiſtory of the Perſian language*, which it was Sir William's original intention to have annexed to it in the year 1771, when the Grammar was firſt printed. In this treatiſe, he takes a comprehenſive view of his ſubject, traces the progreſs of the Perſian language through a period of two thouſand years, and relieves the dryneſs of the narrative by interſperſing it with pleaſing citations from the poets and moral writers of Perſia.

The laſt tract in this volume is *a Commentary on Aſiatic Poetry*, written in the Latin language, and it is no leſs diſtinguiſhed for various and extenſive learning, than for taſte, and correct and elegant compoſition. Our only material objection to it, is, the language in which it is written. Surely the Engliſh tongue is ſufficiently copious to expreſs our ideas on any ſubject whatever. Why then render a work of this nature repulſive to men of the world by writing in a language in which they are not converſant? It has indeed been ſaid, in defence of the practice of writing on learned ſubjects in the Latin, that as it is a general language, it introduces a performance at once into the great commonwealth of letters. But as the French language is univerſally known throughout Europe, and as moſt Engliſh works, of any importance, have, for theſe twenty years back, been tranſlated into that tongue, we confeſs we can diſcover no poſſible utility in compoſing

* Aſchum.

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posing such works in Latin, especially on Oriental subjects, which it should be our first endeavour to clothe in an agreeable and familiar attire.

In the third volume of these works, we come to the most important and valuable of all Sir W. Jones's translations, namely, his *Version of the Institutes of Hindû Law, or, the Ordinances of Menu, according to the Gloss of Calluca*, literally translated from the Sanscrit original. This work is a compendium of that system of duties, religious and civil, and of law in all its branches, which the Hindûs believe to have been promulgated in the beginning of time, by Menu, the grandson of Brahmà, and the oldest and holiest of legislators. According to the calculation of the learned translator, it received its present form about 900 years before the birth of our Saviour, and about 800 years subsequent to the promulgation of the Vêdas, or Hindû scriptures. No production of the present age contains so much new and curious matter. It throws more light upon the Hindû system than all the publications that have heretofore appeared on the subject; and it proves, beyond all dispute, that the people of India had made great advances in civilization, at a period when the nations of Europe were in the rudest stage of social life. But it is peculiarly worthy of observation, that in many parts of it we find much of the wisdom, sublimity, and eloquence of the sacred scriptures; and though the text be deformed with innumerable absurdities, it always breathes the spirit of legislation and the fervour of a pious morality. Of its general utility we cannot give a more satisfactory account than the words of Sir W. Jones himself.

It contains, says he, abundance of curious matter, extremely interesting both to speculative lawyers and antiquaries, with many beauties which need not be pointed out, and with many blemishes which cannot be justified or palliated. It is a system of despotism and priestcraft, both indeed limited by law, but artfully conspiring to give mutual support, though with mutual checks: it is filled with strange conceits in metaphysics and natural philosophy; with idle superstitions, and with a scheme of theology most obscurely figurative, and consequently liable to dangerous misconception; it abounds with minute and childish formalities, with ceremonies generally absurd, and often ridiculous; the punishments are partial and fanciful, for some crimes dreadfully cruel, for others reprehensibly slight; and the very morals, though rigid enough on the whole, are, in one or two instances, (as in the case of light oaths and of pious perjury,) unaccountably relaxed: nevertheless a spirit of sublime devotion, of benevolence to mankind, and of amiable tenderness to all scientific creatures, pervades the whole work; the style of it has a certain austere majesty, that sounds like the language of legislation, and extorts a respectful awe; the sentiments of independence on all beings but God, and the harsh admonitions even to kings, are truly noble; and the many panegyrics on the Gâyatri, the mother, as it is called, of the Vêda, prove the author to have adored (not the visible material sun, but) that divine and incomparably greater light, to use the words of the most venerable text in the Indian scripture, which illumines all, delights all, from which all proceed, to which all must return, and which alone can irritate, not our visual organs merely, but our souls and our intellects. Whatever opinion, in short, may be formed of Menu and his laws, in a country happily enlightened by sound philosophy and the only true revelation, it must be remembered, that those laws are actually revered, as the word of the Most High, by nations of great importance to the political and commercial interests of Europe, and particularly by many millions of Hindû subjects, whose well-directed industry would add largely to the wealth of Britain, and who ask no more in return than protection for their persons and places of abode, justice in their temporal concerns, indulgence to the prejudices of their own religion, and the benefit of those laws which they have been taught to believe sacred, and which alone they can possibly comprehend.

From the following extracts from the work itself, the reader will be enabled

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enabled to form a competent idea of its importance, as well as of the degree of perfection which the ſcience of legiſlation had attained in Hinduſtân nearly three thouſand years ago.

ON EDUCATION.

1. Know that ſyſtem of duties which is revered by ſuch as are learned in the Védas, and impreſſed, as the means of attaining beatitude, on the hearts of the juſt, who are ever exempt from hatred and inordinate affection.

2. Self-love is no laudable motive; yet an exemption from ſelf-love is not to be found in this world. On ſelf-love is grounded the ſtudy of Scripture, and the practice of actions recommended in it.

3. Eager deſire to act has its root in expectation, in ſome expectation of ſome advantage; and with ſuch expectation are ſacrifices performed. The rules of religious auſterity and abſtinance from ſin are all known to ariſe from hope of remuneration.

4. Not a ſingle act here below appears ever to be done by a man free from ſelf-love: whatever he performs, it is wrought from a deſire of a reward.

5. He indeed, who ſhould perſiſt in diſcharging theſe duties without any view to their fruit, would attain hereafter the ſtate of the immortals, and, even in this life, would enjoy all the virtuous gratifications that his fancy could ſuggeſt.

6. The roots of law are the whole Véda, the ordinances and moral practices of ſuch as perfectly underſtand it, the immemorial cuſtoms of good men, and, in caſes quite indifferent, ſelf-ſatisfaction.

7. Whatever law has been ordained for any perſon by Menu, that law is fully declared in the Véda; for he was perfect in divine knowledge.

8. A man of true learning, who has viewed this complete ſyſtem with the eye of ſacred wiſdom, cannot fail to perform all thoſe duties which are ordained on the authority of the Véda.

9. No doubt, that man, who ſhall follow the rules preſcribed in the Struti and in the Smrîti, will acquire fame in this life, and in the next inexpreſſible happineſs.

10. By Struti, or what was heard from above, is meant the Véda; and by Smrîti, or what was remembered from the beginning, the body of law: thoſe two muſt not be oppugned by heterodox arguments, ſince from theſe two proceed the whole ſyſtem of duties.

11. Whatever man of the three higheſt claſſes have addicted himſelf to heretical books, ſhall treat with contempt theſe two roots of law, he muſt be driven, as an atheiſt, and a ſcorner of revelation, from the company of the virtuous.

12. The Scripture, the codes of law, approved uſage, and, in all indifferent caſes, ſelf-ſatisfaction, the wiſe have openly declared to be the quadruple deſcription of the juridical ſyſtem.

13. A knowledge of right is a ſufficient incentive for men unattached to wealth or to ſenſuality; and to thoſe who ſeek a knowledge of right, the ſupreme authority is divine revelation:

14. But when there are two ſacred texts apparently inconſiſtent, both are held to be law; for both are pronounced by the wiſe to be valid and reconcileable. * * * *

154. Greatneſs is not conferred by years, not by grey hairs, not by wealth, not by powerful kindred. The divine ſages have eſtabliſhed this rule—'Whoever has read the Védas and their Angas, he amongſt us is great.'

155. The ſeniority of prieſts is from ſacred learning; of warriors from valour; of merchants from abundance of grain; of the ſervile claſs only from priority of birth.

156. A man is not therefore aged becauſe his head is grey; him, ſurely, the Gods conſidered as aged, who, though young in years, has read and underſtands the Véda †. * * * *

159. Good inſtruction muſt be given without pain to the inſtructed; and ſweet gentle ſpeech muſt be uſed by a preceptor who cheriſhes virtue.

160. He, whoſe diſcourſe and heart are pure, and ever perfectly guarded, attains all the fruit ariſing from his complete courſe of ſtudying the Véda.

161. Let not a man be querulous, even though in pain; let him not injure another in word or in thought; let him not even utter a word, by which his fellow-creature may ſuffer uneaſineſs; ſince that will obſtruct his own progreſs to future beatitude.

162. A Brâhman ſhould conſtantly ſhun worldly honour as he would ſhun poiſon, and rather conſtantly ſeek diſreſpect as he would ſeek nectar.

† *Every reader will here be reminded of the language of Scripture*: "*Honourable age*," *ſaith Solomon*, "*is not that which ſtandeth in length of time, nor that is meaſured by number of years. But wiſdom is the grey hair unto men, and an unſpotted life is old age*."

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163. For, though ſcorned, he may ſleep with pleaſure, with pleaſure may he awake, with pleaſure may he paſs through this life; but the ſcorner utterly periſhes.

ON MARRIAGE.

1. The diſcipline of a ſtudent in the three Védas may be continued for thirty-ſix years, in the houſe of his preceptor: or for half that time, or for a quarter of it, or until he perfectly comprehend them.

2. A ſtudent, whoſe rules have not been violated, may aſſume the order of a married man, after he has read in ſucceſſion a *ſác'há*, or branch, from each of the three, or from two, or from any one of them.

3. Being juſtly applauded for the ſtrict performance of his duty, and having received from his natural or ſpiritual father the ſacred gift of the Véda, let him ſit on an elegant bed, decked with a garland of flowers, and let his father honour him, before his nuptials, with a preſent of a cow.

4. Let the twice-born man, having obtained the conſent of his venerable guide, and having performed his ablution with ſtated ceremonies, on his return home, as the law directs, eſpouſe a wife of the ſame claſs with himſelf, and endued with the marks of excellence.

5. She, who is not deſcended from his paternal or maternal anceſtors within the ſixth degree, and who is not known by her family name to be of the ſame primitive ſtock with his father, or mother, is eligible by a twice-born man for nuptials and holy union.* * * *

13. A Súdra woman only muſt be the wife of a Súdra; ſhe and a Vaiſyà of a Vaiſyà; they two and a Cſhatriyà of a Cſhatriyà; thoſe two and a Bràhmanì of a Bràhman.

14. A woman of the ſervile claſs is not mentioned, even in the recital of any ancient ſtory, as the firſt wife of a Brahmàn, or of a Cſhatriyà, though in the greateſt difficulty to find a ſuitable match.

15. Men of the twice-born claſſes, who, through weakneſs of intellects, irregularly marry women of the loweſt claſs, very ſoon degrade their families and progeny to the ſtate of Súdras.

16. According to Atri and to (Gotama) the ſon of Utat'hya, he, who thus marries a woman of the ſervile claſs, if he be a prieſt, is degraded inſtantly; according to Saunaca, on the birth of a ſon, if he be a warrior; and, if he be a merchant, on the birth of a ſon's ſon according to to (me) Bhrigu.* * * *

55. Married women muſt be honoured and adorned by their fathers and brethren, by their huſbands, and by the brethren of their huſbands, if they ſeek abundant proſperity.

56. Where females are honoured, there the Deities are pleaſed; but where they are diſhonoured, there all religious acts become fruitleſs.

57. Where female relations are made miſerable, the family of him who makes them ſo, very ſoon wholly periſhes; but where they are not unhappy, the family always increaſes.

58. On whatever houſes the women of a family, not being duly honoured, pronounce an imprecation, thoſe houſes, with all that belong to them, utterly periſh, as if deſtroyed by a ſacrifice for the death of an enemy.

59. Let thoſe women, therefore, be continually ſupplied with ornaments, apparel, and food, at feſtivals and at jubilees, by men deſirous of wealth.

60. In whatever family the huſband is contented with his wife, and the wife with her huſband, in that houſe will fortune be aſſuredly permanent.* * * *

ON PRIVATE MORALS.

1. Let a Bràhman, having dwelt with a preceptor during the firſt quarter of a man's life, paſs the ſecond quarter of human life in his own houſe, when he has contracted a legal marriage.

2. He muſt live with no injury, or the leaſt poſſible injury, to animated beings, by purſuing thoſe means of gaining ſubſiſtence, which are ſtrictly preſcribed by law, except in times of diſtreſs.

3. For the ſole purpoſe of ſupporting life, let him acquire property by thoſe irreproachable occupations which are peculiar to his claſs and unattended with bodily pain.* * * *

11. Let him never, for the ſake of a ſubſiſtence, have recourſe to popular converſation; let him live by the conduct of a prieſt, neither crooked, nor artful, nor blended with the manners of the mercantile claſs.

12. Let him, if he ſeek perfect happineſs, be firm in perfect content, and check all deſire of acquiring more than he poſſeſſes; for happineſs has its root in content, and diſcontent is the root of miſery. * * * *

29. Let him take care, to the utmoſt of his power, that no gueſt ſojourn in his houſe unhonoured with a ſeat, with food, with a bed, with water, with eſculent roots, and with fruit:

30. But let him not honour with his converſation ſuch as do forbidden acts: ſuch as ſubſiſt, like cats, by intereſted craft; ſuch as believe not the ſcripture; ſuch

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ſuch as oppugn it by ſophiſm; or ſuch as live like rapacious water-birds.****

133. Let him ſhew no particular attention to his enemy or his enemy's friend, to an unjuſt perſon, to a thief, or to the wife of another man;

134. Since nothing is known in this world ſo obſtructive to length of days, as the culpable attention of a man to the wife of another.****

137. Let not a wiſe man deſpiſe even himſelf on account of previous miſcarriages: let him purſue fortune till death, nor ever think her hard to be obtained.

138. Let him ſay what is true, but let him ſay what is pleaſing; let him ſpeak no diſagreeable truth, nor let him ſpeak agreeable falſehood; this is a primæval rule.

139. Let him ſay 'well and good,' or let him ſay 'well' only; but let him not entertain fruitleſs enmity and altercation with any man.****

141. Let him not inſult thoſe who want a limb, or have a limb redundant, who are unlearned, who are advanced in age, who have no beauty, who have no wealth, or who are of an ignoble race.****

ON GOVERNMENT.

1. I will fully declare the duty of Kings; and ſhow how a ruler of men ſhould conduct himſelf, in what manner he was framed, and how his ultimate reward may be attained by him.****

13. Let the king prepare a juſt compenſation for the good, and a juſt puniſhment for the bad: the rule of ſtrict juſtice let him never tranſgreſs.

14. For his uſe Brahma formed in the beginning of time the genius of puniſhment, with a body of pure light, his own ſon, even abſtract criminal juſtice the protector of all created things:

15. Through fear of that genius all ſentient beings, whether fixed or locomotive, are fitted for natural enjoyments, and ſwerve not from duty.

16. When the king, therefore, has fully conſidered place and time, and his own ſtrength, and the divine ordinance, let him juſtly inflict puniſhment on all thoſe who act unjuſtly.

17. Puniſhment is an active ruler; he is the true manager of public affairs; he is the diſpenſer of laws; and wiſe men call him the ſponſor of all the four orders for the diſcharge of their ſeveral duties.

18. Puniſhment governs all mankind; puniſhment alone preſerves them; puniſhment wakes, while their guards are aſleep; the wiſe conſider puniſhment as the perfection of juſtice.

19. When rightly and conſiderately inflicted, it makes all the people happy; but inflicted without full conſideration, it wholly deſtroys them all.****

22. The whole race of men is kept in order by puniſhment; for a guiltleſs man is hard to be found: through fear of puniſhment, indeed, this univerſe is enabled to enjoy its bleſſings.

23. Deities and demons, heavenly ſongſters and cruel giants, birds and ſerpents, are made capable, by juſt correction, of their ſeveral enjoyments.

24. All claſſes would become corrupt; all barriers would be deſtroyed; there would be total confuſion among men, if puniſhment were either not inflicted, or were inflicted unduly:

25. But where puniſhment, with a black hue and a red eye, advances to deſtroy ſin, there, if the judge diſcern well, the people are undiſturbed.

26. Holy ſages conſider as a fit diſpenſer of criminal juſtice, that king, who invariably ſpeaks truth; who duly conſiders all caſes; who underſtands the ſacred books; who knows the diſtinctions of virtue, pleaſure, and riches.

27. Such a king, if he juſtly inflict legal puniſhments, greatly increaſes thoſe three means of happineſs; but puniſhment itſelf ſhall deſtroy a king who is crafty, voluptuous and wrathful:

28. Criminal juſtice, the bright eſſence of majeſty, and hard to be ſupported by men with improved minds, eradicates a king who ſwerves from his duty, together with all his race.

29. Puniſhment ſhall overtake his caſtles, his territories, his peopled land, with all fixed and all moveable things that exiſt on it: even the Gods and the ſages, who loſe their oblations, will be afflicted and aſcend to the ſky.

30. Juſt puniſhment cannot be inflicted by an ignorant and covetous king, who has no wife and virtuous aſſiſtant, whoſe underſtanding has not been improved, and whoſe heart is addicted to ſenſuality:

31. By a king, wholly pure, faithful to his promiſe, obſervant of the ſcriptures, with good aſſiſtants and ſound underſtanding, may puniſhment be juſtly inflicted.

32. Let him in his own domains act with juſtice, chaſtiſe foreign foes with rigour, behave without duplicity to his affectionate friends, and with lenity to Brâhmans.

ON PRIVATE AND CRIMINAL LAW.

1. A king deſirous of inſpecting judicial proceedings, muſt enter the court of juſtice,

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composed and sedate in his demeanour, together with Brâhmans and counsellors, who know how to give him advice.

2. There, either sitting or standing, holding forth his right arm, without ostentation in his dress and ornaments, let him examine the affairs of litigant parties.

3. Each day let him decide causes, one after another, under eighteen principal titles of law, by arguments and rules drawn from social usages, and from written codes.****

12. When justice, having been wounded by iniquity, approaches the court, and the judges extract not the dart, they also shall be wounded by it.

13. Either the court must not be entered by judges, parties, and witnesses, or law and truth must be openly declared: that man is criminal, who either says nothing, or says what is false or unjust.

14. Where justice is destroyed by iniquity, and truth by false evidence, the judges who basely look on without giving redress shall also be destroyed.

15. Justice being destroyed, will destroy; being preserved, will preserve: it must never, therefore, be violated. "Beware, O judge! lest justice, being overturned, overturn both us and thyself."

16. The divine form of justice is represented as Vrisha, or a bull, and the Gods consider him who violates justice, as a Vrishala, or one who slays a bull: let the king, therefore, and his judges, beware of violating justice.

17. The only firm friend, who follows men even after death, is justice: all others are extinct within the body.

The last tracts in the third volume are, *The Mahommedan Law of Succession to the Property of Intestates*, in Arabic, from an original manuscript, with a verbal translation, preface, and notes; and, *The Mahommedan Law of Inheritance* from the Arabic text of *Sirajiyyah*, with a preface and commentary. Both these tracts are of the utmost importance towards the due administration of civil justice in India, inasmuch as it regards upwards of three millions of British Mahommedan subjects; and they ought, therefore, to be studied with the greatest attention, by all gentlemen intending to enter the civil service of the Hon. Company.

The three remaining volumes contain many elegant compositions in Hindû literature, and some interesting translations from the Sanscrit; but, for the reason already assigned, we shall reserve the consideration of them for our next volume. We, therefore, take our leave, for the present, of these invaluable works, trusting, that although our narrow limits have prevented us from doing justice to their merits, it will be found that we have furnished many hundreds of our readers, who have not had the leisure or the opportunity to peruse them, with the means of forming an adequate estimate of their importance, as well as a just notion of the arts, sciences, and general literature of Asia.

(To be continued.)

An EPITOME *of the* ANCIENT HISTORY *of* PERSIA, *extracted and translated from the Jehan Ara, a Persian Manuscript, by* W. OUSELEY, *Esq.—In one volume small octavo, embellished with a View of the Ruins of Persepolis.* CADELL and DAVIES. 1799.

This little volume is recommended to the public, and particularly to the lovers of Oriental literature, not more by the novelty of the original manuscript from which it is extracted, than by the reputation which the talents, learning and industry of its author have deservedly gained. MAJOR (now SIR WILLIAM) OUSELEY merits the

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the notice and the praiſe of every Eaſtern Scholar, as well for his indefatigable exertions in procuring Perſian manuſcripts, as for his fine taſte in the ſelection of them. Without having travelled into Aſia, and amidſt the interruptions and viciſſitudes inſeparable from a military life, he has acquired a proficiency in the Perſian language which we cannot but admire. His *Perſian Miſcellany*, and *Oriental Collections*, afford proofs of his acquaintance with Aſiatic literature; and the laſt of theſe works, which is publiſhed quarterly, we beg leave to recommend to our learned readers, as a performance in which they will meet with many curious articles.

The preſent work conveys not any information intereſting to the public; but it is valuable to the Orientaliſt and Antiquary, both as it opens to them ſome part of the annals of ancient Perſia in the language of a native hiſtorian, and as being introductory to a work of conſiderable magnitude and importance, in which our learned author is now engaged, and with which, we underſtand, the literary world will ſoon be gratified *.

The Epitome contains the annals of four dynaſties of Perſian kings antecedent to the Mahommedan conqueſt; namely, the eleven *Peiſhdadian kings*, the ten *Caianian kings*, the *kings called Molouk-al Towayuf*, and the race of *Saſſan* or *Akaſreh*. Theſe annals are well tranſlated; but it were to be wiſhed he had relieved the extreme dryneſs of the ſubject with more copious notes.

In the Preface, he explains the object of this work, as we have ſtated it above; and gives an account of the Perſian writings which he has had occaſion to conſult, and which, for the ſatisfaction of the Oriental reader, we ſhall here inſert.

"Of the hiſtorical works," ſays our author, "or manuſcript *tarikhs*, from which I have principally derived my materials, I ſhall here ſubjoin the titles—naturally beginning with mention of *Tabari's* "*Great Chronicle*†," the moſt ancient and moſt excellent of all. It is compriſed in two large volumes, containing a general hiſtory of the Aſiatic world from the creation, the Perſian and Arabian annals, with the Jewiſh records, interſperſed with many curious traditions which muſt have deſcended to the venerable hiſtorian through ſome other channel than that

* This work he intitles, "*Illuſtrations of Perſian Hiſtory and Antiquities*; or, *An Attempt to reconcile the Ancient Hiſtory and Chronology of Perſia (according to dates and traditions preſerved in Manuſcripts of that Country) with the Hebrew, Greek and Latin Records.*" It will compriſe an introductory Eſſay on the Study of Perſian hiſtory, antiquities and romance, and that ſection of the *Leb-al-Towarikh*, which contains the ancient hiſtory of Perſia from Caiumuras to Yezdijird, together with copious illuſtrations.

† "تاريخ كبير" by ابو جعفر محمد بن جرير *Abu Jaffer Mohammed bn Jaoir*, ſurnamed الطبري *Altabari*, from *Taberiſtan* in Perſia, where he was born anno Hejiræ 224, (A. D. 838.) His work is frequently quoted in Perſian manuſcripts by the title of *Tarikh Jafferi*, or *Tarikh ebn Jarir*.

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of the Koran. Tabari, though a native of Perſia, compoſed this admirable work in the Arabic language. Fortunately, however, it underwent a Perſian tranſlation within a few years after the author's death—for the original Arabic is no longer to be found *.

" But the Antiquary may conſole himſelf for this loſs, as the Perſian tranſlator has added to the text of *Tabari* much curious and important matter. From the original work, *Elmakin*, an Arabian writer, has principally compiled his Annals of the Saracens, beginning with that epoch at which my reſearches end, the age of Mohammed. I have uſed three copies of *Tabari*, all fine manuſcripts—following, in general, one brought from India, and given to me by that moſt ingenious Orientaliſt, Jonathan Scott, Eſq. This copy (in two folio volumes) was tranſcribed in Perſia A. Hejiræ 850, (A. D. 1446.)

" Having dwelt ſo long on this article, I ſhall briefly mention the other *tarikhs* which I have conſulted; not obſerving in this place any chronological order, as a more full and regular deſcription of them ſhall be prefixed to my *Illuſtrations*.

" *Tarikh Moagem*, تاريخ معجم a very elegant and flowery compoſition, interſperſed with poetry; containing the Hiſtory of Perſia till the time of Nuſhirvan.

" *Tebkat Noſſeri*, طبقات ناصري " This precious work," ſays M. Anquetil du Perron †, " is of the year of the Hejira 655, of Chriſt 1257;" yet my copy, the only one I have as yet ſeen, is dated 658, سنه خمسين و ستمايه (of Chriſt 1252.) It contains the hiſtory of Aſia, Jews, ancient Arabians and Perſians, khalifs, Mohammedan kings of India, Perſia, Khoraſſan, &c. to the deſcendants of Gengiz Khan.

" *Tarikh Gozideh*, تاريخ گزيده a moſt excellent compilation of Aſiatic hiſtory, by *Hamdallah Muſtouſi*, author of the *Nezhat al Coloub*. It concludes with an account of *Cazvin*, his native city.

" *Rozet al Sefa*, روضة الصفا a general hiſtory of the Eaſtern world; in ſeven (ſometimes in nine, or twelve) volumes by *Mirkhond*, who lived in the fifteenth century. A geographical index is ſubjoined to the laſt volume.

" *Kheloſſat*

* " Some ſcattered fragments [illegible] —See Ockley's Hiſtory of the Saracens, D'Herbelot [illegible] ental Manuſcripts in the Britiſh Muſeum,

† " [illegible]

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" *Khelaſſut al Akhbar,* خلاصة الاخبار an abridgment of the *Rozet al Sefa,* by *Khondemir,* the ſon of *Mirkhond,* above mentioned. My copy of this abridgment conſiſts of above 1200 pages, quarto.

" *Habib-al Seir,* حبيب السير a general hiſtory of Aſia, by the ſame *Khondemir:* a moſt valuable compoſition, in ſeveral volumes: the copy which I have uſed conſiſts of four volumes of unequal ſize.

" *Zein-al-akhbar,* زين الاخبار a very curious and extraordinary work; containing the ancient hiſtory of Perſia, Jewiſh, Chriſtian, Magian and Hindoo religious faſts and ceremonies, annals of the Mohammedan kings and khalifs, geographical anecdotes, and chronological tables, &c.

" *Tarikh Kapchak Khani,* تاريخ قپچاق خاني ſo called after the author, *Kapchak Khan Kuli Beig,* of *Balkh;* who has moſt ingeniouſly written the hiſtory of Aſia from the creation of Adam, of the Deluge, Moſes, Chriſt, the Greeks and Romans from the time of Alexander, Arabians, Copts, Chaldeans, &c. &c.; the khalifs, Mohammedan kings of Perſia, Hindooſtan, Tartary, &c. down to the year 1187 of the Hejira, (of Chriſt 1724.) The latter part of this work affords many curious hiſtorical anecdotes concerning Balkh, Bokhara, the countries bordering on the river Jihoon (or Oxus), &c.

" A very excellent *tarikh,* the title or author of which I am not yet able to aſcertain. It begins (after the uſual *biſmillahi*) with the words بعد از حمد الهي and contains an account of the creation, the prophets and patriarchs, ancient kings of Perſia, the khalifs, &c. to the year 951 of the Hejira, (of Chriſt 1544.) This manuſcript bears the impreſſion of *M. Le Gentil*'s Perſian ſeal.

" Another very curious and valuable *tarikh,* or hiſtory of the patriarchs, prophets, ancient Perſians and Arabians, Mohammedan princes of Perſia, Arabia, Hindooſtan, &c. to the year 773 of the Hejira, (A. D. 1371.) Of this work I cannot diſcover the title; it is a large folio volume, and begins abruptly اما بعد بد انكه حق تعالي

" *Tarikh Subah Saduk,* تاريخ صبح صادق a general hiſtory of the Aſiatic world, ancient and modern, by *Mohammed Saduk,* of Iſfahan; in four large volumes, folio: a very rare and valuable work.

" A folio volume, imperfect both at the beginning and ending. It contains a variety of moſt curious hiſtorical anecdotes, ſome of which ſhall be tranſlated in another work.

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" *Tarikh Alfi*, تاريخ الفي or *the Chronicle of a Thousand Years, (i. e.* after Mohammed;) a very excellent compilation of Asiatic history, in three large folio volumes. The beginning of the first volume affords some anecdotes of *Yezdegerd*, and the invasion of Persia by the Mussulmans.

" The *Nizam al Towarikh*, نظام التواريخ a very curious epitome of Persian history, by *Abou Saied Abdallah ben Almouelli*.

" *Tarikh Nizam al Molk*, تاريخ نظام الملک or *Sciaset wa Seir al Molouk*, سياست و سير الملوک a celebrated work, composed about the year of the Hejira 485, (A. D. 1092.)

" *Merat al Aulum*, مرات العالم or *Tarikh Bakhtaver Khani*, تاريخ بختاور خانی a general history of the ancient and modern sovereigns of Asia, by *Bakhtaver Khan*; in two large quarto volumes.

" The *Dabistan*, دبستان of which part has been translated in the *New Asiatic Miscellany* of Calcutta.

" But few of these historical compositions in prose, afford more useful or curious information to the Persian Antiquary, than the great heroic poem of *Ferdousi*, فردوسي intituled شاه نامه *Shah Nameh*, or *Book of Kings*, composed in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian æra*, from some original annals in the *Pehlavi* language, which escaped the general destruction of Persian books when the Mussulmans invaded and conquered *Iran*. This celebrated work contains, in more than sixty thousand distichs, the ancient records of Persia, from *Caiumuras* to *Yezdegerd*, interspersed with astonishing fiction and delightful romance. But from the traces of real history which frequently appear, I am induced to suspect that the Chronicle of *Tabari* was not unknown to our Persian poet: this suspicion I may be allowed to entertain, without derogating from the authority of those *Pehlavi* annals above mentioned; since I am well persuaded, that, even at this day, many valuable manuscripts in the ancient language of *Iran* still exist in that country, and may yet reward the labours of some inquisitive and ingenious traveller.

" From three fine copies of this admirable work*, I have derived much

" * Ferdousi died A. Hejirae 411, (A. D. 1020.)

" One of these is peculiarly beautiful; a very large folio, written in Persia, and decorated

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much curious information. I have occaſionally uſed, alſo, the two Perſian abridgments of this work; the firſt of which M. Anquetil du Perron ſtyles "*Tavarikh du Schah Namah**," an epitome by *Tavakhol Hoſſeini;* this is, however, the work uſually denominated *Muntekhyb Shah Nameh,* منتخب شاه نامه or *Muntekhyb Shemſhir-Khani,* شمشير خاني compoſed by *Tavakol Beig,* and dedicated to *Shemſhir Khan;* it contains, in almoſt every page, ſome verſes of the original *Shah Nameh.* The other abridgment is that quoted by the learned Hyde, in his *Relig. Veter. Perſarum,* as "*rariſſimus liber,*" intitled *Shah Nameh Neſr,* شاه نامه نثر This work was compoſed for the uſe of Dr. Hyde, by deſire of the Engliſh agent at Surat. The Parſi, whom he employed, mentions this circumſtance in the preface, and in ſome wretched verſes which he has ſubjoined at the end: the abridgment, however, is very ingeniouſly executed in the moſt pure and eaſy proſe. Of this work, which is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, there did not exiſt a ſecond copy until I obtained permiſſion to tranſcribe it †.

"Of *Nizami's* five poems ‡, three afford ſome curious matter: the *Sekander Nameh,* سكندر نامه or Hiſtory of Alexander; the هفت پيكر *Heft Peigur,* or *Seven Forms,* containing the romance of *Baharam Gour*—and *Khoſru Shireen,* خسرو شيرين or the ſtory of *Khoſru Parviz* and his celebrated miſtreſs *Shireen*—the *Aineh-Sekandery,* اينه سكندري or *Mirror of Alexander,* by *Emir Khoſru* —and the خرد نامه سكندري *Kherd Nameh Sekandery, Alexander's*

decorated with a variety of moſt ſplendid and extraordinary paintings. What it originally coſt in *Iran,* I cannot aſcertain: but it appears from a note, that one thouſand rupees (about 100l.) were paid for it in Bengal.

* "Tavarikh du Schah Namah, abregè rare et precieux," &c. Zendaveſta, Tom. I. Appendix DXXXVI. The learned *Wahl,* in his *Altes und Neues Vorder und Mittel Aſien,*" &c. (p. 203, 204) has confounded this with the *Shah Nameh Neſr,* hereafter mentioned.

† "Some extracts from the *Shah Nameh Neſr* have been publiſhed in the Oriental Collections—As I have nearly tranſlated the whole work, it will probably be ſoon offered to the lovers of Perſian antiquity and romance.

‡ "A ſixth poem is ſometimes added to the پنج كنج or *Five Treaſures of Nizami,* as his works are emphatically ſtyled. Of theſe I ſhall hereafter give a full account; following the moſt ancient of three fine copies in my own Collection, tranſcribed A. Heg. 767, (A. D. 1365)

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Alexander's Book of Wiſdom, by the celebrated *Jami*, furniſh ſome paſſages on the Macedonian conqueror's hiſtory.

"From the *Behariſtan*, and other works of the voluminous *Jami**, I have extracted many curious illuſtrations; ſome alſo I have found ſcattered through the various works of *Ferideddin Attar*, ſuch as his جواهر الذات *Jouahir Alzat*—خسرو وگل *Khoſru Gul*—منطق الطير *Mantuk al Tair*, and others.

"Beſides the work of *Emir Khoſru* above mentioned, his نه سپهر *Neh Speher*—هشت بهشت *Heſht Behiſht*—شيرين خسرو *Shiren Khoſru*, &c. afford hiſtorical matter; alſo the Boſtan, Guliſtan, Riſalehs, and other compoſitions of *Sadi*—the جام جم *Jaum-i-Jem*, or *Cup of Jemſheid*, by *Auhedi*—the *Hadiket of Senai*, حديقه سناي—the مثنوي *Meſnavi of Gelaledin Roumi*; and many other poetical works which the limits of this preface will not allow me to enumerate.

"The geographical treatiſes, from which I have derived my illuſtrations, are, that admirable work the نزهت القلوب *Nozhat al Coloub*, by *Hamdallah Muſtouſi*, whom M. D'Herbelot ſtyles "*Le Geographe Perſan.*" مسالک و ممالک The *Meſalek u Memalek*†—the عجايب البلدان *Ajaieb al buldan*—the شيرازنامه *Shiraz Nameh*, a moſt curious and rare manuſcript, quoted by Kæmpfer in his *Amœnit. Exot.* ‡—the هفت اقليم *Heft Aklim*—the تحقيق الاعراب *Tahkikh al Irab*, a geographical dictionary, by *Mohammed Saduk Iſfahani*—the *Ajaieb al Makhloucat* عجايب المخلوقات—the تحفة العراقين *Tohfut al Irakein*, by the celebrated *Khacani*—the *Ajaieb al Gheraieb* عجايب الغرايب —the

* "Beſides copies of this author's works in diſtinct volumes, I am ſo fortunate as to poſſeſs the whole, conſiſting of forty different compoſitions in proſe and verſe, Arabick and Perſian, all uniformly written, and bound in one large volume; tranſcribed with ſuch exquiſite accuracy and elegance, and illuminated in ſuch a ſplendid manner, that one of its late poſſeſſors paid for it, in the Eaſt, a ſum nearly equivalent to 140 guineas.

† "Of this moſt valuable work I have given a ſhort deſcription in the Appendix; my tranſlation of it will, I hope, be ready for publication in four or five months.

‡ "(P. 301.) I have reaſon to believe that this copy is the ſame which Kæmpfer brought from Perſia.

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—the geographical index at the end of *Mirkhond's Rozet al Sefa*, and many others.

" In Philological explanations I have uſed a variety of manuſcripts; to enumerate which, would extend this work beyond the limits preſcribed: the principal of theſe, however, are the dictionaries, or *Ferhungs*, intitled, *Jehangeeri* جهانگيري—*Borhan Katea* برهان قاطع—*Kaſhf al Loghat* كشف اللغات—*Sururi* سروري—*Reſhidi* رشيدي—*Lutayef al Loghat* لطايف اللغات—*Bahr al Jouahir*, &c. بحر الجواهر Many curious philological remarks I have likewiſe found in miſcellaneous works, ſuch as the *Behari Sekhun* بهار سخن—*Sherah Sekander Namah*, شرح سكندر نامه—the *Nafaias al Akhbar* نفايس الاخبار—the *Sherah Khakani* شرح خاقاني—the *Zekhiret al Molouk* ذخيرة الملوك—the *Akklak Naſſeri* اخلاق ناصري—the *Wakaat Matoul* وقعات مطول—the *Negariſtan* of *Jouini*—a moſt excellent work of the ſame title by *Al Ghuffari* (author of the *Jehan Ara*); and a third *Negariſtan*, by *Ali ben Taifour Buſtami*. I muſt alſo acknowledge my frequent obligations to the Lyrick and *Souſi* poets, for aſſiſtance in my hiſtorical and antiquarian reſearches. The alluſions of *Anvari*, *Hafiz*, *Saieb*, *Naziri*, *Oorfi*, *Helali*, *Firokhi*, *Shems Tabrizi*, *Kemal addein Iſfahani*, and a multiplicity of others, to anecdotes of ancient hiſtory and mythology, have ſometimes ſerved to illuſtrate the moſt obſcure paſſages of the proſe writers; even the dull and voluminous commentaries on the Koran, and unwieldy *folios* of Mohammedan law, have not been without their uſe; and ſomething has been extracted from the numerous works of fiction and romance, which often exhibit very pleaſing repreſentations of Aſiatic manners; I allude to ſuch as the *Anvar Soheily* انوار سهيلي—the *Khawer Nameh* خاور نامه—the *Kiſſeh Emir Hamzeh* قصه امير حمزه—*Chehar Derweiſh*, *the Four Derviſhes* چهار درويش—the *Bakhtyar Nameh* بختيار نامه—the *Boſtan-i-Kheyal* بوستان خيال—the *Negar Ziba*, &c. نگار زيبا

" Many topographical notes, and incidental references to the ancient hiſtory of Perſia, are ſcattered through ſome of thoſe *tarikhs* which contain the annals of modern Mohammedan princes; among theſe are the *Aulum Arai* عالم آراي an hiſtory of the *Abbaſſides*, in three

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large volumes—the تاريخ عاصم كوفي *Tarikh Aafim Cufi*—the اكبر نامه *Akber Nameh*—the تيمور نامه *Timour Nameh*—the طبقات تيموري *Tebcat Timouri*, &c. alſo in biographical works and collections of anecdotes, the various تذكرة الشعراء *Tuzkerreh al Shoara*, or Lives of the Poets—the *Tarikh ebn Khallan*, تاريخ ابن خلكان—the تاريخ برمكيان *Tarikh Barmekian*—the مجالس المومنين *Mujalis al Momenin*, &c.

"There is another claſs of manuſcripts which I have attentively peruſed, yet ſparingly quoted; becauſe, though numerous, they afford but little, and even that little is of queſtionable authority. I mean thoſe feeble compoſitions in modern Perſic, ſaid to be tranſlations from the ancient *Zend* and *Pehlavi*, which European travellers procure from the *Parſis* of Surat, and of which the learned Dr. Hyde and M. Anquetil du Perron have given us ſufficient ſpecimens.

"Had I not hopes of diſcovering ſome works of infinitely greater value than the *Sadder*, *Erdaviraf Nameh*, or the *Zend-a-veſta* (as we have it in French) of *Zoroaſter* himſelf, I ſhould conſider any further attention to the ancient dialects of Perſia as a miſapplication of ſtudy, and a waſte of time: theſe, however, have contributed, with the various manuſcripts before mentioned, materials for my future work."

A Voyage to the Eaſt Indies, containing an Account of the Manners, Cuſtoms, &c. of the Natives, with a Geographical Deſcription of the Country, collected from Obſervations made during a Reſidence of thirteen Years, between 1776 *and* 1789, *in Diſtricts little frequented by Europeans. By* FRA PAOLINO DE SAN BARTOLOMEO, *Member of the Academy of Velitri, and formerly Profeſſor of the Oriental Languages in the Propaganda at Rome. With Notes and Illuſtrations by* JOHN REINHOLD FORSTER, LL. D. *Profeſſor of Natural Hiſtory in the Univerſity of Halle.* VERNOR and HOOD. 1799.

[Tranſlated from the German by WILLIAM JOHNSON.]

FRA PAOLINO DE SAN BARTOLOMEO, the author of this work, reſided thirteen years in India as a Roman Catholic miſſionary. He was born at *Hof*, in the Auſtrian dominions, in 1748; and he was there known by the name of *John Philip Weſdin*, previous to his embracing the monaſtic life. He was for ſome time Profeſſor of the Oriental

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ental Languages in the Propaganda at Rome. He went to India in 1776, and returned to Europe in 1789: in 1790 he publiſhed a grammar of the *Sanſcrit* language; and the original of the work before us, written in the Italian, appeared at Rome in 1796, ſince which time it has been tranſlated both into the Latin and German languages. A copy of the Latin edition is depoſited in the Britiſh Muſeum; and the Engliſh edition now publiſhed, is a literal verſion of the German one, of the celebrated Dr. Forſter.

To the indefatigable zeal of the Romiſh miſſionaries, Europe has certainly been indebted for a conſiderable part of the information which was obtained in the courſe of the laſt, and beginning of the preſent century, reſpecting the nations of Aſia. Of China, in particular, until the late embaſſy of Lord Macartney, all our knowledge was derived from their publications, which, though we now know to be incorrect in a few of the ſtatements they contain, are nevertheleſs much more valuable than ſome writers who have profited by them ſeem diſpoſed to allow. With regard to India, many of thoſe pious travellers were led into greater errors, from their total ignorance of the Sanſcrit and Perſian languages; yet their deſcriptions of the manners and cuſtoms of the Hindûs are often accurate, though they be accompanied with reflections that betray much of the illiberal ſpirit of their order. Paolino, aware of the miſtakes, and apparently ſuperior to the narrow prejudices of his brethren, reſolved, on his arrival in India, to ſtudy the language and literature of its ancient inhabitants, but his book evinces that he has made little proficiency in them. He alſo gave his attention to the vernacular idioms of *Telingana* and *Malabar*. Theſe attainments, though ſuperficial, have enabled him to give a tolerable faithful account of the character, civil inſtitutions, arts, ſciences, and antiquities of the Hindûs. And as our reſearches have been principally directed to the northern parts of India, his inquiries, which were ſolely confined to the ſouthern provinces of the peninſula, are the more deſerving of notice.

This work does not indeed open to us any thing new in the higher walks of Aſiatic literature; but it throws ſome additional light on the natural hiſtory and topography of the peninſula, as well as on the local habits and peculiar ceremonies of its inhabitants. And as it brings a conſiderable deal of amuſing information within a narrow compaſs, and is written in a familiar ſtyle, it may be peruſed with advantage by thoſe who may not have made Indian ſubjects their particular ſtudy.

There are, however, one or two points on which he is totally miſtaken, and which his learned annotator, Dr. Forſter, notwithſtanding the general accuracy of his illuſtrations, has neglected to correct. We ſhall therefore give an analyſis of the work, and mark the principal errors which it contains.

Our author has divided his work into two books; the firſt conſiſting of ten, the ſecond of thirteen chapters. In the firſt book he gives an account of his voyage to, and arrival at, Pondicherry *; deſcribes that ſettlement minutely, and makes ſome

* *Paolino* very properly calls this place by the native name *Puducheri*, which he, however, as he wrote in the Italian language, ſpells *Puduceri*, the *c* before the vowels *e* and *i* being pronounced *tch*. To all the other places he deſcribes, he gives the native names; a practice which we regret we cannot ourſelves adopt at preſent, becauſe Engliſhmen have been ſo long accuſtomed to another ſet of names, which are con-

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ſome very juſt obſervations on its native inhabitants. He takes notice of the Chriſtian ſeminary at Veripatam, a ſmall place a few miles diſtant from Pondicherry; and gives a tolerably correct etymological catalogue of places in Tanjore and Madura. From thence he proceeds to make ſome hiſtorical obſervations on theſe provinces; to which he has prefixed (rather inaptly and out of order) a ſhort and very inaccurate catalogue of the principal cities in the northern parts of Hinduſtân. Speaking of the ancient city of *Huſtînapuri*, famed in Hindû fable as the place at which King *Pandû*, the father of *Arjûn*, reſided, Paolino petulently remarks, that that monarch lived "1550, not 3102 years before the birth of Chriſt, as Mr. Wilkins *erroneouſly aſſerts*." In prudence, if not in candour, a contradiction ſo poſitive ſhould have been ſupported by ſome ſort of evidence; but the ſame vanity which prompted him to urge it, alſo led him to imagine that his bare affirmation would carry conviction along with it, and that his word, like that of the ancient Oracle, could not poſſibly be doubted! We muſt however contend, in oppoſition to the learned Carmelite, with whom we ſhould be very glad to have an opportunity of diſcuſſing this, as well as ſome other queſtions in Indian antiquities, that Mr. Wilkins's calculation is not far wrong, and that Paolino's, therefore, is *groſsly erroneous*. It is indeed a matter of mere curioſity, and of no moment to the public; but it is ſurely of ſome ſervice to Oriental literature, to ſupport the authority of one of its greateſt ornaments, againſt a bold but falſe criticiſm, and to reprehend one of its moſt boaſtful but ſuperficial votaries for his arrogant aſſumption.

In another part of this catalogue he gives a chronological account of the Muſſulman emperors of Hinduſtân, as well as of ſome of the revolutions recorded in the annals of their government: and in this account he takes occaſion to deliver an opinion reſpecting the religion of the *Seiks*, which is not leſs novel than it is unfounded and ridiculous. "The *Seiks*," ſays he, "I conſider as a people ORIGINALLY CHRISTIANS! but who again adopted the *Pagan religion*."—We do not remember ever to have met with more ignorance and pertneſs expreſſed in fewer words. What the grounds are on which he has formed his opinion, he has not condeſcended to ſtate; nor ſhall we ſtop to inquire. It is ſufficient to inform our readers, that the *Seiks* never were CHRISTIANS; that their hiſtory is fully known to us; and that there is nothing in their religious tenets which can lead any one to ſuppoſe they had ever profeſſed Chriſtianity. The *Seiks* were originally Hindûs of the lower claſſes, who were induced to renounce the worſhip of images, together with many of the doctrines of BRAHMA, and to embrace a more ſimple theology, which was promulgated in Hinduſtân, towards the latter end of the fifteenth century of our æra, by *Nâneek Sâh*, a native of the *Panjab*, and a Hindû of the *Cſhatriya* tribe. This man is ſaid to have been endowed with great patience and fortitude; and by theſe virtues, no leſs than by a flowing and captivating eloquence, to have gained many proſelytes to his faith. He wrote a book, intitled the *Gurû-Mûkhee*, which contains the doctrine, rules, and precepts

ſtantly uſed in all writings on the affairs of India, that we muſt, by ſlow degrees only, endeavour to reconcile them with the right ones.

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cepts of his religion, and which teaches, that there is only one Omnipotent and Omnipreſent Ruler of the univerſe, who alone is to be worſhipped and invoked; "that there will be a day of judgment; and that there is a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments." And it moreover inculcates an univerſal toleration and an univerſal philanthropy. *Nāneek* died in A. D. 1539; after which this doctrine was taught by his diſciple *Angūt*, who was alſo a Hindû of the *Cſhatriya* tribe: and it appears to have been eſtabliſhed among the people of Panjab by another Hindû, named *Ammurdus*, who died in 1574. The *Garû-Mûkhee* is preſerved in the Seik College at Patna, together with another religious book; both of which Mr. Wilkins *, who ſaw them, has deſcribed in *Vol. I. of the Aſiatic Reſearches*.

The Seiks are certainly a very extraordinary people. In the principles of their religion, as it has been ſhewn, they are pure DEISTS; but in their manners, habits, and cuſtoms, they are ſtill Hindûs: they retain the diviſion of caſts and the diſtinction of profeſſions; and, in theſe particulars, ſtrictly adhere to the Brahminical law †.

In the fourth chapter of his firſt book, our author gives an entertaining account of his journey from Pondicherry to Madras; but here, again, he betrays his petulance and barrenneſs of information reſpecting a matter with which he ought to have been well acquainted. Deſcribing the town of Sadras ‡, he obſerves: "One part of it is occupied by *Bràhmans*, whoſe ſole buſineſs is commerce. Among them ſeldom can be found a man who poſſeſſes knowledge, and who, at the ſame time, will be ſo candid as to communicate it to ſtrangers. It is of no uſe, therefore, to enter into converſation with theſe people, or to requeſt information from them reſpecting the religion of the Indians. The *Engliſh*, *however*, *do ſo*; for they always boaſt of having obtained their knowledge immediately from Bràhmans appointed to the ſervice of ſome temple; *as if it were not known that theſe prieſts ſeldom converſe with Europeans!!!*" Does then *Paolino* imagine that all that information is ſpurious which the Bràhmans of *Kiſhenagur* and *Benares* have, at different times, communicated to Sir William Jones, Mr. Wilford, and other learned members of the Aſiatic Society, and which has been publiſhed in their Reſearches? If that be really his opinion, it is unworthy of our notice, although it cannot but excite our contempt. We ſhall not deſcend to produce any evidence to convince him of a fact which none but himſelf has ever had the effrontery to call in queſtion. But we ſhall acquaint him with another fact, of which he was probably not aware: *We* have very frequently converſed with the *Bràhmans at Sadras*, and muſt do them the juſtice to ſay, that we never found them backward in communicating information reſpecting their ſacred writings; though they have told us, that they invariably avoided any intercourſe with the Romiſh prieſts, whoſe prying diſpoſition they diſliked, and who, they ſaid, "*come to India with the ſole but the hopeleſs view of ſubverting the Brahminical faith.*"

The

* The Seiks' College at Patna was viſited by Mr. Wilkins, who informs us, that their religious books are written in a dialect made up of a mixture of Sanſcrit, Perſian, Arabic, and the provincial idiom of the Panjab.

† See an intereſting account of the Seiks in Forſter's Travels, vol. i. p. 253.

‡ A place ſituated on the coaſt of Coromandel, about thirty miles ſouth from Madras.

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The author's fifth chapter, on Indian weights, measures, coins, and merchandize, merits commendation for its accuracy; though the observations with which it is interspersed are trite, flimsy, and sometimes erroneous. In this chapter he has been not a little indebted to Stephen's *Guide to the Trade of India*, a work of infinite utility.

The sixth chapter gives a topographical description of Malabar; the value of which we shall not depreciate by slight objections. He here points out, with great propriety, the mistakes which *Niebuhr* fell into, as well as the gross errors of *Anquetil du Perron*, respecting the inhabitants of Malabar, their languages, manners and customs. To this chapter he has added a table of the distances of the different places in Malabar from Cochin.

In the seventh chapter he gives an account of the population of Malabar, as well as of its various inhabitants, who are composed of Hindûs, Arabs, Europeans, Jews (both black and white), and Indian Christians of the Nestorian and Romish churches. The whole together he estimates at *two millions*, which, we are of opinion, is rather below the actual number: for Malabar is by far the most populous part of the peninsula. It contains 450 geographical square miles, as Dr. Forster justly observes; and to each of these miles we should reckon 3800 persons, instead of 3700, as Paolino has calculated. He then describes, with perfect correctness, the state of agriculture and horticulture in Malabar, and enumerates its principal plants and shrubs: and he concludes with taking a political view of the country, which, though sufficiently accurate, displays not any sagacity, comprehension, or general knowledge. In speaking of the *Rajah of Travancore*, he makes one remark, at which we cannot but smile. "He is," says *Paolino*, "an affable, polite, contented, prudent, and friendly man. On account of the intrepidity of his character, and his many good moral qualities, it is the more to be lamented that he is so zealously attached to idolatry, and is *so much blinded* as not to perceive the value of the Christian religion!" The encomium on the Rajah is strictly just; and the lamentation would have done honour to *St. Francis Xavier* himself!

In the eighth chapter he gives a curious history of the missionary affairs on the coast of Malabar, and an entertaining account of an audience which he had with the Rajah of Travancore, whose assistance he had been obliged to solicit, for the purpose of quieting some petty broils among the Christians. We present our readers with the following extract from this chapter, as being descriptive of manners which we have ourselves witnessed, and as being very amusing in itself.

Christian young women, who have no property, always receive a dowry, either from the congregation or the treasury of the church, or the fines imposed upon the rich. In general it amounts to a thousand fanams, or twenty-five scudi; but, according to their circumstances, they receive sometimes no more than ten or twelve scudi, because they are never destitute of work. Such of the clergy as do their duty, must always keep a list of the female orphans who belong to their parish; and they and the overseers are bound to provide them with husbands. This is never done by lot, but according to their age; and in choosing the husbands no regard is paid to property, but whether they lead regular lives, and are in a condition to maintain a wife by their industry. Vanity, sensuality, and indolence are too often characteristic properties of the European women; but those of Malabar distinguish themselves by simplicity of manners, diligence, and contentment. I should never have done, were I here to delineate a picture of the harmless inoffensive manners of the Christians and Pagans who live

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live retired among the distant mountains and forests, where they seldom have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the vices and shameful practices of the Europeans. With these, however, the inhabitants of the maritime towns are unfortunately too much infected. Many centuries ago, Plato expressed a wish, that people of virtuous morals might never settle on the sea-coast, because it was always to be apprehended that their good morals would be corrupted by the vices of the strangers who arrived there. In this he was right; for we are taught by experience, that the inhabitants of a country are no where so worthless and debauched as in places lying near the sea. In Malabar it is much easier to keep in order fifty congregations, in the interior part of the country, than two on the sea-coast, where the inhabitants have intercourse with the Europeans. Disturbances prevail there without end, and break out anew at least every three years. They are to be ascribed chiefly to their *cassanaris*, or priests; for these men, who are both ignorant and proud, incite the people and encourage them to rebel against the bishop and missionaries. Had these native priests sufficient learning, were they in any degree acquainted with their duty, and did they know how to procure from the Pagans the least respect, they might certainly be fit to be entrusted with the care of Christian congregations; but unfortunately they are strangers to these qualities, live like the irrational animals, and, by these means, are the cause that their parishes are converted into dens of thieves. The following instance will serve as a specimen of the way of thinking of these people. The Christians of St. Thomas are accustomed to abstain from their wives during Lent. A certain female Christian having asked her *cassanar*, why this custom had been introduced, the priest replied, That it was established by the church, in order that the wives of the Christians, during the above period, might sleep with the *cassanaris*.

In the ninth and tenth chapters, our author gives a brief description of the quadrupeds, birds, and amphibious animals on the coast of Malabar, of the different kinds of snakes in India, and of the fish and shell-fish of the Indian seas, together with an account of the vessels that are navigated upon them. He also gives what he pretends to call the Sanscrit name of the different rivers in Hindustan; but which appear to us to be a mixture of Malabar names with some of his own invention: they are indisputably not Sanscrit. Both these chapters are very incorrect.

Such are the contents of the first book of Paolino's Travels, which we have endeavoured to analyze with impartiality, though truth and justice, in some places, compelled us to be severe. If, however, the learned Carmelite should feel himself inclined to defend those opinions of his which we have controverted, we shall be happy to insert in our next volume any communications he may favour us with; as in it we purpose to review the second book of his travels. We shall at present only mention two very prominent passages in the Latin edition of our author's book; one of which it is necessary to contradict, and the other calls loudly for our animadversion.

In a note, at the end of his chapter on the *State of Marriage among the Indians*, he observes, "That there is just reason to conclude that the Hindûs of Malabar retain more of their original purity than those of Bengal and Behar." This he says in opposition to Sir William Jones, whom he quotes as being of a different opinion. It were therefore useless in us to attempt to convince him of his mistake; but we conceive it to be our duty to assure the public, that the Brahmanical system always was, and still is, beyond all doubt or controversy, in much greater purity at Benares, Kishenagur, and Nuddeah, than in any other parts of India.

In his chapter on the Laws of the Indians, he commences with an historical and critical dissertation on the antiquity of the *Védas*, respecting which he again controverts the opinion of Sir WILLIAM JONES;

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and moreover talks of that great man, as well as of Mr. WILKINS, Mr. HALHEAD, and all the other learned members of the Asiatic Society, in a strain of contumely suitable enough to the insolent dogmatism of his order, and the captious vanity of his disposition, but equally unbefitting the liberal spirit of science, and the dignified sentiments of a gentleman.

Still, however, we are willing to do every justice to his work; and shall therefore subjoin, as a specimen of it, the whole of the chapter on the *State of Marriage among the Indians*, which, excepting the note above alluded to, appear pretty correct, and will be found extremely entertaining; but, at the same time, we cannot help reminding the learned Carmelite, in the words of *Krĕĕshnă*: "The heart which followeth the dictates of the moving passions, carrieth away his reason, as the storm the bark on the raging ocean."

Marriage, in the Sanscrit language, is called *Vivâha*, or *Pànigrahanna*; the latter of which implies joining of hands, from *pani* the hand, and *grahanna* laying hold. In the common Malabar dialect it is called *Penbetta*; that is a bond or an union with a female. *Kettunu* signifies to bind; *Pennkettunu* to bind one's self, or to unite a woman to one's self, by means of a bond. *Kettiaștri* signifies a bound woman; *Kettiavan* a bound man; that is, a man who gives a woman a love pledge; who puts a necklace round her neck, betrothes himself to her in this manner, and declares her to be his married wife. *Bharta* signifies a husband, he who rules; and *Bharya*, a woman or wife, who is subject to rule. These modes of expression are, however, common only among the noble casts, and are to be distinguished from the word *Kutticondupŏgunu*, which implies the same as to lead a woman to your father's house, or to take her home to your own; by which is signified, at the same time, the method of betrothing practised among the meaner casts. This second kind of marriage is performed, as among the Romans, *per usucapionem*; but with this [illegible], that the bridegroom must present himself before the superintendant of his cast, tell him the name of his bride, and, as a token that he actually takes her to wife, put into his hand a small flour. From this it appears, that the foundation of marriage among the Indians is in all cases a real contract or agreement, which acquires perfect validity according to the laws, and in a court of justice.

Though polygamy is tolerated by the Indian laws, because it tends to promote population, the *Bharta*, whatever number of wives he may maintain, has only one lawful spouse to whom he is actually married, and who superintends his domestic concerns. She is called in the Sanscrit, *Pànigrahidi*, the woman with whom he joined hands; *Pradhanini*, the chief; *Mahĕsti*, the great; *Cudumbini*, the house-wife; *Sadhadharmani*, the woman of a thousand services, virtues and advantages. The rest are called only *Bhogaiye*, concubines. The children of the former are called *Sudharmaputra*, that is, lawful, and inherit the property left by their father; but the children of the concubines, as soon as born, are degraded into the cast of *Sudra*, which may with propriety be considered as a nursery for the illegitimate children of the higher casts, as almost all concubines belong to that of the *Sudra*, and as the rule in law, *partus sequitur ventrem*, prevails in full force throughout all India. It thence follows, that a prince who espouses a woman of a cast different from his own, cannot make her children his heirs, and much less appoint them his successors. Such was the case while I was in India, with the king of Cochin, Perumpadapil, and the king of Travancore, Rama Varmer. When I resided at Triuvandaburam, I saw with my own eyes that the children of the latter were educated in the same manner as the *Sudras*. The particular object of this law is, that persons of a low condition may never rise to the throne or the priesthood.

The crime of adultery, *Abĕradha*, which may be committed by two betrothed as well as married persons, is punished by expulsion from the cast, and, according to circumstances, even with banishment. If the bride or spouse is alone guilty, she loses the prerogative of her cast, and is sold as a slave to some foreigner, whether he be Christian, Jew, or Mahometan. This was the case, in particular, with the celebrated wife of a Brahmin at Alleppi gatta, who had been degraded and sold, and who was afterwards baptized by the Bishop of Areopolis in Malabar. She spoke and wrote the Sanscrit language with great ease. I myself [illegible]

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at Edapalli, a Brâhman woman who had also been guilty of the like offence. When I asked her why she wished to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, she replied: "*Iaika doſham vannu poi*;" that is, I have been guilty of a sin. This is the common mode of expression employed by the Indians in such cases; for adultery is one of the five mortal sins, which they call *pancia mabà pavà*. Other women, however, not of the Brahmanic cast, are sold as slaves when they hold criminal intercourse with a man of inferior condition, or do so when they have married into another cast. But this crime is overlooked when women, over whom their cast has no power, lead irregular lives, or when they indulge in such licentiousness with men belonging to a higher cast. If the wife of a man who married *per uſucapionem*, and who belongs to an inferior class, is guilty of conjugal infidelity, the husband repairs to the superintendant of the cast, and causes him to return the stone which he delivered to him at his marriage. If he has accused his wife of adultery only in this manner, he conducts her back to the house of her parents; and this ceremony supplies the place of an actual separation. In India, marriages are allowed to the third degree of consanguinity. On the coast of Malabar a custom prevails, in the cast to which the braziers belong, that the eldest brother alone marries; but the rest, when he is absent, supply his place with their sister-in-law.

According to a custom which the Brahmans, the *Vaiſya*, the *Cſhatriya*, and the Christians of St. Thomas in Malabar have introduced among themselves, the bride must always carry her dowry to the bridegroom. When she has done this, and left her father's house, she receives nothing farther, and loses her right of inheriting any of the patrimony destined for the female part of the family. By means of this regulation, which prevails throughout all the superior casts, the Indians endeavour to prevent their property from being divided, and their families from being reduced to poverty, which would undoubtedly be the consequence if the married daughters were allowed to come in for an equal share. The governor of Cochin, M. Van Angelbeck, whom I have already had occasion to mention, was desirous of making some change in this respect among the Christians belonging to the Malabar cast, *Mundacàrer*, who were subject to the Dutch East India Company. He therefore commissioned me to negotiate, on this head, with these Christians, who assembled several times on that purpose in my habitation at Mattincéra; but I was not able to prevail on them to comply with his wishes. They always referred to the antiquity of the practice; and maintained, that the greater part of their families would be infallibly ruined if any other was substituted in its stead. However this may be, it is certain that many young women never get husbands, because it is considered as absolutely necessary that they should bring with them a handsome portion. This is the case in particular with the daughters of the Brâhmans, six or seven of whom are often in the same house together, and remain unmarried for want of doweries. The condition of these girls is indeed deserving of pity; and chiefly for this reason, because the Indians, as I have already observed in another place, combine a very contemptible idea with a state of celibacy. The *taly*, or love-pledge, is hung round the neck of a betrothed girl, even so early as her seventh year, though she remains in the house of her parents till her twelfth.

The ceremonies used in India, at betrothing and marriages, are as follows:— When the parents of the *canya*, or young woman, have made choice of a young man, whom they wish to give her as a husband, they announce their intention to the two Brâhmans, whom the two families employ in astrological affairs. These Brâhmans make strict inquiry respecting the young man's character, and examine the constellations under which the presumptive bride and bridegroom were born. If these constellations have a favourable aspect, the parents of the *canya* must procure a considerable quantity of white sandal wood, magnel, salt, cocoa-nut oil, betel, areca, and about two or three hundred cocoa-nuts. When all these articles are ready, the bridegroom is conducted to the house of the *canya*, and the Brâhman, in the presence of all the relations assembled, performs in due order the ceremony of the *hôma*, or burnt offering, presented to the whole *dèvà*, that is, the gods, under whom are understood the seven planets, which are solemnly invoked as witnesses of this betrothing, and entreated to grant a fortunate and long continuance to the union. For this purpose he takes different kinds of costly and sweet-smelling wood, such as sandal, *agbil*, *arasu*, and camphor wood; cuts them in pieces about a palm in length; places them in a square pit, and makes a fire of them; which, however, must not be blown, but excited by a fan. As soon as it begins to burn, the Brâhmans repeat certain forms of prayer, by which they solicit the protection of the before-men-

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tioned gods; and throw into the fire, oil, butter, ſugar, honey, barley and rice boiled in milk. The bride and bridegroom ſtand by with the moſt devout attention, and from time to time throw into the fire alſo inflammable ſubſtances of the like kind, that it may burn inceſſantly for at leaſt a fourth part of the day. When this ceremony is finiſhed, the Brâhman cauſes the bridegroom to kneel down; places a piece of gold or ſilver brocade on his head; puts a gold ring on his finger, and paints a creſcent on his forehead with pulveriſed ſandal wood and *curcuma*. When he has ornamented the bridegroom in this manner, he puts into his hand a cocoa-nut painted with all ſorts of colours, and ſays: "Such a perſon, (repeating his name,) the ſon of ———, in preſence of all the gods, now gives his daughter (here he repeats her name) as wife to ———, who is the ſon of ———." This form the *canya* muſt repeat word for word, and at the ſame time mention all the names. Two copies of it are then written upon *olas*, or palm-leaves, on which are inſcribed alſo the day of the betrothing, and the names of the conſtellations under which the bride and bridegroom were born. Theſe *olas*, painted with *curcuma*, and ornamented with various kinds of figures, are exchanged by the newly-betrothed pair; and from that moment their union is conſidered as inſoluble. Different muſical inſtruments are then heard in concert, with ſingers of both ſexes, who join in ſongs of joy; and female dancers exhibit their whole art, to afford entertainment to the wedding gueſts. During this time, the mother of the bride preſents to the Brâhman, a baſon filled with conſecrated aſhes, the remains of the above-deſcribed burnt-offering; and ſhe always chooſes ſuch a poſition that her face is directed towards the eaſt. The Brâhman takes from the baſon, three times in ſucceſſion, a handful of aſhes, and ſuffers them to eſcape ſlowly through his fingers. When theſe aſhes form on the ground a round figure, it is called *ſudharſhana* and *ciakra*, that is the wheel of happy omen; for the *ciakra*, or wheel, is the badge and characteriſtic mark of *Viſhnu*, and conſequently has a reference to the unanimity, happineſs, and fruitfulneſs of the new-wedded pair. Theſe conſecrated aſhes, together with the above-mentioned *olas*, are carefully preſerved in a particular veſſel, and conſidered as a valuable pledge of mutual fidelity. The Brâhman, however, firſt diſtributes a ſmall quantity of them to every perſon preſent; and paints on their forehead, with a ſort of ointment, conſiſting of pulveriſed ſandal wood, ſaffron, and dried cows dung, the name of God, or the word *Tirunama*. When theſe ceremonies are ended, the bride's mother waſhes the Brâhman's feet; but the father pours water on his hands, and having dried them, preſents him with a piece of ſilk or cotton ſtuff, and a few *fanams* in gold or ſilver. Sometimes the Brâhman receives only a calf; and this preſent is, in general, the moſt agreeable.

When the marriage contract has in this manner, been confirmed on both ſides, the bridegroom returns home, and the *canya* is left at her own houſe; for the conſummation does not actually take place till the bride has had her monthly purifications, ſo that no doubt can remain of her being arrived at the ſtate of puberty. As ſoon as this is told to the bridegroom, he makes preparations for the wedding, and with that view repairs, accompanied by all his relations, to the houſe of the bride, before which an arbour has been conſtructed. It is made faſt to four poles ſunk to a conſiderable depth in the earth; but before the firſt pole has been erected the Brâhmans approach the hole deſtined to receive it, and, in honour of *Ganeſha* and *Lakſhmi*, beſprinkle it with milk and water, and throw into it a few *arafu* leaves, together with a little raw rice mixed with ſaffron. When all the four poles are placed upright, a red cord, to which a great number of *mava* leaves are faſtened, is wound three or four times round them at the top. In the middle of the arbour is raiſed a ſmall altar, on which is depoſited the image of the god *Poleyar*, who is the ſame as is before-mentioned *Ganeſha*; and behind the altar is planted a twig of the tree *anaſu*, which, as I have already ſaid, is conſidered as a ſymbol of the Trinity of the Indians; that is to ſay, of *Brâhma*, *Viſhnu*, and *Sbiva*. Near this branch is placed ſeven earthen veſſels, in which rice has been ſown, and which, at the time of this ſolemnity, muſt be at leaſt two inches in height. Theſe ſeven veſſels have a ſymbolic reference to the ſeven planets.

When the arbour has been ſufficiently ornamented in this manner, preparations are made for waſhing and purifying the bride. For that purpoſe, ſeven married women, each of whom bears a veſſel, go in company with the Brâhmans, and attended by muſicians, ſingers, and female dancers, to ſome river, or pond in the neighbourhood, and draw from it water, which, with various ceremonies, and the greateſt carefulneſs, is carried to the houſe where the wedding is celebrated. Widows are altogether diſqualified for this office, and in general for all thoſe which relate to marriage

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marriage; and on such occasions dare not even shew themselves, because they are considered as beings from whom society derives no benefit whatever. The above seven women undress the bride; pour a few drops of water upon her head, and rub her body over from top to bottom with the fibres of the Ingia plant. They then anoint her breasts, shoulders, and knees, with the curcuma, and bind a piece of white muslin round her loins. This piece of white muslin is made fast behind to a girdle, which consists also of a piece of muslin of the like kind. Over this sort of apron they clothe the bride with the so-called *pidambara*, being a piece of very fine silk, of a golden yellow colour, which hangs down from the head, is drawn under the left arm-pit, and, forming a kind of mantle on the middle of the body, descends to the feet, so as to cover the legs behind. The Indians consider this pidambara as sacred; because Vishnu, according to their mythology, always uses such a robe when he appears to those who worship him. Such of my readers as are acquainted with antiquities, will here no doubt call to mind the flammeum of the ancient Romans, which seems to have had a striking similarity to this pidambara.

The ornaments which the bride puts on, are very numerous, and consist of the following articles:

1. The Tolvalà; a bracelet, which is fastened on above the elbow.

2. The Cadacam; a golden bracelet, worn below the elbow.

3. The Nettipatam; a small golden frontlet.—Both these may be seen on the ancient Egyptian monuments.

4. The Shigamani; a golden pin, round which the hair is twisted up in such a manner that it lies quite flat.

5. The Karniga; a golden rose, which the Indian women, when they wish to appear in state, fasten in the aperture of their ears, because they are very long and wide.

6. The Cundala golden ear-rings, which are often set with jewels.

7. The Màla; a gold chain, which is put around, and hangs down to the middle.

8. Urmigra; a gold ring, which the bride wears on her finger.

9. Talà; a silver hoop or ring, which the Indian women fasten round their naked ancles, because they use neither shoes nor stockings.

10. Cadacam; a second golden bracelet, which, besides the one mentioned, surrounds the wrist.

11. Pushpamàla; a necklace of artificial flowers.

12. Tularsimàla; a garland of sweet basil, for which the Indians have a particular fondness.

When the bride is completely dressed, and covered with all her ornaments, she is conducted by the before-mentioned seven women, to the door of the dressing-room, where she remains standing for some time with her face looking outwards. She is preceded by one of the women, who holds in one hand a burning lamp with seven wicks, and in the other seven pieces of rice dough mixed with magnel. The Brâhman then repeats some prayers, the intention of which is to protect the bride from all kinds of misfortune and witchcraft; but, in particular, from the witchcraft of the eyes. For the same purpose, the woman who goes before her, raises the seven pieces of rice dough three times above the bride's head, and then does the same thing with the lamp.

When this ceremony is ended, and the bride's feet have been washed, she is seated on a mat, which supplies the place of a marriage-bed. The bride, in the mean time, holds a betel leaf before her face, in order to conceal her virgin blushes. As a specimen of their songs, I shall subjoin the following in the dialect of Malabar:

Shri sagala gunna nathane
Shri Lakshmi gunna madave
Maha Meru yatha sughame
Sadadam purti tarename
Sadhu dehangam sushillaye
Sadhu cusuma sugha bale
Maha viraktì su canyaghe
Maha viren Kitti Bartavine.

That is: "Happy sun, the giver of all felicity! and thou happy mother Lakshmi! grant them the enjoyment of all those good things which rejoice the heart on the mountain Meru! (the abode of the blessed gods.) Ensure this pleasure to the modest, timid bride, who exhales an odour like that of the sweetest flowers!—Grant this, ye who have blessed the beautiful worthy maid with a good husband!"

While these songs are sung, the bridegroom puts on his wedding dress, in another apartment in the same house in which the canya resides; and as soon as he appears, the hôma is kindled, which the new-married couple carefully endeavour to keep up, by throwing into it sandal wood, frankincense, oil, butter, and other inflammable substances. After this ceremony, the bridegroom seats himself on a kind of stool, called pida; places both his hands together, and holds them straight out before him. The Brâhman

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fills them with rice, betel, and areca; puts a cocoa-nut on the top, and binds around his left arm a woollen band, to the end of which is fastened a piece of curcuma, or Indian saffron. Whilst he is doing this, he repeats the names of the three chief Indian deities, viz. Brâhmâ, Vishnu, and Shiva (or Pudra); and at the same time casts three knots on the band, still repeating the names of these deities. He next paints a sacred sign on the bridegroom's forehead, with the hallowed ashes of the homa which have remained; and which are called Tirumira. This figure represents either the eye of Shiva, a crescent, the water-lily (Nymphæa), or a pyramid, the emblem of fire. When these ceremonies are finished, the bridegroom orders a small dish to be brought; throws into it every thing put into his hands, as a token of his respect for the gods; and makes a present of the whole to his barber, or the man who washed him, and to the surrounding musicians. The Brâhman then steps forward, and hangs a garland of flowers round his neck; upon which he rises up from his stool, places himself in a palankeen, and in that manner is carried through all the streets of the town. He is attended by the company assembled to celebrate the wedding, and by all the musicians, singers, and female dancers, making a loud noise, which resounds throughout the whole place. As such marriage processions are generally in the night, a great number of torches, lamps, candles and lights are exhibited on the occasion; and various small transparent figures, painted upon paper, and representing different Indian deities, are carried round at the same time.

As soon as the bridegroom and his attendants have returned to the house, a number of superstitious ceremonies are performed, the object of which is to preserve the new-married pair from witchcraft. When they are finished, a small copper vessel is placed before the bridegroom, filled with betel, areca, and bananas, on the top of which lies a cocoa-nut streaked with saffron, and also the taly, or pledge of conjugal fidelity. The father then desires the bride to hold out her hands, pours all the above-mentioned articles into them, and lays a piece of gold coin on the top. As soon as the bride has received them, the father lays hold of her hands, and taking every thing from her that she held in them, puts them into the hands of his son-in-law. At that moment, the Brâhman says, with a clear voice, "All the gods are witnesses, that I give thee this my daughter to wife. Behold her portion." These words are repeated three times by the bride's father. The Brâhman then takes the taly, pronounces a prayer over it, divides the cocoa-nut, which lay in the basin, into two equal parts, and again deposits in it the two halfs. After this he presents the taly, to be touched by each of the wedding guests, and, when that is done, gives it to the bridegroom, who hangs it round the neck of the bride. The observation of this circumstance is of the greatest importance; for upon it depends properly the validity of the marriage, which is afterwards considered as indissoluble. The taly itself is a small gold figure, representing the deity Poleyer, or, what amounts to the same thing, Garnêsha. It is suspended by a small cord covered with saffron, and consecrated by the Brâhman. Some of the inferior casts use, instead of this gold figure, the tooth of a tyger, which is dedicated to Shiva. When the bridegroom has hung the taly round the bride's neck, the Brâhman lays hold of the new-married pair, each by the ring-finger, and in that manner leads them three round the small altar, upon which the image of Garnêsha is placed. During this ceremony, the new-married pair must always have a burning lamp near them. One thing never neglected is, that the bridegroom, when he passes with his bride over the flat stone on which the Brâhman broke the cocoa-nut, must always manage so that the bride may touch the stone with her foot. When these ceremonies are ended, the bridegroom takes a vessel with milk, applies it to his mouth, and gives it to his bride to drink: the vessel is then handed round from guest to guest, who all put it to their lips in succession. The solemnity is then concluded with a second procession. The bridegroom again places himself in his palankeen, and is borne round through the city in the same manner as before. Some days after, the band, which the Brâhman, as already observed, bound round his arm with great solemnity, is unloosed. The young wife now attends to the management of her domestic affairs; performs her ablutions, purifications, and offerings; and never goes beyond the threshold of her house without the express permission of her husband.

To conclude this chapter, I shall here subjoin some Sanscrit verses, which relate to the illicit amours of the Indians, and which place the morality of these people in a very advantageous point of view.

Reguiri,

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Reguini, Rogiasuala, Garbhanni, Dhrdavrda, Rogia vargida brshya, Lagida, Bhayadhara. Ittaram esuvidham strieenanghele Cennu Satvaram parigrahiciduvan yogyamalla.

That is, "It is unworthy of a man to make use of the following kinds of women: 1st, A sick woman, *Rôguinì*; 2d, One who has her monthly purifications, *Reggiasuàlá*; 3d, One who is pregnant, *Garbhanni*; 4th, One who has been divorced, *Dhrdàvrda*; 5th, One who has been proscribed, or excluded from her cast, *Rògia vargida brshya*; 6th, One who has no shame, *Lagida*; 7th, One who is afraid of the mysteries of love, *Bhayàdhara*.—Could any one have expected among these Pagans such pure and sound morality?

I must also observe, that the marriage ceremonies, which I have here described, are every where practised in the same manner throughout Malayalam, that is Malabar; in the kingdom of *Pandi*, or *Madura*; in *Maïssur*, *Congao*, and *Carnàdage*, or *Carnate*. I will not, however, assert that they are generally used in districts where the ancient religious system of the inhabitants is not preserved in its original purity. In the northern part of India, which has been exposed to the hostile incursions of the Persians, Greeks, Arabs, and Tartars, many things may perhaps be established on a different footing; but I cannot speak of this with any certainty, as I never had an opportunity of visiting those parts of the country.

(To be continued.)

TRAVELS in UPPER *and* LOWER EGYPT, *undertaken by Order of the Old Government of France, by* C. S. SONNINI, *Member of several Scientific and Literary Societies, and formerly an Officer and Engineer in the French Navy—Illustrated by Engravings, consisting of Portraits, Views, Antiquities, Plants, Animals, &c. drawn on the Spot, under the Author's Inspection—To which is subjoined, a* MAP *of the* COUNTRY.—*Translated from the French. With a* PREFACE *and* APPENDIX *by the Translator, and a copious* INDEX. *In one very large Volume, 4to, elegantly printed on fine yellow Wove Paper. Price 2l. 12s. 6d. in boards.*—DEBRETT, 1800.

The Plates, which are engraved by LANDSEER, MILTON, ANKER SMITH, WATTS, *and* J. COOKE, *comprehend all those given in the original Work; with an additional View, now first published, of a celebrated Turkish Mosque, and Part of the Delta.*

IT does not fall within our province to analyze this interesting work; which, whether we view it in a philosophical or political light, is equally worthy of our attention. Inasmuch only as it unfolds the designs of France against our possessions in India, or as it is immediately connected with Asiatic affairs, does it seem proper for us to notice it. We shall therefore give a brief account of the work, together with an extract from that part of it which relates to the recent expedition to Egypt.

The six first chapters are occupied in making general observations on travelling and travellers, on the changes operating by the French in Egypt, and in a description of the author's voyage from Toulon to Alexandria, and of the islands of Corfica, Sicily, Malta, and Candia. He then gives a pleasing account of his arrival in Egypt, and describes Alexandria and the circumjacent country with minute accuracy, both as to their political condition, their natural productions, and their antiquities. In his ninth chapter he

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gives a natural hiſtory of the jerbo of Egypt, together with remarks on that curious ſubject, on natural hiſtory in general, and on the ſketch of a plan of travels into the interior of Africa. His thirteenth chapter compriſes his journey from Alexandria to Roſetta, with a deſcription of the latter place, and a view of the Delta. From this he proceeds to give a philoſophical and moſt entertaining account of the Egyptians, as well as of their manners, cuſtoms, and ceremonies, and of all the natural productions of the country.

In his twenty-fifth chapter he takes his departure from Roſetta, and proceeds to Aboukir; from which place he croſſes the deſert to *Bahira*, deſcribes his journey with ſingular elegance, and leaves no part either of animate or inanimate nature unexplored. He alſo gives a particular deſcription of the famous lakes of *Natron*, of a convent of the *Copts*, of the *Bedouins*, and of many curious particulars relative to both theſe people. In viſiting one of the monaſteries of the Copts, our author met with a monk who had been in Abyſſinia, and who told him of the celebrated Mr. BRUCE, of whoſe merits he ſpoke in high terms, and obſerves, that he was univerſally eſteemed in that country. Our author, who had met with Mr. BRUCE at Monthard, the country-ſeat of the famous BUFFON, here takes occaſion to pay him a handſome compliment, and to remark with perfect truth, "that his journey does honour to the preſent age."

In his thirty-ſecond chapter, he gives an account of his journey to Cairo; and, in the chapter immediately following, deſcribes the city of Cairo, its inhabitants, the Europeans ſettled there, its ſituation, and its government; to which he adds a ſummary of the revolutions of Egypt ſince the time of Auguſtus; together with ſome reflections on the approaching downfall of the Ottoman empire. After entering very largely into the natural and civil hiſtories of this part of the country, he gives an entertaining narrative of his voyage up the Nile to Upper Egypt, where he remained a conſiderable time, and where he ſeems to have purſued his reſearches in natural philoſophy with increaſed ardour. No object eſcaped the notice of his prying and inquiſitive mind; and he has unqueſtionably given the fulleſt account of that wonderful country that has hitherto appeared. In his laſt chapter he relates, with his accuſtomed accuracy, the occurrences of his voyage back to Roſetta and Alexandria; from the laſt of which he took his departure in October 1778.

Sonnini's reaſons for delaying his publication till the preſent time are mentioned, but not fully explained, in the author's preface. We may, however, conclude, that he was anxious to introduce into his work thoſe political opinions with which it abounds, and which, under the old government of France, he could not ſafely have broached; for he is a zealous, if not an enthuſiaſtic, Republican, and was doubtleſs a very active agent in planning the late famous expedition to Egypt. He does not, however, appear to be a diſciple of the new ſchool, though ſome of his reflections certainly border on its licentious principles. But ſuch objections occur too ſeldom, and are in their nature too trivial to demand our particular notice, or to leſſen the merit of this work, which contains much curious and uſeful matter, and which is one of the moſt philoſophical as well as elegant books of travels that has been preſented to the public for many years.

In

In our next volume we shall have occasion to return to these interesting travels, for the purpose of illustrating a dissertation on Indian antiquities, by drawing a comparison between the *Copts* and *Hindûs*.

Of the merits of the English translation we cannot offer an opinion, as we have not had an opportunity of comparing it with the original; but we have every reason to believe it to be as faithful and correct as it is spirited and elegant.

The plates in this work, though far inferior to those published in Mr. Bruce's Travels, are yet finished with exquisite taste, and engraved in a very masterly style.

'The following extract will enable the reader to judge for himself as to SONNINI's manner and language, and will serve to explain his political opinions with regard to the views of the French government in forming an establishment in Egypt.

Having spent upwards of five months in travelling over Upper Egypt, that is to say, over an extent in latitude of about a hundred and eighty leagues, watered by the Nile above Cairo, and terminating at the cataracts, or at the tropic, and having frequently resided in the principal parts of that country, I have been able to obtain sufficient knowledge of it to express my opinion on the expedition of the French. There are so many people who speak on this subject, without being acquainted either with the nature of the soil or climate of Egypt, or with the manners of its inhabitants; there are so many encomiasts, as insipid as they are ignorant; so many perfidious detractors, that, perhaps, some degree of interest will be excited by the candid and free language of an observer, jealous of the glory and power of his country; to whom the adulation of the slave, and the gloomy ill-humour of the cynic, are equally unknown, and who cannot be denied the privilege, if not of being attended to or consulted, at least with speaking with some advantage upon a subject of which he has taken no small pains to acquire the best information.

It has been seen, in the course of this work, that I considered the project of replacing our distant, and perhaps insecure colonies by another colony; the proximity of which to the mother-country, the almost miraculous fecundity of its soil, the facility of its culture, its singular situation (which makes it the emporium of the commerce of the richest nations), its vicinity to countries the most fruitful in valuable productions; lastly, the ease and dispatch with which communications might be maintained between France and Egypt, render that colony of far higher importance: all these considerations induced me to regard this project as a happy conception, a sublime idea, and its execution as one of those rare acts which render nations illustrious, and which bear the internal and striking stamp of immortality.

In fact, the possession of Egypt would ensure to an industrious and enlightened nation the commerce of the Levant and of Barbary, as well as that of the opulent country of Yemen. The Indian seas, carrying their waters through a long gulph into its sands, afford the greatest facility to navigation and commerce, (the sources of inappreciable wealth,) especially when the canal of communication between the Nile and the Arabian Gulph, one of the most considerable and most useful works of the ancient kings of Egypt, shall have been discovered and again perfectionated. The river itself, then better known in its course, will be disencumbered from the obstacles which now obstruct its navigation, and will, in security, and at a moderate expence, convey the gold and other productions which nature has placed under the scorching climate of the interior of Africa; while the sun-burnt Moor, the indefatigable broker of these fiery regions, will forsake the route of the coasts of Africa, and conduct his caravans into Egypt, as soon as he is certain of there finding safety and protection, as well as an abundance of the articles which constitute his returns. Connexions founded upon trade and interest, but unfettered by all ambition of religious conquest, the pious mania of injudicious missionaries, and which has excluded the Europeans from an interesting and immense country, will be established with the Abyssinians, whose territories are watered by the same river. With new nations, new riches will be brought to light; and in gradually and successively extending these communications, a knowledge will be acquired of a part of the globe; into the bosom of which neither the heroes of antiquity, nor the boldest adventurers of modern times, have hitherto been able to penetrate.

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In speaking of discoveries, I have indicated the only kind of conquest which philosophy sanctions, and which occasions neither the spilling of blood, nor the shedding of tears; that which alone affords a pure and real enjoyment, and which an enlightened people places in the highest rank. Egypt will likewise become the seat of the arts and sciences; and the riches resulting from this source, will have a wider and more generous destination, since their diffusion will extend to every nation in the world.

Agriculture will assume a new aspect, and, being better understood, will add the treasures of plenty to an accumulation of wealth already so considerable. I have enumerated the principal productions of Egypt; I have mentioned those, the culture of which might be attempted with success, and which, when concentrated, will eclipse the most valuable commodities our most wealthy colony affords. The limits of fertility will be enlarged, at least as far as the chains of mountains which seem to mark its boundaries on both sides of the Nile; and perhaps industry, guided by science, will even discover the means of establishing vegetation upon the sandy and desert plains, which, behind these mountains, stretch to the east and to the west.

But what would not fail to happen in favourable circumstances, is retarded by those which have attended the French expedition to Egypt. War, it it universally admitted, is the most unpropitious period for the establishment of colonies. Like a consuming conflagration, it burns, it destroys every thing that it approaches: commerce, agriculture, all the sources of public prosperity, are dried up or annihilated: the bright flame of the torch with which the genius of the arts and sciences strives to enlighten mankind, grows dim at the aspect of public calamities, and is at length extinguished by the tears which misfortune every where causes to flow. The destructive breath of ambitious passions, stifles the voice of philosophy; every kind of good vanishes, while every kind of evil accumulates. Instead of fostering waters, the earth is inundated with blood, producing a fertility at which nature revolts. Ravage succeeds to culture, and scarcity takes the place of abundance. All sorts of misery occupy the ensanguined stage of the theatre which infuriate war erects; and the man of sensibility, his soul overwhelmed with grief, and his heart worn out with agony, indignantly beholds the atrocious beings, who, in the course of an ambitious career, cruelly sport with the happiness and the lives of mankind. The ferociousness of some men has no counterpart in nature; tygers even do not gorge themselves with the blood of tygers*.

Without peace, no real happiness can exist, without peace no society can prosper. If these incontestible truths be applied to the expedition to Egypt, it will be easy to perceive that the new colony, desolated by the double scourge of intestine commotions and external war, cannot acquire a flourishing condition. The various tribes by whom it is inhabited, and whom it would perhaps have been better policy to dispose for a revolution, than to attack in the field, animated by an inordinate fanaticism, founded upon the grossest ignorance, and excited besides, by the enemies of France, and of general tranquillity, will abandon the cultivation of the soil, or destroy the crops it may have produced. The fields are over-run by warriors, and covered with all the implements used in battle; lands which a succession of ages had seen decorated with the richest harvests, are astonished at being shaded by encampments. The labour which the art of war requires, cannot be executed but to the detriment of that of agriculture. Several spots on the surface of the earth, thus change both their aspect and nature; and it will easily be conceived how prejudicial these partial injuries are in a country where fertility was in a manner merely factitious, and where it cannot subsist without the succours which the people of ancient Egypt multiplied with so much ingenuity and skill.

The devastation which the wants of a large army produce, and military operations in general, are so many wounds inflicted on agriculture. The trees which are so valuable in Egypt, where every sort of wood is very scarce, will fall beneath the axe of necessity or malevolence; plantations of many years standing, which afforded a necessary shelter against the heat of the climate, will be destroyed; and even verdant groves, loaded with agreeable and cooling fruits, will share a similar fate. So that, at the moment when peace shall be restored, the ravages of war and of barbarism should be repaired, before any amelioration is attempted; an immense task, but not beyond the courage and activity of the French.

An excessive heat, particularly in the

* ——— *parcit*
Cognatis maculis similis fera. Juv.

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southern part of Egypt; the hurricanes from the south, rolling along clouds of fiery dust, will perhaps appear inconveniences sufficiently serious to deter individuals from indulging an inclination to inhabit the new colony. But the coolness of the night relieves the burning temperature of the day; and the southerly gales of wind, which are certainly not unattended with danger, very rarely occur. There is no ancient colony that does not present a more discouraging aspect; but there is none that combines such numerous advantages. The climate is far from being unhealthy. With a little precaution a person might there hope to attain a great age, and be exempt from every complaint, did not the disorders of the eyes, in a great measure, appear unavoidable in that country.

In Lower Egypt the temperature of the air is considerably milder. Rains, waters distributed in more abundance, there maintain greater coolness over immense humid plains, which are neither confined nor parched up by the burning heat reflected from arid mountains. The manners of the inhabitants, like the climate, are also more mild, and the traveller is there exposed to much less danger.

A Journey from India towards England, in the Year 1797, *by a Route commonly called Over-land, through Countries not much frequented, and many of them hitherto unknown to Europeans; particularly between the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris, through Kurdistân, Diarbeck, Armenia, and Natolia, in Asia; and Romalia, Bulgaria, Walachia, Transylvania, &c. in Europe. Illustrated with a Map, and other Engravings. By* JOHN JACKSON, *Esq.* 8*vo.* CADELL *and* DAVIES, 1799.

Mr. JACKSON left Bombay in May 1797, and went by sea to Bussora; from whence he proceeded to Corney, a place situated at the confluence of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. From this place he sailed up the Euphrates, as far as *Shuke-Shue*, and thence up the *Shatel-Hie*, which brought him into the Tigris at Coote. From Coote he continued his voyage to Bagdad, where he arrived on the 14th of July. He here met with many civilities from Mr. Mauesty, the English East India Company's resident at that city, who supplied him with every necessary intelligence relative to his future journey. Being supplied with the dress of a *Tartar*, or messenger of government, as well as with a guard, &c. he placed himself under the protection of one of these messengers, and proceeded, on horseback, at the rate of four miles an hour, through Kurdestan to *Mosul*, and thence to *Marden*, a town situated on the summit of a mountain near the confines of Armenia. This place is large and populous. "It is surrounded with a strong and lofty wall, built with hewn stone, and is besides defended by a strong fortress, on which, however, only a few cannon are mounted. Its inhabitants are chiefly Armenians, who carry on several manufactories with much industry. The complexion of the people is as fair as that of the English, and, for the most part, they appear ruddy and healthy. Many of the women are very beautiful, and expose their persons nearly as much as the ladies in Europe. Provisions are plentiful, of good quality, and very cheap; and there is a superabundance of the finest fruits." Our author here met a Romish missionary. On

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On the 30th of July he left *Marden*, and purſued his journey acroſs the lofty mountains of Armenia, and on the 2d of Auguſt arrived at Argeenah. "This town is built on the acclivity of a mountain, ſtill ſteeper and more difficult of acceſs than that of Marden. There is, however, a road up each ſide of it; and acroſs its front are ſome tracks ſo narrow and ſteep that a falſe ſtep would be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences. The mountain appears, at a diſtance, like a barren rock, and it does not in reality produce any thing ſpontaneouſly; but the induſtry of the inhabitants amply ſupplies their wants. In many places they have gardens, which yield various kinds of fruits and vegetables. There is abundance of good water; and the mountain contains a vein of iron ore, in the working of which many people are employed."

From this place, Mr. Jackſon continued his route through Armenia, with conſiderable expedition, and reached the city of Amaſia, in Natolia, by the 12th of Auguſt. "Amaſia is an extenſive and populous town, ſituated in a valley ſurrounded by lofty and rugged mountains, ſome of which are nearly half a mile in perpendicular height; and in ſeveral of them there are places cut in the ſolid rock ſimilar to the excavations in India. The river Coſalmach runs through Amaſia, where it is a large river, but too rapid for navigation. The town is well watered, particularly the lower parts of it, by means of wheels nearly thirty feet in diameter. Theſe are turned by the ſtream, having a great many large buckets faſtened to them. As the wheel turns round, thoſe buckets empty themſelves into troughs fixed within a few feet as high as the wheel. By this method they are enabled to keep up a continual ſtream of water, which is conveyed by pipes from the troughs to the hummums, fountains, &c. The houſes at Amaſia are moſtly built of wood, covered with tiles; but ſome are of ſtone. The greater part of the inhabitants being Chriſtians, there is only one moſque, and two lofty minorets, all of them built with hewn ſtone, and very handſome ſtructures. The dome of the moſque is covered with lead. A kind of white wine is made at this place, ſomething like ſherry, and very ſtrong." From Amaſia our author proceeded through *Oſmanjike*, *Turca* and *Sabanja*, to *Conſtantinople*, at which city he arrived on the 14th of Auguſt, having been in all fourteen weeks from Bombay. He remained a week only at Conſtantinople, and took his route to England through Bulgaria, Walachia, and Germany; ſo that, except in croſſing the *Dardanels*, he went by land the whole way from Bagdad to Hamburgh.

Mr. Jackſon has prefixed to his volume an accurate chart of his route, which, as it is little frequented, will be found extremely uſeful to other travellers who may be poſſeſſed of that fortitude and perſeverance which induced him to undertake ſo long a journey on horſeback.

This journal does not convey much information reſpecting the intereſting countries through which its author paſſed. He ſeems to have travelled with too much rapidity to have obſerved many objects highly worthy of notice in Perſia and Armenia; but what he has ſeen, he has related with the ſimplicity of truth, and in the language of a gentleman. We have peruſed his volume with ſatisfaction; and we recommend it to our readers as a production in which they will find nothing to offend, and ſomething to amuſe them. We make the following

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lowing extract from his deſcription of Buſſora, as it is a place much ſpoken of, though but little known in this country.

During my ſtay I frequently viſited the city of Buſſora, which is very large and extremely populous. The bazar, or market-place, is near two miles long, and appears to be well ſupplied. It abounds with drugs of various kinds peculiar to the country; and which, though of conſiderable value in Europe, may be bought here at a moderate price, money being of more value here than in many other countries.

European manufactures are ſcarce and dear; and the people prefer thoſe of England to all others. Our ſuperfine broadcloth, and our watches, will ſell for more than double what they coſt in England.

The length of the city walls, from the river toward the Great Deſart, is about four miles, and from north to ſouth about three miles. The walls are chiefly built of clay, and of courſe cannot make any very ſtout reſiſtance, particularly againſt artillery. Of this, however, there is very little in the country: in the city I obſerved only ten pieces, moſt of them braſs indeed, but only two or three of them ſerviceable. Being expoſed to the ſun, the carriages were dropping to pieces.

Here are ſeveral moſques and minorets, many of which are very handſome buildings. Some of the latter are covered with variegated tiles, which have a very ſingular appearance. Moſt of the public buildings, as moſques, minorets, and hummums, are built of brick; but the Engliſh factory is now by far the beſt ſtructure in the whole city.

Within the walls are ſeveral vacant ſpots not built upon, and which appear to have been occaſioned by fire. The houſes in general are very indifferent, being chiefly built of clay, with a ſmall proportion of bricks. Their timbers are the trunks of date trees, not ſquared, but round, and in the ſame ſtate as when brought from the plantation: they are alſo very ſoft and ſpongy, and will not laſt long. The very thick walls, and thoſe clumſy timbers, form together a very uncouth piece of architecture.

The roofs are flat, and ſurrounded by a parapet. Here the inhabitants ſleep during the ſummer ſeaſon, in the open air. To an European every houſe appears like a priſon, as it can receive no light from the ſtreet, becauſe it has no windows. Every houſe forms a ſquare, and the inhabitants have no communication with their neighbours. Within the ſquare are various offices, ſome under ground, where the people retire during the heat of the day. The kitchen, the water, and not unfrequently the horſes, are kept on the ground floor. The hall, where they receive company, the harem, and many other offices, are on the ſecond, which has generally a gallery ſupported by pillars continued nearly round the inſide of the whole building. They have generally two flights of ſteps; one leading to the hall, where alone ſtrangers are admitted; the other leading to the harem, to which none but the family can have acceſs.

Women of the higher claſs are ſeldom ſeen out of doors; but when they do go out, they are always veiled. Many of the Arab women, particularly of the lower claſs, expoſe their faces.

Both men and women ſlaves are ſold publicly in the bazar. I have before ſaid that the city is very populous. The majority of the people are Arabs, the reſt are Turks and Armenians. The Turks are moſtly men of ſome conſequence, either being officers in the army, or holding ſome other poſts under government. The Armenians are the merchants, and ſome of them very reſpectable. They have a conſiderable trade with the Eaſt Indies, and chiefly to Bengal. In this trade ſeveral ſhips are employed, the largeſt of which does not exceed 400 tons, on account of a difficulty in croſſing the bar. The ſhips from Buſſora to Bombay, or Bengal, uſually receive a full cargo, the greater part of which conſiſts of copper in ſmall cakes, and drugs of various kinds; and the Bombay ſhips generally take dried fruits. It is very ſeldom, however, that a veſſel ſails to any part of India without taking a conſiderable number of Arab horſes. There are many inſtances of ſhips carrying away ſilver, in bars and ſpecie, to the amount of twenty lacks of rupees, the ſpecie chiefly in Spaniſh dollars and Venetian ſequins. The greateſt part of the trade of this branch of the Turkiſh empire is in the hands of the Armenians, who, when they have a conſiderable ſum on hand, in order to prevent the Turks from laying hold of it, (which is ſometimes the caſe,) export it to India, where they often receive twelve *per cent.* intereſt. The intereſt is uſually remitted back in piece goods, with which they ſupply the greateſt part of the Turkiſh empire. A conſiderable quantity of ſugar and rice alſo is frequently imported from India. The ſpecie is ſent here by the Armenians to their correſpondents in moſt parts of the empire; conſiderable ſums likewiſe are often ſent from Conſtantinople. The[ſe] are uſually forwarded

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forwarded under the care of the Tartars*, meſſengers of government, who receive a handſome premium for their trouble. The Tartars, however, are ſometimes robbed and ſlain by the wandering tribes, who in formidable bodies infeſt the greater part of the Turkiſh dominions in Aſia. An inſtance of this happened only a month ago, when a Tartar, returning from Conſtantinople to Bagdad, with 6000 Venetian ſequins, was attacked, robbed, and murdered, between Diarbekir and Moſul.

With reſpect to the Arabs, the moſt numerous claſs of inhabitants, there are a very few reſpectable men amongſt them; but great numbers are extremely poor, labouring very hard for ſmall wages. With a very little pay, however, they are enabled to ſupport their families; for their dreſs coſts them little; and their food conſiſts of dates, bread and water, with which they are perfectly ſatisfied; and indeed, though their food is ſo ſimple, they have, generally ſpeaking, twice the ſtrength of Europeans, and are able to endure much more fatigue.

The ſtreets in this city are ſo extremely narrow, as frequently to admit only one horſe at a time; added to which, they are in many parts ſo rough, as to make it difficult for horſes to paſs.

Here is a Roman Catholic church, a tolerably good building; and the people of that perſuaſion are not the leaſt moleſted.

Every perſon wears the dreſs of the country, particularly muſtaches. I met here with the famous Armenian JOSEPH EMIN, who had been many years in England, and has lately publiſhed, in the Engliſh language, his travels and adventures, written by himſelf. He propoſed going with his ſon to Bengal, and thence to take him to England. I made him an offer to take his ſon with me to England, as he would have been a very good interpreter, underſtanding the Armenian, Arabic, Turkiſh, and Engliſh languages. The ſon, who was about ſeventeen years of age, was very willing to accompany me; but the father, after deliberating ſome time, determined on following his original plan.

A View of the Politics and Commerce of India, as they are connected with Europe. By M. ANQUETIL DU PERRON.—*French, 2 vols. 8vo.*

M. ANQUETIL DU PERRON is well known to Oriental ſcholars, as the author of the *Zenda-veſta*, or the writings attributed to ZOROASTER, which have long ſince been proved to be altogether ſpurious. He is alſo author of ſome books on Aſiatic literature, which poſſeſs leſs ingenuity, but infinitely more merit than the *Zendaveſta*. He is a man of ſplendid talents, but of little ſagacity; of much ſprightlineſs, but of ſlender judgment; and of various acquirements, but of no great depth of knowledge. Nevertheleſs he has been for many years juſtly eſteemed one of the firſt Orientaliſts in France; and his own reſearches in Hindoſtân, no leſs than the admirable edition which he has given of Father TIEFENTALLER's moſt valuable geographical work, entitle him to the applauſe of his country, as well as to the thanks of all labourers in the arts and ſciences of Aſia. He is indeed often inaccurate in his ſtatements, but his publications muſt be allowed to contain much uſeful information.

Of the work now before us we ſhall, at preſent, only give our readers a general idea, as we underſtand that Meſſrs. Cadell and Davies have a tranſlation of it now in the preſs in great forwardneſs, and which, from the importance of its ſubject, well deſerves the attention of the public.

The profeſſed object of this work is, to unfold the political intereſts, and the commercial relations and advantages of India; but it more particularly aims at inducing the French Republic to attempt the re-eſtabliſhment

* "Uſually, but very improperly, printed Tartar. See "Campbell's Journey Over-land to India," and other Works. It is pronounced Tâtar, the accent being on the laſt ſyllable.

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eſtabliſhment of an Eaſt India company, with ſovereign power, and an excluſive privilege. Of the ſucceſs, as well as the utility of ſuch an eſtabliſhment, the author holds out the moſt ſanguine hopes; and he repreſents it as the moſt effectual means of reviving and extending the commerce of France, to the great annoyance and detriment of her formidable rival.

The work is divided into two parts: The firſt takes a ſurvey of the political relations and intereſts of India: The ſecond inveſtigates the ſtate of its trade and commerce. By the political intereſts of India the author underſtands; 1ſt, The perſonal views which the Indians and Europeans may entertain in the trade from Europe to India. With theſe views, ſays the author, the Indians connect reaſons and conſiderations of an higher nature, which oblige him to examine, 2d, The political intereſts of the princes and the nations of India, both as they regard themſelves, and as they relate to the European eſtabliſhments in that country. In diſcuſſing theſe points, he takes an opportunity of examining, whether it be expedient for France to take any part in the quarrels that ariſe among the different powers in India, and at the ſame time to animadvert on the ambition which prompted England to undertake different expeditions in India, from the year 1776 to 1783.

In the ſecond part our author preſents a comparative ſtatement of the commerce on the coaſts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*, as connected with the trade from Europe to India; and inſiſts upon the propriety and advantage of forming eſtabliſhments in that part of Aſia. This ſtatement is followed by reflections on the diviſion of commerce beyond the Cape of Good Hope. In theſe reflections, he endeavours to convey a vaſt idea of the trade which may be carried on by France, in and beyond the Indian ſeas. And he concludes by inquiring, what are the moſt effectual and advantageous means of carrying on in Europe a commercial intercourſe with India, which he aſſerts to be the eſtabliſhment of an Eaſt India company, poſſeſſing excluſive privileges and ſovereign power in India.

Such are the important objects which this work of ANQUETIL DU PERRON embraces, the bare enumeration of which is ſufficient to recommend it to the political, commercial, and literary world.

LETTERS

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LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS,

ON

SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY SUBJECTS.

MR. DEBRETT,

I BEG the favour of you to allow a few pages of the ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER, for conveying the following Letter

To the MEMBERS *of the* SOCIETY *inſtituted in* BENGAL, *for inquiring into the Hiſtory and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences and Literature of* ASIA.

GENTLEMEN,

THE benefits which your ſociety has conferred upon literature and learned men, by inveſtigating the ancient ſources of Eaſtern knowledge, are great and extenſive, and will probably extend much farther than even you have conceived. I am anxious to profit by your labours in this fertile ſoil, as well as to pay my individual thanks to the labourers.

I wiſh to recommend to your conſideration a ſubject that may well deſerve it. It is a queſtion of ancient aſtronomy, ariſing out of a paſſage in that ſingular poem the Book of Job; the ſolution of which might remove the greateſt difficulty now remaining in the way of the learned, who have commented upon it. I mean by this, the period of time, or the age, in which that poem was compoſed: which ſeems to me capable of proof, if this paſſage could be ſatisfactorily and truly explained. For as to the country or nation of the author, Dr. Lowth has collected from the ſeveral commentaries, and from the internal evidence of the work, ſufficient reaſons to conclude that it was Idumea; and any one who expects farther light than he has thrown upon that point, may be accuſed of too much curioſity.

The peculiar principle of ſeparation from other nations, by which the Iſraelites were governed, would not have ſuffered the book to be received and preſerved among their ſacred writings, if they had not had proof of its being compoſed by one of their own people; in that enlarged ſenſe of the word in which it comprehended all the deſcendants of Abraham. The Idumeans or Edomites were of this number, and Hebrews by their acknowledged deſcent from Eſau. Herod the Great was of this country, and would never have been received by the Jews for their king, if they had not conſidered him one of themſelves.

The paſſage of Job to which I particularly deſire your attention, is the 31ſt verſe of the 28th chapter, which in our tranſlation is thus:

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thus: "Canst thou bind the sweet influence of Pleïades, or loose the bands of Orion?" So the Septuagint has it, and the translation of Tremellius and Junius. But the Vulgate gives a different turn to the verse, and the name of *Arcturus* to the word we render *Orion*. Some of your Society understand Hebrew, which I regret that I do not; and they may be able to judge of these versions by their affinity in Hebrew to the Arabic and Persian names of these constellations.

The learned commentator on this book, Codurc, (Codurcus,) whose version and notes have been the occasion of this letter, renders the passage thus: "Nunquid *Vergiliarum* delicias ligabis, aut solves contactiones *Antaris?*" His comment I translate as follows: "*Here are two proper names of stars and constellations,* KEMA *and* KESIL (Hebrew), *which we meet with in the same form of expression in only three places of the Bible; namely, in this chapter, and the ninth of Job, and the fifth of Amos. The latter word occurs again in the plural number* (Kesilehem) *in Isaiah* 13*th**. *Aben Ezra writes upon the above passage, that they are two stars of the Zodiac, of which one, Kema, is in the north, and the other, Kesil, in the south; and that the ancients supposed Kema to describe the seven stars in the tail of the Ram, of which six only are seen. These then are the Pleïades, in the fore quarter of the Bull beneath his cheek, well known to the Latins, and by them celebrated under the name* Vergiliæ, *(spring stars.) Now, when the sun is in this sign, which happens in April and May, we, of this side of the equator, enjoy the most agreeable season of the year: therefore it is with propriety that the Hebrew phrase,* Mahadenoth†, *delights, is given to this constellation. To this opinion respecting Kema, I find no author disagree. But as to* Kesil, *there is not the same agreement; for some translate it Orion, as the Septuagint, and also the Vulgate in another place (though here it is rendered Arcturus), and many others. Some call it Ursa minor, some the Hyades in the Bull's head, some the Planets. Camius, in Radicibus, relates, that R. Jona thought Kesil was the name of that star which the Arabians call* Suhil. *Perhaps from this word the Latin* Suillæ *or* Suculæ *may have been derived; or the Arabians may have imitated the latter. But Aben Ezra, whom I have before cited with commendation, asserts that the ancients understood by Kesil in this place, the Scorpion's Heart, a very glittering star of the second‡ magnitude, called Antares; with which opinion he himself agreed. However, he does not explain the reasons for this opinion. It is mine likewise; and I am fully persuaded that Kesil is Antares, or the Scorpion, by the following arguments:*

Every Hebrew author understands Kesil and Kema to be stars, or constellations opposite to each other, and the leading signs of contrary and opposite seasons. Now we find here the Scorpion opposed to the Bull, Antares to the Pleïades. One is called a northern, the other a southern sign. Kema holds the middle of the spring quarter; therefore Kesil should be found in the same state of the autumnal. Kema, which is the Bull, or a part of that constellation, is believed by astrolo-

* This must be in the 10th verse, which the translations before mentioned render *stars of Heaven*; to which the Septuagint adds, *and Orion*.

† Rendered *deliciæ* in the Latin Bibles; in ours, *sweet influences*.

‡ In our catalogues, of the *first*.

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gers to be equally warm and rainy, and the Scorpion, in like manner, cold and dry. In the ninth chapter of this book there are these four names given, as if to describe the four opposite quarters of the heavens, viz. HAIICH*, HADRE-THEMAN, KEMA, *and* KESIL. *Now, Haiich is the arctic quarter, and Hadre-theman the antartic. Therefore, Kema and Kesil must have been contrasted together likewise, to describe the east and the west. So they seem to be contrasted in Amos 5th, which may receive illustration from what is here said. For the words bind and loose, contracted and delightful, are relative terms of contradistinction. But farther, besides the opposite places of these constellations, and their adverse affections and effects,* MOSCHOTH, *the Hebrew term for the qualities ascribed to Kesil, agree best with the Scorpion or Antares. For he is classed by astrologers among the destructive stars; and contraction is the peculiar quality of the Scorpion, to whom cold and dryness are ascribed*†."

The author proceeds to add other reasons to these, but I need not state more. One of them, drawn from the quotation of Isaiah xiii. 10. is very appositе to the latter part of my translation. For though the word there is *Kesilehem* (in the plural number), if, as he suggests, it is understood to be used figuratively for *destructive stars*, the subject, which is the fall of Babylon, will receive it so with great beauty and propriety. The prophet, in a sublime strain, recites the terrible omens of the approaching desolation; and among them, "The stars of Heaven, and the constellations thereof, shall not give their light. The sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine."

You perhaps anticipate the use to which I would apply the passage above mentioned. If certain known constellations are described at any time, as introducing the correspondent seasons of the year, or holding a particular station in the heavens, then it may be calculated from the precession of the equinoctial points, at what period of time this circumstance could be referred to as then existing, by any contemporary author. The subject, however, is not without its difficulties: for it is possible that, among the people in question, as well as among us, established phrases and allusions may have been adhered to, though the subjects of them had passed away or changed; as we now write of the Sun being in Aries, when he is far gone in Taurus; and our poems are full of heathen and ancient images, which we repeat by rote, as if really existing. But it happens to be the peculiar character of the people among whom this poem is supposed to have originated, to have been deeply learned in astronomy, which was their principal study. It is therefore probable that what they wrote upon that subject was accurate, and drawn from present observation.

Now, if the true meaning of the verse above quoted can be discovered to contain a description of the station of certain stars, it follows, that the age of the poem can be ascertained. My commentator wrote in the middle of the last century, when the precession of the equinoctial points of the Zodiac had not been

† This is the spelling and sound of a French author, and we should write it *Haich*.

‡ It may be worth the reader's while to look into Clavigero's History of Mexico for his account of this constellation, in the article of the Mexican astronomy.

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been applied to the improvement of chronology. It results from this system, that the stars, which were characteristic of the seasons in the time of Job, could not be so in the last century, nor a thousand years earlier. If, therefore, he should have led us to a right understanding of the names of the stars in question, their times and seasons must receive a different application from that described by him. The following passages from Bailly's *Astronomie Indienne* may assist you in this inquiry. In page 30 of the preface, he seems to have described the very period I allude to. After observing that the origin of the Indian Zodiac must be assigned to the 5th or 6th degree of Aquarius, he proceeds thus:

"*Qu'il y ait des observations de cette date dans l'antiquité, c'est ce dont il ne semble pas possible de douter. Les Perses disent que* quatre belles etoiles ont été établies pour garder les quatre coins du monde. *Or il se rencontre qu'au tems du commencement de l'âge Caliougam*, 3000 ou 3100 ans avant notre ère, l'oeil* du Taureau et le Cœur du Scorpion étoient précisement dans les équinoxes; *le Cœur du Lion et le Poisson austral assez prés des solstices. Une observation du lever des Pléiades du soir sept jours avant l'equinoxe d'automne, appartient encore à l'an 3000 avant notre ère. Cette observation et celles de la même espèce, qui ont été recueillies dans les calendriers de Ptolémé, sans qu'il en ait nommé les auteurs, ces observations qui sont plus anciens que celles des Chaldéens pourroient bien être l'ouvrage des Indiens. Ils connoissent parfaitement la constellation des Pléïades; et tandis que nous la nommons vulgairement la Poussiniere, ils la nomment Pillalou Codi, les petits et la Poule. Ce nom a donc passé de peuple en peuple, et nous vient des plus anciennes nations de l'Asie. On reconnoit que les Indiens ont dû observer le lever des Pléïades, et s'en servir pour régler leurs années et leurs mois; car cette constellation est aussi nommé chez eux Cartiguey. Or ils ont un mois qui porte le même nim; et cette conformité n'a pû avoir lieu que parce que le tems de ce mois étoit annoncé par le lever ou le coucher de la constellation.*†

In page 188 of the work, he says, "*Il est dit dans le Zendaveste qu'il y a 4 étoiles qui gardent les 4 points cardinaux du monde. Ces points ne sont que les équinoxes et les solstices. Ces étoiles, les surveillantes des autres, ne peuvent être que des étoiles considérables. Or à l'époque dont il s'agit, l'an* 3102 Aldebaran, *et* Antares *le Cœur du Scorpion, deux étoiles de la premiére grandeur, diamétralement opposées, précédoient les deux équinoxes de 4° et cette circonstance a été assez singuliére pour être remarquée. Regulus ou le Cœur du Lion étoit à onze degres du solstice d'été, et e Poisson austral à huit degres du solstice d'hiver. Voilà donc une observation, ou du moins une remarque qui date d'environ 3000 ou 3100 ans avant notre ére.*"

Your researches, gentlemen, in the mine of Asiatic literature, which you have opened, may lead to the discovey I have in view. If the constellitions mentioned in Job should be found to be those of the equinctial stations, this circumstance according to M. Bailly's authorities, would carry the poem

* In your publications called the *Cali Yug*.

† Codurcus thinks the Jew's month *Kesleu* has s name in the same manner from the constellation Kesil, and the Chaldaic *Nepa* from a milar cause.

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much farther into antiquity than the hiſtory even of the Jewiſh origin. According to *Dautine, l'Art de verifier les Dates*, the æra of Abraham was only 2015 years before that of our Saviour; according to the Septuagint Chronology, I think, about 2400 years. But there is yet much doubt to be cleared away before the materials I offer you will be fit to work up. The greateſt work in chronology, Sir Iſaac Newton's, was formed upon a ſimilar ſyſtem; and although your labours have produced good reaſon to reject the celebrated foundation of it, the Argonautic expedition, as an hiſtorical fact, ſtill the ſuperſtructure, where it reſts on hiſtory, is not the leſs ſolid. You have taught us to expect a continual acceſſion to ſcience from the ſtores of Sanſcrit learning which remain to be explored. I confeſs I am ſanguine enough to believe that there may be found in them ſome traces of this very poem. When you conſider its high antiquity as already known, how ſublime and ſimple it is, how accordant in ſtyle and imagery with ſome of thoſe which your ſociety has diſcovered in Sanſcrit; if you add to this the conſtant commercial intercourſe which you have given proof of ſubſiſting in the moſt remote antiquity, between India and the Euphrates, my hope may not be thought extravagant.

The general opinion of the learned who have conſidered this poem, ſeems now to be, that its date is earlier than the time of Moſes. Dr. Lowth is of this opinion, upon a review of the whole ſubject. I find there were ſome of the Jewiſh commentators who thought it might have been compoſed during the Babyloniſh captivity, and from thence brought into Judea. This opinion has met with no ſupporters in modern times. But there can be no doubt of its going to Babylon with the captives, if it was then among their ſacred books; and the learned there muſt have become acquainted with it during that period: from whence its progreſs eaſtward is natural enough.

I am not converſant in theſe ſtudies, having been by mere accident and unwarily drawn into them. I hope, therefore, you will receive this letter with indulgence: and particularly the remainder of it, which is the reſult of my own obſervation upon the internal evidence of the book, relative to the queſtion of its antiquity. 1. The years aſſigned to the life of Job, *after* his reſtoration, are 140: his ſufferings having happened *after* he had ten children ſettled in life. This circumſtance ſeems to place him in what is called the Patriarchal age: ſo does the next following. 2. In the account of his ſubſtance, no local inheritance of land or territorial property is mentioned, and no horſes. 3. The manners of the characters introduced are thoſe of a poliſhed people; and could not be aſcribed to Iſraelites contemporary with thoſe who invaded Paleſtine and deſtroyed its effeminate inhabitants; whoſe manners were more like thoſe of the Huns in their invaſion of the Roman Empire, or the modern Tartars of the Ukraine. 4. The uſe of books and a certain degree of literature ſeem to belong to them, and a very correct knowledge of Aſtronomy. The Hebrew word *Mazzaroth*, chap. xxxviii. v. 32, is rendered *Zodiac* in moſt of the tranſlations: and I think I have obſerved a note ſomewhere, that it ſignified the circle of lunar manſions well known in the eaſt. In this place I cannot refrain from introducing a conjecture (for which I could give nothing like au-

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that the next ſentence of the ſame verſe relates to the Polar ſtar, and the revolution of the reſt (there rendered *his ſons*) around the pole. 5. A belief in Aſtrology is implied in more places than one, but particularly in verſe 33, ib. Codurcus tranſlates it thus: "Noſtine leges Cœlorum? Statuiſtine eorum dominium in Terram?" 6. Froſt and ſnow are mentioned as familiar ſubjects. The hunting of the Oſtrich on horſeback is referred to. The Elephant is deſcribed as an animal not reclaimed, nor capable of it. Nothing in the whole poem ſeems to me more extraordinary than this article. I take it for granted, that *Behemoth* is the elephant. So moſt of the verſions render it; and in ours the deſcription is cloſely applicable to that animal and no other, except in one word, in which it is ſtrangely wrong. What others have rendered *proboſcis*, in our Bible is called his tail. He is ſaid to move his *tail* like a cedar; which, indeed, cannot be underſtood of an elephant's. The river Jordan (which I ſuſpect is a name put figuratively for *river*) is mentioned as one of his haunts. The laſt verſe of this deſcription implies, in our tranſlation, that ſnares were laid for the animal: but this is different from every other that I have ſeen, and particularly inconſiſtent with the deſign of the poet in introducing theſe creatures, which is to ſhew the inability of man to controul them. I ſhould therefore imagine this paſſage to be more juſtly rendered by Tremellius, thus: "*An in oculis ejus capiet cum quiſquam? Tenticulis perforabit naſum?*" Which may allude to a well known practice of putting out the eyes of tamed bears, and forcing a ring through their ſnout. Yet I have underſtood, that elephants have been uſed in war in the eaſt, as early as any hiſtory extends; and that the game of Cheſs, with a caſtled elephant for one of its pieces, is equally ancient. The poet's animated and glowing deſcription of the horſe, ſhews that he would probably not have paſſed over the might and majeſty of the elephant, in war and parade, if theſe qualities had been known to him. 7. Joſephus, in his anſwer to Apion, where he takes great pains to collect arguments from every author, to prove the high antiquity of his nation, makes no mention of this poem. Which is a proof that *he* conſidered it either as leſs ancient than the time of Moſes, or, that nothing could be found in it to prove a higher antiquity.

A. L.

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End of Vol. I.

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